

TRUTH

VINDICATED,

AGAINST

Sacrilege, Atheism, and Prophaneness,

And likewise against the

Common Invaders

OF THE

RIGHTS of KINGS,

AND

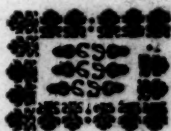
DEMONSTRATING

THE

VANITY of MAN in General.

By *GRIFFITH WILLIAMS*

now Lord Bishop of OSSORY.



LONDON,

Printed for *Randall Taylor* at the Three Crowns in *Little-Britain*,
and in *Westminster-Hall*, M. DC. LXVI.

TRUTH
VINDICATED

AGAINST
Sacrilege, Absolutism, and Popery
And likewise against the

Common Invasions

OF THE

RIGHTS of KINGS

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VANITY of MAN in General.

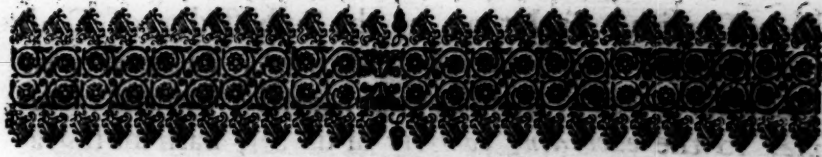
By GUSTAVUS WILLIAMS

now Lord Bishop of Osnabruck



LONDON

Printed for J. Smith, at the Three Crowns in Little Britain
and in Westgate-Hall, M.DCC.LXXV



TO THE
KINGS
Most Excellent
MAJESTY.

Most Gracious Sovereign,



Do most humbly beseech your Majesty, to give leave unto your Father's most faithful servant, and Your most Loyal Subject, to tell you, of what you cannot choose but know, and what I assure my self you do most thankfully remember, that, besides the many many great blessings, which the great and good God hath often shewed unto your Majesty; He hath conferred and fastened two Extraordinary signal Favours upon you,

1. To preserve your life, after *Worster*-fight, from those *Vulturs* that did so greedily thirst after your blood.
2. To render unto *Cesar* what was *Cesar's*, that is, by taking away from those many potent and tenacious Tyrants, and Usurpers, what they unjustly held, and restoring your Kingdoms, and setting your Crown upon your Majestic's head; where, our daily prayers are, that it may long and long flourish.

And, as the Prophet *David*, that had received the like blessings, and favours from God, saith, *Quid retribuam*

The Epistle Dedicatory.

buam Domino? So let me, as the Embassador of God, most *humbly* supplicate your Majesty, *To render unto God what is God's.* And as your Majesty, beyond *example*, to the *exceeding* comfort of us all, hath most graciously and Religiously, like the Son of your most *pious*, and now most *glorious*, Father, so *freely* and so *bountifully* rendered the *Revenues* of *Jesus Christ*, vested in your Majesty, to his *Church*; So, by your *Royal Edicts*, to do what in you lieth, to cause all others to do the like; that is, *To render unto God what is Gods*; which is but the duty of *all*, and is now neglected almost of all; for, besides the other things, which we *owe*, and render not to God, *Manus asserendi*, the Sacrilegious hands, have laid *fast hold* upon Gods right: And not only so, but the great *Leviathan* maketh it his pastime, to cause his *whelps*, to swallow up *whole Churches*, and, as it were *Lege agraria*, to take away the *Lands*, and *Houses* of the Lord into their possessions: and to make the *poor Levite*, that serveth at Gods Altar, to lye in the *streets*, or to lodge in an *Irish Cabin*; like the *Israelites* in the *Wilderness*, when they dwelt in *booths*, covered over with a few boughs.

I know, your Majesty *knoweth*, what the Prophet saith of many, that *speak friendly* unto their neighbours, but *imagine mischief* in their hearts; so, many Gentlemen, Souldiers, and others will speak *very fair*, and say to your Majesty, and to us; *God forbid*, that they should *wrong* the *Church* of God, or take *any* thing from the Church: and yet the *mischief* that they will do, if they may have their *minds*, is more than I can divine; For their *Covetousness* and *greedy* desire of the *Ecclesiastical* Revenues, projecteth *no less*, then that this your Kingdom of *Ireland* should be full of *darkness*, and that the poor people should cry for bread, even the *Bread of Life*, and *there should be none*, as now we have *but few*, or few able, to *give it them*; when they, that should give it them, have scarce *bread enough* to put into their own mouths; and less shall have, if
the

The Epistle Dedicatory.

the nefarious Violators of Holy things shall have the least countenance from your Majesty to effect their Sacrilegious wils.

But to let your Majesty see how earnestly, and eagerly, your Commissioned-Officers in 49. do strive to take away the Houses and Lands of the Church and Prebends, I thought good to insert their Letters in this place:

To our very good Friends the Commissioners,
appointed for Setting the forfeited-Houses &c.
in the City of KILKENNY.

Gentlemen,

YOurs of the 16th. Instant we have Received, acquainting us that the Corporations in your Commission mentioned, do persist to Claim more then their right. And propounding that (for better distinguishing our Interest therein) you may be by us Impowered to set the same to such a number of your selves, as you shall think fittest, in order to the due Trial, and Ascertainning our said Interest, and as are best able to manage that Affair; As also signifying, that the Clergy in the said Corporations, do equally refuse and disappear; and therefore desiring our Resolves, and like Order concerning both: which having duely considered; We do hereby acquaint you, that it is our Unanimous Resolve and Direction, both for the Corporation and Clergy-part, wherein you are Concerned; That you forthwith give notice to the Inhabitants, and Tenants respectively; That if they will not Treat with you, and take out Leases of their several Holdings (at moderate Rents to be by you imposed) within two daies after such your notice, that then you have (And we do hereby give, and grant unto you, or such a fitting number of you, as shall be amongst your selves agreed upon) full power to become Tenants to such Holdings, and to enter upon, and possess the same, or otherwise

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And we must
believe them
what Houses
were set in
Fee-farm.

wise dispose thereof agreeable to your Instructions, and as may be for our best advantage; And as to the Clergy-part refusing, or opposing as aforesaid, you are to Settle and Lett all Fee-farms, by the Church formerly granted of any the premises; or to Impose a Considerable Rent as you see fittest, reserving to the Church the chief Rents, payable there-out respectively; And of the Rents by you reserved, and other particulars relating to the premises, you are to give an exact and speedy Account unto

Your very loving Friends

{ Hen. Tichburn.	{	Ran. Clayton.	}
{ Joh. Stephens.	{	Alex. Piggot.	}
{ Hans. Hamilton.	{		}

According to the purport of the above Letter; We do hereby give notice unto all persons Concerned, that Fryday next being the 30th. of this Instant May, We do intend to sett, and dispose of, all such Houses, &c. Which Letter, we have thought fit to publish, that so none might plead Ignorance; Dated the 26th. of May. 1662.

{ Tho. Evans.	{ Ol. Wheeler.	{	Hen. Brenn.
{ Rob. Lloyd.	{ Will. Hamilton.	{	

Whereby, all men may see how the Church, and poor Bishop of Ossory, do seem to stand in the hands of Scyron and Procrustes: The Souldiers of the Usurpers, that fought against their King, and do still detain the Church-land from the Bishop; And now (like that in the Canticles, wounded in the house of our friends.) the Souldiers in 49. that were most faithful unto your Majesty, do still seek to take away our Houses from the Church. And if we lose both House and Land, we may go to live in the Church, and lie with the Levite in the Streets.

But, as your Majesty hath been most Gracious to the Bishops

The Epistle Dedicatory:

Bishops; and to all the Clergy so bountifull, as to grant them almost as much as we could desire; so our hope and humble Request is, that you will not suffer these men to take from us, so much as they desire.

For the preventing of which desire of theirs, if it may be; I have endeavoured to arm my self with a resolution, neither to fear nor flatter any man; for they that fear the smoke, may fall into the fire, *Et qui timet pruina, opprimitur a nive*; that is, as S. Gregory moralizeth it, He that fears the frost of mans anger, which he may tread under his feet, may be overwhelmed with the hail and snow of God's wrath, which shall fall upon his head, so that he can not escape it: And I have studied not to prepare sweet and savory meat unto my Readers, but *salubria medicamenta*, those medicines, that shall be most wholesome for their Souls. And because the ears of all Church-robbers, are like the ears of the deaf Adder, that will not be charmed, and the walls of this sin of Sacriledge are like the walls of Jericho, that cannot be tumbled down, without the shrill sound of Trumpets and Rams horns; I have sharpened my Pen, and, in the bitterness of my soul, for the havock that I see made of the Patrimony of God's Church, I have indeavoured to speak, not in the mild voice of *Elia* to his sons; but with the rough speeches of *Joseph* unto his brethren, that had slept so many years in their sins, as our people have done in their Sacriledge; and yet think it to be no sin.

And I doubt not, but that this my Discourse will prove as the waters of gall, and as bitter as wormwood unto those mens stomacks, that are so greedy, as we see men are, to get away the lands and possessions of the Church, and my self to be maligned and envied to the full; But I assure them, *Non flocci facio*, I weigh it not a rush; for I have hardened my face like an Adamant, and as the Lord saith to *Ezechiel*, *Whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear*, I will speak what I conceive

The Epistle Dedicatory.

to be truth; and nothing but what my *Conscience* tells me is truth. And if in *any thing* I shall mistake, it is not *amor erroris*, the love of error, or the hatred of any of those *Sacrilegious* persons that rob the Church; but it is *error amoris*, the error of my love to the Church of *Christ*, and unfeigned desire, to promote the *service* of God, and the good of the *poor and honest Irish* of this Kingdom; and so if I have *offended*, I shall *humbly* crave your Majesties *pardon*, and most *willingly* submit myself to the *censure* of the Church; and with my *morning, evening, and noon-daies* prayers for your Majestie's *long-life, and much happiness*, I rest.

Your Majestie's most

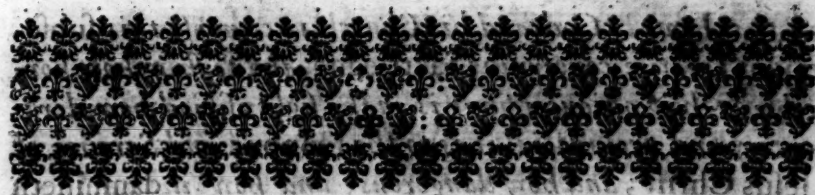
humble, devoted,

and most faithful

Loyal Subject,

Gryffith Oflory.

To



To all the
COMMISSIONED OFFICERS

of the
KINGS ARMY,
 in the year 1649.

Noble and Worthy Gentlemen,



*Hose true faithfulness to your King,
 and great Valour in the Wars under-
 taken to defend the best King on
 Earth, and to preserve his undubitable
 Right unsnatched from him, by wicked
 Rebels; doth undoubtredly merit, in
 the judgement of all wise and honest*

*men, no small Reward; far more than the reach of my under-
 standing can expresse. Tet, ye must give me leave to tell you,
 That I should be heartily sorry, that any man could justly
 say, That your great Deserts were any wayes stained
 with the tincture of Sacriledge; which, I assure my self,
 you would neuer permit, if you conceived any thing that
 you do, to have the least affinity with that ugly Bastard-
 Brat.*

*And to say the
 truth, I blame
 not all the
 Souldiers, and
 Commissioned
 Officers, when
 I found very
 many of them
 very honest, &
 very religious
 men; and some
 of them have
 told me, they
 would not med-
 dle, and wish-
 ed that the rest
 of the Soul-
 diers would
 not meddle,
 with the lands
 or houses of the
 Church.*

*Therefore I have undertaken, in the sincerity of my
 Conscience, and according to the best and uttermost of my
 knowledge, without the least ill thought of any of you all,
 or the least covetous desire, to take any thing from you,
 that is inoffensively your due: but to discharge the du-*

To the Commissioned Officers.

ty, that I owe to God, and his Church, to compose this subsequent Treatise, concerning Sacriledge, and to shew, how horrible & how odious a sin it is in the sight of God; how derogatory and prejudicial it is to the Honour and Service of Jesus Christ; and how dangerous, and how it damnieth those that commit it; the same being a Canker, that will eat, and consume, all that they have, before many Generations pass away; a sword, that will cut down their posterity from off the earth, and a sin that obligeth them to eternal damnation; without the great mercy of God to accept their great and unfeigned repentance for the same. And what you imagin I do herein against you, I do assure you, if you will believe me, it is not so much to get either lands or houses from you, as to hinder you, as I conceive, so deeply to wound your own selves: For, Better is a little that is duly gotten, without blame, and brings a blessing with it; than a great deal, that is unjustly obtained, with a curse at the heels of it. But you will say, That you do nothing but what you justly may do by the Laws of our Land, and what others do, and have done before you. And truly I do think so too: But I have fully answered this Allegation, and, as I suppose, whatsoever else can be said, in this Treatise; And I ask of you, Whether you conceive, that Humane Laws, and Acts of Parliament, made by powerful Commands, and either through fear or errour; can make that which is against the Will, and contrary to the Law of God, to be no sin? or free the sinner from God's wrath? Or, do you think, that I stand against so many well-deserving Gentlemen, of such means and friends, and power, as you are, only for covetousness, to gain the Rent of a few houses; and no longer, than the remainder of a poor old man's life? Surely, not any one, that had but the least inch of worldly wisdom, would do so: For, besides my pains and labour, I have spent already, and shall spend yet, before the Church shall lose them, perhaps ten times more than my span-long life shall gain by them: And what of that? I have done my best, when I have lost them, Et liberavi animam meam, and shall leave to God Causam suam, Let
him

To the Commissioned Officers.

him arise and defend his own Cause: but let men take heed, lest they strive against God, or seek to obstruct his Service, and cause the diminution of his Word: which I hope, your Piety will never suffer any one of you to do. And I shall pray for you all, and assuredly remain,

Your affectionate friend,

and servant,

Gyfford Ollory.

(23)

To

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A DECLARATION

DECLARATION Against SACRILEDGE.

CHAP. I.

The Declaration of the Bishop of Ossory, exhibited to the High Court of Justice before Jesus Christ, the righteous Judge, against the most horrible sin of Sacrilege and all sacrilegious persons, that detain the Tythes, rob the Church, and take the Lands and Houses of God into their own possessions.

Together, with his most humble Petition, to the Eternal and Almighty God, his most gracious Redeemer, and his most loving Master, Jesus Christ, that he would arise and maintain his own cause, and smite all his Enemies upon their cheek-bone, and put them to perpetual shame, and root out their memorial from off the earth.

Sheweth,



THAT, by Your most glorious Martyr, the renowned defender of the true Christian Faith and his most gracious Master, Charles the 1. of ever blessed memory; he was called and appointed to be the Bishop of Ossory; and to enable him the better to discharge his duty in the service of God, the instructing of his people, and the governing of that Diocese commended to his care, he was invested and admitted to have, and to enjoy, all the rights, interests, priviledges and prerogatives of that Bishoprick.

But the *Irish* Rebels, through the persuasions of their *Papish* Priests, and suggestions of Satan, have expelled him, and detained all his *dues* and *rights* from him, about 19 years together; And when the goodness of God

A Declaration

Satan now
deals with the
Church of
Christ, as he
did with the
Church of the
Jews after
their capti-
vity.

Ezra. 4. 7.
Neh. 6. 1.

Why Lands
dedicated for
the service of
God should
not be aliena-
ted.

Rom. 1. 22.

Exod. 32. 28.

Why sacri-
ledge is more
abominable
and a greater
sin then ido-
larry.

was pleased to restore the *gracious* Son of that *glorious* Martyr, unto his *Crown* and *Dignity*, his Majesty imitating the *pious* steps of his most *Religious* Father, restored all the *Reverend* Bishops, and the rest of the *Learned* and *Loyall* Clergy, unto their *ancient* rights and *pristine* dignities; the *malicious* enemy of all goodnes, the *Devill* and *Satanas* still envying the *Honour* of God, and by all means striving to obscure the *Glory* of his Church, and the happy *Restauration* of his service; As formerly, after the *captivity* of the children of *Israel*, the *Jews* in *Babylon*, when, they were *happily* returned unto their own *Land*, which the God of their Fathers had bestowed upon them and their posterities for ever, and were now beginning to re-edify their *Temple* for the honour of their God, and the place of his *Worship* for his people, he stirred up *Bishlam*, *Mitbredath*, *Tabeel*, *Samballat*, *Tobiab*, *Geshem*, and the rest of their companions, the *enemies* of Gods people, to hinder all their proceedings in setting forwards the *true* service of their God, by writing *false* Letters unto the King; and upon their *unjust* informations, procuring letters from the King, to obstruct the building, and working of Gods House, to the great prejudice and grief of those Holy men, that aimed at nothing more then to promote the *glory* of God, and the good of his people; So now, he stirred up many *Armed* men, or men of Arms, and *Commanders* of men, men of *Renown*, that in the year 49 shewed themselves very *active*, and serviceable for their and our undubitable King, his now *gracious* Majesty, and whom his Majesty for that their *faithfulness* and service, did most *graciously*, and justly according as they had deserved, most *Royally*, and like a King, reward them, with *Cities*, *Lands*, *Houses*, *Gardens*, and the like *evidences* of his *Royall* bounty, under the pretence of this his Majesties grant and gift, to labour and strive to swallow down the *Lands* and *Houses*, which I am sure do of right belong unto the Church of God, and am confident his Majesty is so *pious* that he never intended to reward his servants with any of those goods, of what nature soever they are, that were dedicated and set apart for the service of God; because the alienating of any things set apart and consecrated for Gods service, and dedicated to that end, is no less then *sacriledge*; and *Sacriledge* is a sin of such a *transcendent* nature, as is far more odious and *abominable* in the sight of God then most of all other sins: for St. Paul demandeth, If thou, that abhorrest Idols, wilt commit *sacriledge*? And you all know, what a horrible sin *Idolatry* is: and how highly the Lord God was offended, and how grievously he punished and plagued the *Israelites* for the same, as when he slue 3000 men, for their *Idolatry* in worshipping the golden Calf.

And yet St. Paul sheweth herein, that *sacriledge* is far more odious and a more *abominable* sin in the sight of God; because by *Idolatry*, we do but give the *honour* of God to that which is no god; but by our *sacriledge*, we rob the true God of that *honour* which is due unto him, and we deprive him of that *worship*, and service, and thanks, that he should have from many men, if they were not deprived, and robbed of their estates by that *sacriledge*, which makes them *unable* to do that service, and to bring others to do that service unto God, which they ought to do.

And therefore most justly hath that *sacriledge*, which is the diminution of the *revenues* of the Church, been ever accounted the *biggest*, the *boldest* and the most damnable sin in the World. For our Religion is the very ground of all our happiness, and the chiefest of all our comforts: and the riches, honours, and *Revenues* of the Church, the *Tithes*, *Oblations*, and *Donations* of Religious men, are, as I shall fully shew unto you in this Treatise, the very main outward props of our Religion; and if with *Sampson* you take away the pillars, you overthrow the House, & subvert the foundation.

against Sacriledges

3

rum premiis ipsa studia pereunt, saith *Seneca*; so, take away the props of Religion, and your Religion, like a tottering wall, will soon fall unto the ground; and when you have supplanted our Religion, you have dissolved all the ties and associations betwixt God and men, and left us all as *aliens* and strangers, and which is worse, *enemies* unto God. And therefore when other mischiefs have their limits, and so hurt but one or other, and there is an end, yet this sin of Sacriledge strikes at *Goodness* and *Godliness* it self, it sets the world besides its *bindges*, and sweeps away our peace and all our happiness from off the earth, when as God, and the King, and all of us are thereby *unexpressibly* damnified.

And therefore he is no better then a *savage* beast, and hath a heart of iron, and *Cyclopick* breasts, *qua genere fera*, that can invade heaven, and rob God, and put down the *Prerogatives* of his King, and spoil mankind of all safety: which made the very *Heathens* themselves to have alwaies an exceeding great reverence of the things, that were dedicated unto their gods; and, to violate the Religion of other Countries, which they thought much more vain then their own, they conceived to be so *monstrous*, that it was alwaies accounted *inauspicious*: and the wrongs done to a false deity carried an horror with it, and was usually revenged by the true God.

Yet these men, being many, rich and powerfull, both in *wealth*, wit, and Friends, would perswade our good King and all others, but not aright, that they are most zealous for the Church of Christ and the service of God, and what lands and houses they seek to take from us belong not to us, nor to the Church of God; and therefore that it is no sacriledge, nor any waies unjust in them, to take from us what the King hath justly bestowed on them; but it is a foul imputation most uncharitably cast upon them by me, to blemish their sincerity in the service, and for the honour of God.

What the men of the year 49 do say.

And therefore seeing that *in foro poli*, I am, like *Troilus*, *impar congressus A. billis*, *Infelix puer*, too weak every way to contest with so many magnanimous men of Arms, that are incompassed with so many heroick friends, I must

What the Author doth in this conflict about the rights of the Church.

1. Appeal to thee, O my God, and sweet Saviour *Jesus Christ*, and desire thee with the words of the Psalmist, *Arise, O God, maintain thine own cause*; or, as our last Translation hath it, *plead thine own cause*; for I am not able to maintain it, unless thou wilt arise to plead the cause of the *helpless*, and pluck thy right hand out of thy bosom to consume the enemy, and let not man have the upper hand, but do thou to them, as thou didst unto the *Midianites*, unto *Sisera*, and unto *Jabin*, at the brook of *Kison*, which perished at *Endor*, and became as the dung of the earth, which say, Let us take to our selves the houses of God in possession; and especially to them that not only say, but also do violently and sacrilegiously misinform good and pious Princes, and take both the houses of God and the lands of the Church into their possessions. O my God, make them like a wheel, that is alwaies tottering and turning, and as the stubble before the wind, that is ever shaking and never at rest, and like as the fire that burneth up the wood, and as the flame that consumeth the mountains; persecute them even so with thy tempest, and make them afraid with thy storms, that they may understand, what a heynous sin it is to commit Sacriledge and to rob the living God, by hindering and disabling his servants to do him service, and to ascribe the honour due unto his name.

1. Thing.

Psal. 74. 23.

Psal. 83. 12.

2. I must and will, to the uttermost of mine ability, demonstrate unto all Church-robbers the heynousness of this sin, and the fearfull punishment thereof; and to that end,

2. Thing.

1. I will here set down what I have written, above 45 years agoe, concerning

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2d. Thing.

concerning *sacrilege*, and what you may find in the True Church l. 3. c. 2. pag. 429. with some amplification and explication thereof.

2. I will, upon the *resolution*, and religious intention of the good and godly King *David*, to build God an *House* for his servants to meet in it to worship him, shew unto you the *necessity* and use of *Cathedrals*, and Churches for Gods Worship, and the *duty* of all Christian Kings and Princes therein; and the full *description* and detestation of this horrible and most odious sin of *Sacrilege*. And I will do my best, to enlarge this point unto the full; that so, my Reader may reap the full *benefit* of this my Discourse, and the easier retain in his *memory*, what he readeth in it: and that the same good Doctrines and Instructions, the *oftner*, and the more *usually* they are published, and in the more *large* Volumes they are printed, may the more likely have their fate to continue, when as small Treatises, especially not methodically digested, are the sooner neglected, and do suffer, through the iniquity of time, to be buried in oblivion.

CHAP. II.

*Of Sacrilege, what it is; How manifold it is, and how it hath been
alwayes punished, and never escaped the Hand of the Divine
Vengeance.*

Sacrilege,
what it is.
R: i sacra vio-
latio aut usur-
pacio.

Thom. prima
secunde q 99.
Prov. 20. 25.

Peraldus, Sum-
ma Vitiatorum.

Sacrilege
threefold, and
committed 3.
wayes.
1. Way, against
sacred persons.

Amilius Pro-
bus.

Luke 10. 16.

2. Way, against
sacred places.

1. **S**acrilege which the Greeks call *ισχυολατεια*, and the sacrilegious person *ισχυολατεις*, is, the usurpation, or the violation of any sacred thing: and this violation of it, is to be understood for any kind of irreverence or dishonouring of it; & *Sacrilegium dicitur quasi sacrilegium*, saith *Innocentius*: and as *Aquinas* saith, All that is sacrilege, which is done to the irreverence of any sacred thing. And *Solomon* saith, *It is an abomination to the Lord to devour things that are sanctified*: Et, *non omne quod displicet dicitur abominatio*; And not all things that displease God are said to be abominations; *sed quod valde displicet*, but the things which do most highly and exceedingly displease the Lord, is said to be an abomination, saith *Peraldus*.

2. You may observe, that this high displeasing-sin of *Sacrilege*, is manifold; but especially it consisteth in these three things:

1. The violation and abuse offered to *Sacred* persons, such as are *Kings* and *Queens*, that are called and appointed by God to be *nursing Fathers*, and *nursing Mothers* unto the Church of Christ, and the *Bishops*, *Priests*, and other *Ministers*, that are consecrated to serve God at his Altar. Who-soever doth irreverently abuse any of them, either in word or deed, committeth *sacrilege*, because they are sacred persons. And so *Agessilaus* was wont to say, That he did greatly wonder, why any man should think, that they are not *worthily* accounted in the number of *sacrilegious* persons, *qui laderent eos, qui diis supplicarent, vel Deos venerarent*, which did any wayes hurt or wrong those which did supplicate or intercede for us, and worshipped God; whereby that most prudent Prince signified, *Eos non tantum sacrilegos esse, qui Deos ipsos aut Templorum ornatum spoliarent; sed eos maxime, qui Deorum ministros & praedones contumeliis afficerent*, saith *Amilius Probus*; because, that as our Saviour saith, *He that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me*.

2. The prophaning of the Church, or the abuse of any places consecrated for to be the places of Gods service, is no lesse than *sacrilege*.

3. That

against Sacriledge.

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3. That is *sacriledge*, and he is a *sacrilegious* person, which not only dishonoureth and irreverently useth the *sacred persons*, or prophane the *holy places*, but doth take away any *sacred thing*, or any other thing feloniously, by way of *stealth*, from any *sacred place*; *Quia tale furtum Sacrilegium est*. Because such a theft is termed *sacriledge*; which every other *stealth*, or unjust taking, or detaining of our neighbours goods is not so. *Nam undecunque tollere, non est Sacrilegium committere*; for all *stealth*, and every unjust taking away of goods, is not *sacriledge*; but he that taketh away any thing that is *sacred*, or consecrated and dedicated for the service of God, is a robber of God, and a *sacrilegious* person, saith S. *Augustine*; and so S. *Hierom* saith, *Anico rapere furtum est, sed Ecclesiam fraudare Sacrilegium est*. To steal and take away the goods of our friend or neighbour, is *theft*; but to take away the goods, or to defraud or cheat the Church of Christ of any thing that belongs unto the Church, is *Sacriledge*: Yea, *voluntas sola quoad ecclesiam puniatur*. As he that looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed *Adultery*, and as the intention of *Treason* against the King is *Treason*; So he that hath a *will* and a *sacrilegious intent*, or but an itching desire, to defraud the Church, is a *sacrilegious* person, and shall no wayes escape unpunished.

3. Way, against sacred things.
1. Sacraments.
2. Vessels.
3. Ornaments.
4. Goods. (1.) Lands, Houses, &c.

Augustine super Johan. & habetur. 23. q. 4.
Sacriledge, how different from Theft.
Hierom. Ep. 34.

And here I will briefly examine Doctor *Burges* his Description of *Sacriledge*, whereby he would fain prove, That the taking away, or selling of the Donations of holy men unto Christ and his Church, is neither *Sacriledge*; nor *Sin*; especially the Lands of the Cathedral Churches: because, saith he, *Sacriledge is the robbing of God, either by alienating, detaining, purloining, diverting, or perverting, that which is Gods own by Divine right, and therefore due to Christ, and thereby to his Ministers, whether the things be set apart by express Command, or voluntarily given according to Gods special Warrant and Direction*: But, saith he, The Lands given to the Bishops and Cathedrals, are not Commanded by God to be given, neither had the Givers any *special Warrant* or *Direction* from God to bestow them: therefore no *Sacriledge* nor *sin* to take them away.

Doctor *Burges* his Description of *Sacriledge*, and his inference thereupon discussed; and the iniquity thereof plainly shewed.

Page 8.

Where I beseech you to observe;

1. The error and mistake of the man; for I need not have any *special Warrant* to do that which God gives a *Generall allowance* for any man to do.

1. The ignorance of Doctor *Burges*.

2. Mark the malice and the madnesse of the man against the Bishops, and the Cathedral Lands; for he would perswade you to believe, that these were not given according to Gods will, but without his *Warrant* and *Direction*: But I have, and shall shew unto you, That those *holy men*, which vowed and dedicated them to God, gave them not only for the proper use of the Bishops, to make themselves, like *Dives*, to be clothed in *Scarlet*, and to fare deliciously every day, and to make their wives like *Ladies*, and their children *great* in this world: but they bestowed them for these four special ends:

2. The malice of the Doctor against the Bishops.

1. To maintain the Bishops and their families in a *fair* and competent manner, and to furnish themselves with those *necessaries* whereby they might be *enabled* to preach and publish the *Gospel* of Christ every way, by words, writing, and printing it unto his people.

The special ends for which the lands were given to the Bishops and Cathedrals; which being taken away, alienated, and sold, these services of God cannot be performed. Whereby you may perceive the great dishonor that is done to God by this *Sacriledge*.

2. To edifice, repair, and beautifie, *Synagogues*, *Temples*, and *Churches*, for the people of God to meet in, to serve God, and to be instructed in the *Faith* and *Doctrine* of Christ.

3. To relieve the *poor*, clothe the *naked*, feed the *hungry*, help the *fatherlesse* and *widows*, and the like.

4. To keep *hospitallity*, to relieve *Strangers*, to redeem *Captives*, and to do other works of *piety* and *charity*, which the Bishops in their wisdoms shall

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shall think fit and requisite to be done, according to the will and good pleasure of God: And the Bishops are but intrusted as Gods Stewards to see these things faithfully discharged.

And I would gladly understand, Was it ignorance or malice, in this fellow, to amuse and stagger the simple Readers of his Pamphlet, and to make them doubt, whether Lands given to Cathedrals, to these ends, and for these purposes, have any allowance from God, and Warrant to be agreeable to his will? when as all men know how often and how earnestly God commandeth all and every one of these things to be done: especially considering that his Grand Master, Cartwright, confesseth, That now in the time of the Gospel, whatsoever is either established by Law, or conferred by man's liberality for the uses of Gods service, is all to be accounted sacred or holy; and for this cause, both the taking away of the whole, or the diminishing of any part of such holy things, is sacrilege condemned in Deut. 23. 21, 22, 23. and never any honest man said otherwise.

And this sin of Sacrilege, being so abominable, and so hateful in the sight of God, it must needs be plagued with intolerable punishments: and no marvel; for as Q. Curtius saith, Cum diis pugnant sacrilegi, The sacrilegious persons do fight and wage war with God himself, and by all means seek to deprive him of his honour and service: And as Lucan saith,

Quis enim laesos impunè putaret
Esse deos?

Who can imagine that sacrilegious persons shall escape unpunished? For if the gods should not revenge their own wrongs, Who should do it? saith the Heathen Poet: but they that were the Idols of the Heathens have done it among the Gentiles, and the true God will do it among the Christians: For as Juvenal saith,

Juvenal Saty.
10. 4.

Nemo malus felix, minime corruptor & idem
Incestus, cum quo nuper vittata jacebat
Sanguine adhuc vivo terram subitura sacerdos.

Gods usuall
dealing with
men,

The sacrilegious Nuns were to be interr'd, and thrown alive into the pit. And this is the usual course and practice of God, to cause those that by the sweet promises of his mercies cannot be allured to pay their duties unto his Church, and to use a good conscience, to be frighted from robbing and abusing his Church, by the terror of his most fearful vengeance executed upon the like offenders; that such as will not be led by his mercies, might be drawn by his judgements: Because that, as

Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore.

Good men will not wrong the Church, for the love of God; So many times,

Oderunt peccare mali formidine pœne.

2 Sam. 10.

Many evil men, at least not very good, will forbear to rob and destroy the Church for fear of the punishment of Church-robbers. And therefore as Absalom, when he could not by promises and persuasions win Joab to be of his side; by firing his barley-fields, he forced him to do what he pleased: So, when the still and sweet voice of God can do no good to make Jonab to obey the Lord's command, a tempestuous whirl-wind, tumbling him to the bottom of the Sea, will bring him back to his obedience. So it may be when

when the promising of Gods blessings can work no Reformation, nor get any satisfaction for wrongs done unto the Church; Gods coming to visit them with the Rod, and to whip their Sacriledge with scourges, to fill their faces with shame and confusion, and to give them *fire and brimstone, storm and tempest* to be their portion to drink, may a little frighten the sacrilegious Scoundrels, from laying an insupportable weight of miseries, or committing a most intolerable Sacriledge against the Church of Christ.

Therefore, I thought good, to shew unto all sacrilegious persons, That as the Lords mouth hath very often, and very *truly* spoken against this sin of Sacriledge: So the Lords hand hath neither *slighted*, nor seldom strucken it; and that very few men have fostered Sacriledge in their hearts, and laid hold of it with their hands, but they have also borne and felt heavy judgements upon their backs, either in this life, or in that which is to come.

As the Sacriledge of Achan was the Beesom that swept away the whole House of Achan, and the Axe that hath cut down both him and all his posterity in one day: So the Sacriledge of Gehazi, that would needs have Silver and Rayment from Naaman, for the favour, that his Master had done unto him, was the Porter that brought the incurable loathsome scab of Leprosie upon him, and upon all his seed for ever. And so the Sacriledge of Sishak, King of Egypt, that came up against Hierusalem, and took away the Treasures of the House of the Lord; and the Treasures of the Kings House, and the Shields of Gold that Solomon had made, was sufficiently recompensed by the Thracians, that invaded, subdued, and harassed, all his Dominions. So likewise, the Sacriledge of Jotham King of Israel, that drew a great booty out of Gods Temple, brought such a vengeance upon him, as ended his accursed life with deadly poison. And Sennacherib that came with a full intent to rob and plunder the Lords House in the dayes of Hezekiah, was sent home with a book in his nose, and a bridle in his lips, by the same way that became: And, as if this was not punishment enough for emptying the Lords Exchequer, and his purpose to take away all the Treasure of the Temple; not long after his arrival home, his own son Adramelec and Sarezer, slew him in the Temple of his god Nisrech. And Belshazzars Sacriledge, in abusing the holy vessels of Gods House, that his father had taken away from the Temple, was well enough recompensed, as you find in Dan. 5. 31. These things are Registered in the Holy Scriptures.

And it is recorded in the Gentile-Writers, how that the Grecians, which of all others formerly were most Victorious; yet after they had once become sacrilegious, and offered violence to the Temple of Pallat, they lost all their hope, and never thrived any more. For so Virgil saith,

*Corripuere sacrum Effigiem, manibusque cruentis
Virgineas ausi divæ contingere vittas.*

And thereupon he inferreth, what I do now inforce, and what Carule feareth down more generally:

*Ex illo fluere, ac retro dilapsa refertur
Spei Donadum*

They ever slid and slipt and failed; after that impious Tydides, scelerum-
que inventor Ulysses, and Ulysses the inventor of mischiefs, had taken away the Palladium, and killed the Ministers of the Temple. And so Ju-
stin saith, That Philomenes, a most brave and valiant Captain, after he be-

the sacrilegious
persons

The punish-
ment of Sacri-
legious per-
sons.

Josh. 7.
2 Reg. 9.

1 Reg. 14. 15.
26.

2 Reg. 14. 14.

2 Reg. 19. 37.

Dan. 5. 31.

Virgil. l. 34.

Justin. i. 1. 4.

came

came *Sacrilegius*, *Primus inter confertissimos dimicans*, cecidit, Fighting first amongst the most excellent souldiers, he was killed; and so, saith mine Author, *Sacrilegii penus impio sanguine lunt*, he paid for his *Sacriledge* with his ungodly blood; and let other *Sacrilegious* Capains and Souldiers fear the like fate. *Laetantius* also reporteth how *Fulvius*, the Censor, for taking away *Marmoreas tegulas*, Marble-tiles from the Temple of *Juno Lacina*, as the long-Parliament men took away the Tiles of the Cathedral Church of *St. Kenys*; And *Appius Clandius* for alienating things dedicated to *Hercules*, were most miserably plagued by the gods; the one lost both his ears, and the other was distracted of his wits: a heavy punishment therefore for no leight sin, you may be sure.

But the time would be too long, and my papers too short for me to declare at large unto you, what *Anulus Gellius* setteth down, how that when *Quintus Cepio* the Consul had taken and spoiled the Town of *Tolouse* in *France*, and found there very much gold in the Churches and Temples of that City; it so fell out by the just judgment of God, that whosoever laid hands or lightly touched the gold that was taken in that spoil, *miseris crudibilique exitu perivit*, saith mine Author, he perished most miserably; so that it grew to be a proverb among all Nations, when any generall plague and grievous destruction happened for any sin, it was *Sicut aurum Tolosanum*, like the gold of *Tolouse*, that destroyed all that meddled with it: Or to shew unto you, how *Pyrrhus* and all his men were drowned for robbing the Treasury of *Proserpina*; Or of the 400 souldiers of King *Xerxes*, that were burnt with thunder and lightning; just as they were spoiling the Temple of *Delphos*; Or of *Brennius*, that ever before was most victorious and had sacked *Rome*, but had his whole Army most miserably spoiled after the ransacking of the same Temple, *Et Dei voluntate in se manus vertit*, as *Valerius Max.* saith. Or of the *Scythians*, that were most miserably plagued with many and most grievous diseases, called *Enaeas*, that is execrable and accursed, for their *Sacriledge* in sacking the Temple of *Venus Urania*. Or of *Alexander* the great; that, for abusing the consecrated vessels of *Hercules*, in the very same City, and in the self same manner, as *Balthazar* had abused the vessels of Gods Temple in *Jerusalem*, before him; was so suddenly stricken in the midst of his banquet, even as he was drinking, that he groaned and cried out so as if he had been shot with a most deadly dart. Or of *Antiochus Epiphaneis*, that died most miserably, and at his death confessed it was for his sin of *Sacriledge*, because he had taken away the vessels of gold and the vessels of silver, that were in the Church and House of God in *Jerusalem*, 1 Mach. 6. Or of *Heliodorus*, that being sent to rob the Temple, there appeared unto him two men, sent from Heaven, which whipped him continually so long and so much, that he fell down in the Temple, and there lay groveling and destitute of all help, untill at the request of his souldiers, the Priests of God prayed for him: Or of *Pompeius Magnus*, who is noted by *Titus Livius* and *Cicero*, to be one of the most fortunate and most successfull Souldiers in the World; yet after he had robbed the Temple of the Lord in *Jerusalem*, and spoiled those sacred things, that belonged unto the Church, he never prospered; but, *sicut unda supervenit undam*, as one wave followeth after another, so ill successes, losses, and misfortunes followed and succeeded one after another to him, untill at last he made an end of an unhappy life by a miserable death, when he was most perfidiously slain by *Achilles*: Or of *Ananias* and *Sappira* who, because they did secretly withhold some part of that, which they had voluntarily once resolved to dedicate for Gods service, and the maintenance of his servants, they were presently stricken with sudden death: Or, if I should speak of many more, whose tragicall ends *Eusebins*, *Josephus*

Laetant. de origine error.
c. 4. & c. 8.

Anulus Gell.
no. 8. *Attic.*
l. 3. c. 2.

Val. Max. l. 1.
c. 2.

Vide Theat.
judicii divini
p. 439.

Herodotus l. 1.
p. 41. *Agl. fol.*
33. 2. p.

Dan. 5. 2. 3. 4.

2. Curtius.
l. 10. p. 415.

Mach. 2. 3.

against Sacriledge.

9

phus and other writers both Ecclesiasticall and prophane have set down, we shall find, that whatsoever they got and pillaged from the Church and Temples of the gods, it is like aurum Tolossanum, the gold of Tolossa, the which whosoever touched did most miserably perish, as I shewed to you before; for it fares with them as it did of old with the Eagle, whereof the Christian Poet saith,

Aulus Gellius
l. 3. c. 9.
Sacrum sacrove
commendatum
qui dempserit
rapuerit, par-
ricida estor.

*Victima sacra Deo comburitur, abripit offam
Hinc aquila, ad pullos fertque benigna suos.
Fatali igniculus prede imperceptus adhaesit,
Sacrilegaque sacer devorat ignis opes.*

The which my Countrey-man thus excellently translates;

The sacred Offering broyles the Eagle spies,
A gobb she lurcht, and to her young she flies:
A spark unseen lurke in the fatall stealth,
Besir'd her nest, and burnt up all her wealth.

Roberts in his
book of tythol.

And so the gain of a little, unjustly gotten; proved to be the los of all that she might justly have enjoyed,

*Sic metuat quicunque Dei violare ministros
Et sacras audet despoliare domos.*

So let him fear who e're he be that dare
Purloyn God's tribute, and the Churches share,

And, as the best Poet, in the best Verse of all his works, by the testimo-
ny of Apollo his Oracle, saith

Discite iustitiam moniti, & non temnere divos.

Virgil. Aeneid.
l. 6. v. 32.

The sacrilegious persons were best to learn to be just, and not to despise the gods, and spoile the goods, that are dedicated to their service; because, as Seneca saith, *Sacrilegi dant panem, quamvis nemo usque ad Deos manus porri- gat;* the sacrilegious persons and robbers of the Church-righes shall never escape unpunished, though no man should lift up his hands and cry to the gods against them, as it appeareth sufficiently by the examples before cited.

Seneca de bene-
fic. l. 5. c. 12.

But it may be some will say, they were no gods whose examples you fore- cited, and their Temples were no Churches, nor houses of the true God, but of mortall wicked men and women, whom the Gentiles, that knew not God, deified and adored them for gods; and therefore that could be no sacriledge, to take away things dedicated to Idols, and consecrated for the service of Devils, and not of God; and their punishment, for whatsoever it was, was not, and could not be supposed to be for sacriledge, when as the robbing of those Temples and those false gods cannot be said to be sacri- ledge: Which is *rei sacra violatio*, as I said before.

Obj.

I answer, That, as St. Paul would not have the Christians to eat of that which is offered in Sacrifice unto Idols, because it was consecrated for the Idol, and so dedicated to the false god, which the Apostle saith was none other then the Devil, vers. 20. whom notwithstanding they deemed and worshipped for the true God; So Lactantius saith that the true God would not have those things, that belonged any waies to any, taken for a deity, though

Sol.

1 Cor. 10. 28.

The Temples

of the false

gods not to be

violated, and

why.

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though they were but false gods, and no gods, but only supposed deities, as all those aforementioned were supposed and believed to be by the Gentiles to be any waies profaned and abused by wicked men, especially by those, that took those idols to be gods, as all those sacrilegious persons afore-named, Tydides, Ulysses, Philomenes, Fulvius, Appius, Cepio, and the rest, took *Pallas, Venus, Juno, Jupiter, Apollo*, and the like, for their gods and goddesses to be worshipped; therefore, whatsoever the robbing of those Temples had been unto the Christians, that knew them to be the houses of Devils and not of God; yet, to these men, and to all others, that believed them to be gods, the robbing of them and their Temples, could be judged no less then Sacrilege; and therefore that they ought to suffer the just and severe punishment of Sacrilege: And besides, God would not suffer these men to escape the hands of justice for their Sacrilege, and the spoiling of these false gods, lest that by the like robbers, his own Church and servants might be oppressed and spoiled, as they are in many places under this pretence, that our Churches are not the Houses of God, nor we the true servants of Jesus Christ.

But let these men take heed, lest the like judgments fall on them, as have befallen on the like Sacrilegious persons; for God is still the same, and hath still the same care of his service and servants: and I have heard his name, that, riding through Saint Pauls Church yard, in the daies of King Henry the 8th. looked up towards the top of the Church, and said, *I hope I shall see that lead turned into silver and gold into my purse, ere it be long.* And a poor woman said, *I hope, I shall see thee hanged first.* A rash speech, and a harsh hope; yet, it happened right; for within a few years after, the gentleman was executed and ended his life at Tiburn; and Saint Pauls Church stands yet unbestripped of her cloathing: *Sic pereant inimici tui Domine*; So let all thine enemies perish, O God, that say unto themselves, *let us take the Houses of God in possession*; make them (O Lord) like *Oreb and Zeb*, and like unto the dung of the earth, as the Holy Prophet speaketh.

A true story
very remarkable.

Pl. 74. 10, 11.

In the life of
St. Elzear.
p. 26.

And I say to these Sacrilegious persons as the holy woman Delphina said to her husband Saint Elzear, Count of Sabran, *Take heed that you attempt not to lay your hands on that which is vowed to God; or dedicated to his service: because God will not be mocked, he cannot endure to be robbed, or suffer his service to be prejudiced and abated, by taking away the means that should maintain it; but he will punish them, and powre down vengeance upon the heads both of them and of their posterity, that take away the Lands, Houses, and Possessions of the Church, that were vowed and dedicated to Jesus Christ to relieve his members, and to uphold his service: as you may well understand, if you do but consider it by that memorable example of * William, Earl Marshall of this Kingdom of Ireland; who, when he had appeased the Rebellion, that then rose in his time, took a great deal of the lands of the Church into his own hands; and the Bishop, because he would not restore it unto the Church, excommunicated him for the same, and he went to the King and complained; but before the Bishop could come to his answer he died, and was buried in that Excommunicated estate; yet, his son entreated the King to cause the Bishop to absolve him, which he did conditionally, that his son would restore those lands unto the Church, which the son denying, God denied his blessing to his posterity, that there is not one heir Male of him left upon the face of the earth, to enjoy those lands, that he Sacrilegiously took away from the Church.*

* As I remember.
Dr. Hammer in
the History of
Ireland.

Neither do I see, how it can be otherwise; for the very Heathens that had not the knowledge of Gods laws, nor of Jesus Christ, could say, that

Vulgo

against Sacriledge:

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vulgo creditum est, it was generally by all men believed; some fatal and fearfull punishment must needs be imminent to that man; *qui sacris rebus ac Deo dicatis manus injiceret*, aut qui pios homines, aut certe fangentes sacri ministerii, oppugnet; which should lay his hands to take away any sacred thing, or offer any injury to any godly man, or oppose and wrong them especially that administer holy things: and to that end, to confirm this truth they did proverbially recite that Homericall distich,

"Ὅπποτ' ἀνὴρ ἐθέλει πρὸς δαίμονα φῶτα μάχασθαι,
Ὅντε διδὸς πῦρ, τὰ χαεὶ μέγα πῦρ καυλῶσθαι."

Homer Il. 9.

Which in effect, signifieth thus much, that, although God wisheth well to every man, and takes no pleasure in the destruction of his Creatures, which he made, that they might have their being, and be happy; if they did not offend; yet, if any man will be so wicked, as by his Sacrilegious doings, to strive with God, to despise his maker, and to spoil his servants, whom God wisheth well unto; then certainly, *damnum huic imminet ingens*; a mighty mischief, and some fearfull evil doth hang over such a mans head, and he shall not escape it.

Cum divo certare viro simul atq. capiti quis, Cuiq. deus bene vult; damnum certe huic imminet ingens. Pro mensuræ delicti, erit plagarum modus.

And therefore, let all men take heed and beware of Sacriledge, for though it may seem a sweet spoil; yet, it will prove at last to be as pernicious, as *Achan's* wedge, or as fatal as *Turnus* his luckless belt, that bereaved him of his life, which otherwise, he might have enjoyed, and have received pardon; when Christ, beholding the stolen cognizance of his beloved spouse, shall take away his mercy, and shut up his loving kindness in displeasure, (which otherwise he would have graciously shewed); and shall adde some further vengeance, saying, as *Aeneas* did to *Turnus*, when he beheld the belt,

Joh. 7. 24.

————— *Pallas te hoc vulnere, pallas*
Immolat, & panam scelero ex sanguine sumit.

Infelix humero cum apparuit ingens, Balcens, & notis fulserunt cingula bullis Pallantis pueri
Virgil. l. 12.

This is laid on thee for thy Sacriledge, one torture more for that; for I would heartily wish, that all Sacrilegious persons Lords, Souldiers, Knights, or Gentlemen, would diligently mark and weigh, and never forget the manner of Christ his behaviour, when he came into the Temple, how different it was from his usual carriage at all other times; for he that was the Instrument of Mercy, and descended from Heaven, *cum amore, non flagello*, and came to pardon, and not to punish; yet he, that was so ready, and so willing and well-pleased to pardon Theeves, Adulterers, and other wicked nefarious fellows, and called all such as were weary and heavy laden with the burden of their sins, and promised that he would ease them; When he saw how his Sanctuary was abused, by those sacrilegious Merchants that bought and sold therein, He puts on Justice and Severity; and as it appears, more angrily than ever he seemed to be, while he walked here on earth, tumbled down the tables of those Money-changers, and the violators of holy things, and chased them with a whip-cord, both from Himself, and from his Temple: And he tells them the reason why he was so exceedingly angry, which was, because they had so highly, and so vildly transgressed, in making his House, which was the House of prayer, to become, by their sacriledge, a den of Theeves. O consider this, all ye that commit Sacriledge, and forget God; lest he tear you in pieces, while there is none to help you. And you that are brave Souldiers, and commit Sacriledge, consider also, what *Charles the Great*, that was as great, and as brave a Souldier, as any that was in the World in his dayes, saith to you

Joh. 2. 14.

Math. 12. 10.

A Declaration

Verba Caroli
Magni, in ca-
pital. Catul. tit.
7. c. 104.

The Earl of
Straffords
speech at his
death.

all: *Novimus multa regna & reges eorum propterea cecidisse, quia Ecclesias spoliaverunt, resque earum vastaverunt, alienaverunt vel diripuerunt; Episcopisque & Sacerdotibus, atque, quod majus est, Ecclesias eorum abstulerunt & pugnantes dederunt; quapropter nec fortes in bello, nec in fide stabiles fuerunt, nec victores extiterunt, sed terga multi vulnerati & plures interfecti viderunt, regnaque & regiones, & quod pejus est regna caelestia perdiderunt, atque propriis hereditatibus caruerunt & haerentibus carent.* And it will be worth your labour, to remember, what commands that wise and strenuous Earl of Strafford delivered for his children, (i.e.) to his son William Wentworth, commends himself, Gives him charge, to serve his God, to submit to his King, with all faith and allegiance in things temporal, to the Church in things spiritual; Gives him charge, as he will answer it to him in Heaven, never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church, for it will be the canker that will eat up the rest of his estate: Again, chargeth him, as he will answer him in Heaven, never to meddle with it.

bernard Epist.
221.

Vid. Uticen. de
Hist. Vandala-
rum. l. 1.

Pfal.
Polycrat. l. 7. c.
21. Sripendum
militum, dispen-
dium innocen-
tium.

And yet notwithstanding all the sayings and persuasions of wise men, and the severe punishments threatned against all, and executed upon so many sacrilegious persons, as we read of in all Histories; we find, as S. Bernard saith, The houses of the Bishops, and the Revenues of Gods servants, have, against all Law and Right, been heretofore given to Souldiers, and others, that were Rebels, to be inhabited. And as *Vidior Uticensis* saith, The richest Robes and Furnitures of the Church and Church-ministers, were taken to make shirts and breeches for wicked and most bloody men: And the Church it self, which is *Domus orationis*, the House of prayer, the House of God, and the place where his Honour dwelleth, to be made *Stabulum opilionis*, a store-house for the wool, and a stable for the horses of the Church-robbers: as *Johannes Sarisbur*, saith,

And have we not seen all this, and much more done, now of late, during the reign of the Great Antichrist, the long Parliament, and that vile Usurper *Cromwells* time? Nay, Have I not my self seen, the Chancel of a Church made a kitchen to dress meat in it? and the Church it self an *Ale-house*, to intertain Drunkards; and the children digging up their fathers bones out of their Sepulchres? Which *Suidas* calleth *παρανομία*, The removing of such things, that should by no means be removed. Let the lamentable and most shameful devastation, throwing down of Tombs, and digging up of Sepulchres of the most stately, and formerly beautiful Cathedral-Church of *Kilkenny*, and the dilacerating of the Bishops Lands, and distributing it among the Souldiers, that still detain it from the Church to this very day, and the greedy desire of the Souldiers to take more and more from it, be a witness of the Sacrilege of these times.

And yet, as *Dionysius Senior*, that Arch-robber of Temples, when he had taken away the Golden beard of *Aesculapius*, said, It was unfit that *Apollo* should be without a beard, and *Aesculapius* his son to have one; when, according to the Gentiles divinity, they feigned *Apollo* beardless, and *Aesculapius* with a long grave beard, because every good Physician should be a man of great experience, and of much knowledge in many things. And when he took away the golden Coat from *Jupiter Olympius*, and instead thereof bestowed upon him a wollen cloak, he said, That a golden Coat was too heavy for the Summer, and too cold for Winter; but his cloath Coat would fit both times far better. And so when he spoiled the Temple of *Proserpina*, and immediatly after had a very prosperous wind for his Navy to sail wihal, he jeeringly said, *Voussee what a prosperous sail the gods do grant to sacrilegious persons*: thereby signifying, that either he believed, that there was no god, or that god cared not what Sacrilege should be committed; and yet he thrived and prospered in all his wicked courses.

Vide Valer.
Max. l. 1. c. 2.
de Potitio non
observante sa-
era. &c.
Justin. l. 21.

courtes. Even so our Church-robbers do spend their dayes in *wreath*, and pass their times in *pleasure*, and their seed seemeth to be established after them; and therefore thinking themselves sure, and their *Sacriledge* to be no sin, and so neither caring for Gods Service, nor fearing any of Gods *threatnings*, nor regarding the *examples* of Gods vengeance, executed for *lesse Sacriledge*, they go on in their purposes, to devise new sleights, and by a strong hand, and great friends, to rob Gods Church, and to impoverish his *servants*, by taking away their lands, houses, and possessions from them, and threatening them, if once they dare say, that this their doings is any *Sacriledge*, or any wayes amiss.

Et hoc modo sacrilegia minus puniuntur, magna vero in triumphis feruntur. Ut ait Seneca Epist. 87.

And thus, as the Harlot commits *Adultery*, and then wipes her mouth and is clean; so these men commit this horrible sin, and prospering in the world, they think themselves safe and free from all blame. But I will answer these men with holy *Job*, that it is very true, that many times the *tabernacles of robbers do prosper*, and wicked men continue rich, as the rich *Gittion* did to his dying day: their Bull gendereth and faileth not, their Cow calveth and casteth not her Calf, they send forth their little ones like a flock, and their children dance; they take the Timbrell and Harp, and rejoyce at the sound of the Organ; and so they spend their dayes in mirth, and have all the felicity that this world can afford them; health, wealth, honour, and prosperity. And the Prophet *David*, speaking of the same kind of people, saith, They are inclosed in their own fat, and their mouth speaketh proud things, they have children at their desire, and they leave the rest of their substance for their babes. And in another place he saith, They are in no peril of death, but are lusty and strong, and are victorious over their enemies; Yea, they come in no misfortune like other folk, neither are they plagued like other men; but their eyes swell with fatness, and they do even what they list; Lo, these are the ungodly, these prosper in the world, and these have riches, Yea, and our lands and houses, even the lands of the poor innocents, that never offended, in possession. And so you see, how many times, the most wicked worldlings, hypocrites, idolaters, and sacrilegious persons, may have exemption and freedom from all evil, for they come in no misfortune like other folk; and may have an accumulation of all good things; for they prosper in themselves, in their off-spring, and in their fortunes. And the experience of all times, and especially of our own time, in what we see, doth make this plain unto us, that for a time they do, and may prosper.

Job 12. 8. &c. 21. vers. 8, 9; 10; 11; 12, 13.

Psal. 17. 10, 14.

Psal. 73. 45, 73.

But do you think, that this prosperity in their wickedness is any happiness unto them? No sure, it is the heaviest judgement that could fall upon them, to be freed from punishments, when they have so highly transgressed Gods Commandments; because, all this time of their flourishing prosperity, God forgets not their impiety, but hath it sealed up among his treasures, and remits not their punishment, but transfers it to another time: When, as the usurer makes his debtor pay dear for his forbearance, so these transcendent offenders shall reap no benefit by Gods patience, unless that brings them to repentance: But, as it had been far better for *Dives* to have had his punishment in this life, than to be here in perpetual happiness for a short time, and after that, to be eternally tormented: So it were far better for Murderers, Oppressors, and Church-robbers, to have their punishment in this life, than pay so dear for the use of their prosperity, and the defetting of their just deserved punishment for the life to come.

The prosperity of the wicked a most heavy judgement of God.

And therefore we ought to distinguish, and to put a difference as *Hesiod* saith, betwixt *χρηματα ἐκ ἀπαιτίας*, and *χρηματα δωροῦ*: that is riches and possessions taken by violence, and riches given by Gods benevolence. And as another saith, *δὲς ἀγαθὸ ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ δαπάνη δόρυκα*; It is good to be

Hesiodus, l. i.

Aldus. Embl. 112. pag. 451.

rich

A Declaration

rich by Gods gift, that needs not fear Gods curse; But it is *very evil*, to grow great, and to become rich by *rapine*, and snatching goods and lands from God and man; for that shall never escape the just deserved punishment: And therefore *Euripides* saith,

Ἀδικῶς δὲ μὴ κτῶ χρεῖματ', ὅν βέλη πολὺν
χρόνον μελ' ἄθροισ ἔμηνον τὸ Ν' ἄδικῶς
δοῦν ἐπὶ λαοῖς τ' ἐν ἔχθρῳ ποιεῖν.

Glossa ordinat:
in Job 12.

Quia saepe Deus
hic parcat, ut
illic seuiat.

De male qua-
sitis vix gau-
det tertius
heres.

Petrus Blesen-
sis Epist. 10.

That is in effect, Procure not to thy self any *wealth*, by any *unjust* means, if thou wouldst have them to *continue* with thee without punishment; because that whosoever thou gatherest *unjustly* and bringest to thy house *wrongfully*, either from God or man, Prince or peasant, it can not be safe; Yea, though thou shouldst seem for a *long time* to be in peace and free from all danger; for, as *Optatus* saith against the *Donatists*, *An quia cessat talis modo vindicta, ideo tibi cum tuis vindicas innocentiam?* Are you therefore *innocent*; because God doth not *presently* punish you? so may I say to all *Sacrilegious* persons, and to all other *oppressors* and unjust men whatsoever; Do you think your selves *happy*, and free from all blame and deserve no punishment, because you do enjoy your *spoils* and Church-goods or lands peaceably? by no means: *Quia aliud misericorditer dat Deus, aliud habere finit iratus*, because it is one thing when God bestoweth *Wealth*, *Honours*, and *Lands* upon us in *mercy*, and out of his love to us; and it is another thing when he *suffereth* us to enjoy them, when he is *angry*, and most wrathfully displeased with us; and though we may and ought to be *glad* and *rejoyce* for the one, yet ought we to be *sad* and *sorrowfull* for the others; because all the *wealth* in the *World* is not *answerable* to the *wrath* of God, but I had rather be a *beggar* with his love, then to possess the *wealth* of *Crasus* and the *honours* of *Augustus* with his *anger*; and *angry* he must needs be with them, that take away the *Lands* and *Houses* of his *servants*, that *serve* him at his *Altar*; whereby they are *disabled*, either to *serve* him, or to *teach* his people, which must therefore *perish*, because thou doest *rob* the Church, and unjustly take away that, which is none of thine; for seeing, as *S. Augustine* saith, *Hoc jure possidetur quod justè, & hoc justè quod bene*; igitur omne quod malè possidetur alienum est; That is *rightly* possessed, which is *justly* gotten; and that is *justly* gotten, which is *well* gotten, without fraud without violence; therefore all whatsoever is *naughtily* gotten, that is *unjustly* possessed, and is none of thine; and whatsoever we do *bold* and enjoy, that is none of our own, though we should possess it never so long, and enjoy it never so *peaceably* without punishment, and without being once questioned for it; yet at last, the *just God*, that useth to bear with offences long, will require a *strict account* for our *unjust* taking, and *more* unjust detaining thereof; and he will then recompense his long forbearance with *severity* of vengeance, and our punishment shall be the *forer* in the next life, because that, like *Dives*, we have escaped all punishment in this life. And for those lands and goods thus *sacrilegiously* gotten, and *unjustly* possessed, we may truly say, That his *posterity*, for whose enriching he underwent the *wrath* of God, shall not likely enjoy them long. But as the *Ark* of God, when it was taken from the *Levites*, could find no resting place among the *Philistines*, but was removed from *Asdod* to *Gath*, and from *Gath* to *Ekron*, and so from one place to another, till it came to its own proper place; so God may deal, and commonly doth use to deal, with them that take away the goods, lands, and houses of his Church, *Que malignè contraxit pater, peiori luxu refundet filius*. That which the father

father hath sacrilegiously snatched, and most wickedly scraped together, the son, or at least the grand-child, shall as loosely scatter it abroad; and so it shall passe and repasse from one to another, until it be far enough from him and his, for whom it was at first collected: and the sacrilegious father shall gain nothing by his wicked sacriledge, but the wrath and judgement of God against himself, and the curse of God to remain upon his posterity: because God hath threatened, to visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate him: and I think none hates him, if the sacrilegious persons love him; that do both rob, and as I shewed before, war against him.

And were it not that I am loath to disgrace the present posterity of sacrilegious parents, I could shew you many more instances in England, that as the Lord saith, to utter violence, since the time of Henry the Eighth, hath been the very sin of Sacriledge.

CHAP. III.

The divers sorts and kinds of Sacrilegious persons: And first, of those that do it under colour of Law, and upon the pretence of Reformation, whereby they suppose their Sacriledge to be no Sacriledge at all.

BUT having heard of the odiousness, and punishment of this horrible sin of Sacriledge, we may do well to take notice of the divers kinds of sacrilegious persons; and I find them specially to be of two sorts.

- That is {
1. They that do it under the colour of Law, and upon pretences of Reformation of the Church, and abuses crept into the Church.
 2. They that do it against all Law, without any colour of right, and to the rooting out of all Piety and Religion.

1. It is reported, that when *Constantine* became a Christian, and had endowed the Church of Christ with large Revenues, a voice was heard from Heaven, saying, *Hodit venenum intravit in Ecclesiam*; This day is poison poured out into the Church, which was indeed from Hell, when the envious man, that holds it for a Maxim, *Quod non oportet Christum discere*; That Christ which was born poor, should not become rich: and much less, should the servants become wealthy, when the Master is alwayes poor. But he might have as well said, This day is honey entered into the Church; for, as of wealth, if you have too much, it may prejudice you: so of honey, if you eat too much, it will make you to vomit, saith Solomon: When as a competency of either, may do much good, and no hurt: but his poison is alwayes bad, and seldom doth any good, unlesse it be very well and wisely tempered with good ingredients. But howsoever, so it happened to the Church, and to the servants of Christ, that the world and worldly men said, how easily I cannot judge, This wealth and promotion, brought ease, and pride and luxury amongst them; which might be so to some of them, but questionable not to all, nor to most of them: yethowever, as swelling waters, when they are at the biggest, must needs fall and be scattered; so say the men that either envied at the Prosperity of the Church, or desired the Reformation of what they conceived amiss, This poison must be purged; or the Church vomited, before the Church could be healed of her infective tumours, or the Clergy cleansed from their pride, and luxury. And therefore all Antidotes must be sought, and a Remedy must be found, to allay that evil, which the Good abused had produced forth: but how this should be done, the Physicians, either through ignorance knew not, or through error and malice to the Church and Church-men, would not know, what was best, for the good of the

2. Sorts of sacrilegious persons.

1. Legal sacrilegious persons
How they say
Poison entered into the Church; and how it is now cured.

Prov. 25. 16.

the Church, or the *Glory* of God, and the propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, but what through *Pride*, *Ambition*, and *Covetousness*, they thought best and most available for themselves.

And therefore, as the *Manichees* condemned all *Christianity*, because there were some evil men, that went under the name of *Christians*; to whom *Saint Augustine* answereth, that if their malice did not blind them, they might have seen wheat as well as chaffe upon the floor of Gods Church; so might the *Reformers* have seen many pious *Bishops*, and other famous *Clergy-men* that had done very many good deeds, erecting *Colledges*, building *Churches* and *Hospitals*, and relieving many of the members of Christ, with the revenues of the Church, as well as some few proud and ambitious *Prelates*. Or else, as the *Donatists* refused the blessed Sacraments, because some of the *Priests* that administred them were wicked; to whom also, the same *Saint Augustine* answereth, that they must needs erre, when they will violate the Sacraments of God for the sins of men, or refuse his gifts, because they like not the bearers; for who would reject a pretious Jewel sent him from his Majesty, because he liked not the messenger that brought it? Or rather, as *Lycurgus* rooted up all the *Vines* in his Countrey, because he saw many men were made drunk and mad with wine, to whom *Plutarch* answereth, that he might have seen many more good men, without any offence, cherished and refreshed with wine; and therefore he should have rather digged some wells neer unto the *Vines*, to mix the wine with some water, and so to take away the abuse of the wine, and to prevent drunkenness, and not to root up the *Vines*, to deprive the good and sober men from the use and benefit thereof: Even so did the pretended *Reformers* of the Church imitate *Lycurgus* to a hair, rob the Church and left her a beggar, to take away as they said her pride; they did not wash away the stains of her garment, but took her clothes quite away, and left her naked unto the World, in stead of pride for her former glory, to be now ashamed; for her present misery, when she is rather scorned then respected or revered, by all worldlings and the enemies of the Church, as are also both her *Ministers* and her *Children*; whereby they might say with *Alcibiades*,

What the Reformers did in the Usurpers time.

Paupertatem
summis ingenii
obesse, ne pro-
vehantur. I.
Alcibiades. Embl.
And as Juvenal
saith, Nil habet in-
felix paupertas
durius in se,
Quam quod ri-
diculos homines
facit.

Neither

1. G d, nor
 2. Christ, nor
 3. Reason,
- teach us to re-
form abuses, as
Sacrilegious
persons do.

1 Sam. 15.

1 Sam. 31. 35.

1. How God
dealeth with
things that
are abused.

Dextra tenet lapidem, manus altera sustinet alas
Ut me pluma levat, sic grave mergit onus.
Ingenio poteram superas volitare per arces,
Me nisi paupertas invida deprimeret.

But to this we do answer, that neither *God*, which is the God of justice; nor *Christ*, which left his actions for our instructions; nor *ratio sana*, Reason it self, which should guide all wise men, in all their doings; have ever taught us this preposterous course, and most impious lesson, For the abuse of good things, especially in Gods service, to take away the things themselves that should preserve and uphold the service of God.

1. When *Saul* abused his state and his whole Kingdom, *Samuel* saith not, the Lord will annihilate and bring to nought the Kingdom of *Israel*; but he saith, He hath rent thy Kingdom from thee, and he hath given it to thy neighbour which is better then thou. And when *Eli* the Priest, abused his place and neglected his office and the service of God, the Lord saith not, I will cut off the Priest-hood from *Israel*, or I will deface the glory and beauty of it; but, I will cut off thine arm, and the arm of thy Fathers house, and I will raise me up a faithfull Priest, that shall do according to that, which is in mine heart, and in my mind, and I will build him a sure house, and he shall walk before

before mine Anointed for ever. And I would to God the reformers of abuses in Religion would have imitated the doings of God herein, when they can never have a better pattern, that is, to remove those *Bishops or Priests* that do indeed neglect their duties or abuse their Offices; (and not take away the means and maintenances of their places) and put other better, and more carefull men in their rooms: for here you see we are taught, that God doth not, as the Romans did, alter the whole state of their Government for the wickedness of *Tarquinius*, and the rest of their tyrannous Kings, I say God doth not for the sins, either of *Prince or Priest*, change the manner of Government, or abrogate the Priviledges, or lessen the demaines of either Office, but he Translateth the Office with all the dignities and appurtenances to a worthier person, that should bring forth more and better fruits to the glory of God; and I wish King *Henry the 8th.* had done, and all other Kings and Princes would do the like.

Titus Livius
l. 1.

2. When our Saviour found such gross abuses in the Temple, so that they had made the House of God a den of thieves; yea, Sacrilegious thieves; yet he doth not offer to pull down the Temple, and to turn it to Prophane uses, though they had prophaned it; or transfer it to build them houses, as our men do, with the ruines of Gods House; or to take away the lands, tythes, and revenues of those Priests, by whose neglect and default, the Holy Temple became thus grossly abused, either to maintain their lawfull Wars, or to continue their unlawfull delights; but he dealeth better and taketh away the abuse, by driving away the buyers and sellers out of the Temple, and out of the Courts of the Lords House, and overthrowing the tables of the money changers, and the seats of them that sold Doves; and so he restored the House of Prayer to its old use and Pristine Dignity, to be a fit House for Gods service: and so should we restore things abused, to their old and good former use; and not take them to our selves, or give them away to others.

2. How Christ dealt with the Temple when it was prophaned.
Math. 21. 12, 13.

3. Reason it self teacheth us to take this course, and to distinguish betwixt that fault, which proceedeth, *ex natura facti*, out of the nature of the fact, and that which springeth, *ex abusu boni*, from the abuse of that which is good; for if the thing be simply evil, no circumstance, no dispensation can make it good; and therefore it should be wholly rejected and abolished; because, as *Aristotle* saith, *Cujus usus simpliciter malus est, ipsum quodque malum esse, necesse est*; that thing, whose use is simply evil, must needs be likewise evil of it self; but if the fault be not in the thing it self, but adventitious, *in usu agentis*, in the use, or rather in the abuse, of the agent; then certainly the thing it self, as being good, ought to be retained, and the abuse only is to be removed or amended.

3. What Reason teacheth us in this case, of good things abused.

Arist. Topic. 1. Si usus principalis alicujus rei sit mortiferus, mortiferam quoque rem ipsam efficiet.

And therefore the endowing of Gods Church with means to maintain Gods service, or the giving of our goods to the use of Gods Worship, whether it be praying to him, or preaching to his people, or relieving his members; being not only simply good, but also most excellently good, both commanded, and commended by God himself, it is a *Maxime*, even in nature, and confirmed by meer reason, that *Semel Deo dicatum non est ad usus humanos ulterius transferendum*, that which is once given and dedicated for, and to Gods service, which is a service acceptable to God, ought not afterwards by any means be any more transferred to mans uses; because, as *Plato* saith, *Quæ rectè data sunt, eripi non licet*; those things, that are well given, ought not to be taken back again; and because, as the Fathers say, *Bis Dei sunt, quæ sic Dei sunt*; God hath in all dedicated things, that are given to uphold his service, a double right and interest.

Navar. Enchirid. c. 14.

Things once dedicated to God, may not at any time, by any body, be alienated from the Church.

1. As his own Creatures, and gift given to man. And
2. As in a thankfull acknowledgment of Gods goodness, the gift of man back

A Declaration

6. Decret. de
reg. juris.
Plato Phileb.
1 Chron. 29. 14.
Plin. 2. Ep. l. 10.
Epist. 74. 75.

back again to God; which twofold cord tieth them so strong, that *this sin* deserves no less, than the heavy curse of *Anathema*, for any one, not consecrated, to do the service of God, to challenge them and to take them away from Gods service, and the donors first institution; whereupon, not only the Divines but also the Philosophers and Canonists have concluded, that, *Si facta ades sit, licet collapsa sit jam, religio tamen ejus occupavit locum*: If an house be once dedicated to God, though afterwards it should fall down, and be utterly demolished, so that the ruines of it could scarce be seen; yet, the soil and ground of it is still holy and religious, and not to be employed to any civill or prophan uses.

And therefore I say that those men, which have or do or shall, under the colour of Reforming the Church, and the pretence of any law, rob the Church, and deprive either the Bishops or Ministers of their houses, lands, or tythes, or any other portion, which hath been given to the Church, and for the service of God, are Thieves, and Sacrilegious thieves, be they who you will, and their pretences what they will.

Two sorts of
men guilty of
Sacriledge un-
der pretence of
law.

And here I must tell you, that I find two sorts of men, that may be questioned for being guilty of this sin of Sacriledge.

1. The Spirituall-men, the Bishops and other Priests, the Ministers of Gods Church, that have made away the lands, houses, and goods of the Church.

2. The Lay-Princes, Lords, and Gentlemen, and others that take away the goods, lands, and houses of the Church; and all, as both these sorts of men pretend, by the right and benefit of the Law, and therefore no waies offending, and so not to be taxed for any Sacriledge.

But to discuss these points, and to find out the truth, I say, that although the Pope be not the *Antichrist*, the great Antichrist that was expected to come into the Church, as I have fully shewed in my book *de Antichristo*: yet, I doubt not, but that he is *in potentia*, the great Sacrilegw, and the chiefest Sacrilegious person, that ever these Kingdoms saw; as hereafter, I shall more fully declare unto you.

1 Spirituall
men Sacrilegi-
ous, and how.

Next I say, that others, Bishops and Priests especially of his Church, may be as indeed many of them have been, very Sacrilegious, and robbers of the Church of Christ; as when they let out either by Lease or fee-farm, to their children, friends, or for fine, the lands, houses, or any other goods and possessions of the Church, to the loss and prejudice of the Church, and to disfigure their successors, to discharge their duties and the service of God as they ought to do.

Obj.
Rom. 4. 15.

But they will say with St. Paul that, *Where no Law is, there is no transgression*; and there was no Law to inhibit them to lease out their lands to whom they would; nay, the Law gave them leave and impowred them to do it; and therefore no Sacriledge nor offence in them in all that they did, when they did nothing but according to Law.

Sol.

I answer, that the Human law must not intrench, nor can infringe the law of God, nor any waies allow the thing, that should prejudice the service of God; neither do I believe, that the laws of our Christian Kings, and Princes ever intended so to do; for it is an old rule in law, that, *Praelatus ecclesie statum, & possessiones meliorare potest, sed deteriorare non potest, nec debet*.

But when it was alledged and manifested in Parliaments that the houses belonging to the Church, being ruined or far out of reparation, and the lands either wast or not well managed, could not be improved to the best advantage and benefit of the Church, without the Tenants and present Occupiers thereof had some competent time therein: therefore the pious Kings enacted their laws, not to force but to licence Cathedrals and Colledges

ledges to lease out their lands and possessions, not to make their children and friends *Knights and Ladies*, or to fill their own *coffers* with fines, to the great prejudice of their successors, and the neglect and treading down of Gods service, but that the *revenue*, and the inheritance of the Church might be improved, and the best advantage made of it for the glory of God and the furtherance of Gods service, by the instruction of his people, and relieving his poor members, for which ends it was first dedicated unto God.

Why Bishops and Clergy-men were permitted to grant leases of the lands and revenues of the Church.

Therefore, when either *Bishop* or any other *Clergy man*, from the letter of the law, doth pervert the end and abuse the meaning of the law; I make it a case of *Conscience* and demand, Whether such men, as do let out the lands and houses of the Church for their own private gain, and not for the benefit of Gods Church and the advancement of Gods service, do not commit this horrible sin of *Sacriledge*? For my part, I conceive them to be the worst and most *Sacrilegious* persons of all others, that should know the truth, and not give such ill examples both of *Covetousness* and *Sacriledge* unto their neighbours: but let them lease what they will for the benefit of Gods Church, the furtherance of Religion, and the no-prejudice of their successors, and they shall never find me to oppose them; But otherwise, to lease the lands of the Church, that is better worth then a 100 l. per annum, for less then a 100 s. for to make our children great and the Church poor, to benefit our selves and to prejudice Gods service, and to say, We have a law, that warrants us to do it; We have *Acts* of Parliament that allow it, and have the practice and presidents of other Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, that have done it; is but to say, as the Jews said to Pilate, We have a law, and by our law he ought to die. And ought he therefore to die, think you, because, these Jews had such a law? I verily think, not so; and I think likewise, that though you have, or should have, a law to take away and alienate the rights of the Church; yet you should not do it, if you love the Church, or do any waies fear God.

How the Bishops and other Clergy-men may lease their Lands without Sacriledge.

And for the practice of some other Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, I confess heretofore many of them have done bad enough, and worse, in my mind, then the worst of lay men; for them to sell the rights of the Church, and so, with Judas, to betray their Master Christ; but *Vivitur preceptis non exemplis*; if the practice and presidents of others, would or could excuse our faults, then Drunkards, Whore-masters, and Murderers might easily find presidents enough to excuse their wickedness: and so I know the *Sacrilegious* persons may as easily find the like.

But I shall hereafter shew you how and by whose power and by what means, these our Laws and Acts of Parliament, for the alienating, leasing and selling of the revenues of the Church came to be made, and leave it to any pious mind, and conscientious man to consider, Whether they ought, in the strictness thereof, to be observed or not: and not rather commend the care and great piety of our late most gracious King, and now glorious Martyr Charles the 1. Who a little to curb the extravagancies and large extent of our Laws, by his regall Authority wrote his letters to all Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, that they should lease out their lands for no longer term, then 21 years; as it appeareth by this his most gracious and pious Letter, directed unto my self, the Dean, and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Bangor; which, for the honour and praise and our thankfulness to so pious and so Religious a King, for his care and love to the Church and service of God, I thought it my duty to insert it in this place.

By whose power the laws for leasing and passing away the Church-lands came to be made. Consider that.

A Declaration

To our Trusty, and wel-beloved, the Dean of Bangor.

Charles Rex.

TRusty and welbeloved, We greet you well. We have lately taken the State of our Cathedral and Collegiat Churches into our Princely Consideration, that We may be the better able to preserve that livelyhood, which as yet is left unto them. Upon this deliberation We find, that of later times, there hath not risen a greater inconvenience, then by turning Leases of one and twenty years into Lives; for by that means, the present Dean and Chapter put great Fines into their Purses, to enrich themselves, their wives and children, and leave their Successors, of what deserts soever, to Us, and the Church, destitute of that growing means, which else would come in to help them. By which course, should it continue, scarce any of them could be able to live and keep house, according to their Place and Callings. We know the Statute makes it alike lawful for a Dean and Chapter to let their Leases for the Term of one and twenty years, or three Lives; but time and experience have made it apparent, that there is a great deal of difference between them, especially in Church-Leases, where men are commonly in years before they come to those Places. These are therefore to will and command you, upon peril of Our utmost displeasure, and what shall follow thereon, that notwithstanding any Statute, or any other pretence whatsoever, you presume not to let any Lease belonging to your Church into Lives, that is not in Lives already. And further, where any fair opportunity is offered you, if any such be, you fail not to reduce such as are in Lives into Tears. And We do likewise will and require, that these our Letters may remain upon Record in your own Register-Books, and in the Register of the Lord Bishop of that Dioces, that he may take notice of these our Commands unto you, and give Us and our Royal Successors knowledge, if you presume in any sort to disobey them. And further, whereas in Our late Instructions, We have commanded all our Bishops respectively, not to lett any Lease, after We have named any of them to a better Bishoprick, but did not in those Instructions name the Deans, who yet were intended by Us: These are therefore to declare unto you, that no Dean shall presume to renew any Lease, either into Lives or Tears, after such time as We have nominated him either to a better Denary, or a Bishoprick, having observed, that at such times of remove, many men care not what, or how they lett, to the prejudice of the Church and their Successors. And this is Our expresse Command to you, your Chapter, and your Successors, which in any case We require both you, and them, strictly to observe, upon pain of Our high displeasure, and as you and they will answer the contrary at your and their utmost perils. Given under Our Signet at Our Mannor of Greenwich, the Two and Twentieth day of June, in the Tenth year of Our Reign.

Whereby

O that the mind and piety of this most godly King, expressed in this Letter, had bin observed by all our Predecessors, Bishops, Deanes, and Chapters; the which I will do, and punctually observe it, by the grace of God,

Whereby you may perceive, that the same *holy Spirit* that led this *blessed King* to be of *this mind*, doth now likewise lead me to be of the same mind; that no Bishop, Dean, or Chapter, ought to Lease out the *Lands* and *Revenues* of the Church, for any longer Term than 21. years; For if they could not Lease them for three *Lives*, though set to the utmost value, without a great deal of *wrong* and *prejudice* to their Successors, as this *Blessed* and most *Pious King*, did most *rightly* conceive, then certainly, they might not Set and Lease those *Lands* for a 100. shillings, that were well worth a 100 pounds *per annum*, and that for a 100. or a 1000. years, without much more *wrong* and *prejudice* done unto their Successors, and a very ill example of *covetousness* and *injustice* unto all others.

2. The other sort of *sacrilegious* persons that do commit this horrible sin, and yet shelter themselves under the shadow of Law, are those *lay Lords*, *Knights*, and *Gentlemen*, that have received these *Ecclesiastical Rights* and *Revenues*, from the former *sacrilegious* persons, and these think themselves most *innocent*, because they have both Law to countenance them, and the *Church-men* to confirm them in what they do: Yet you know, that, if the *Thief* which stealeth the goods, cannot be freed, the *Receiver* of those stolen goods cannot be justified. But I shall, by Gods help, hereafter more fully shew the *Sacrilege* of these men, that have so unjustly received these goods and possessions of the Church from those that were far more unjust than themselves, and are therefore like *Simeon* and *Levi*, brethren in this evil, and so liable to the like punishment.

2. The lay sacrilegious persons: and why.

CHAP. IV.

Of two sorts of sacrilegious persons that rob the Church of Christ, without any colour or pretence of Law, but indeed contrary to all Law.

Secondly, for the other sort of Thieves and *Sacrilegious* persons, that rob the Church of God, without any the least pretence of Right or Law, but apparently contrary to the Law both of God and man; I find them to be of two special kinds:

2. The sacrilegious persons contrary to all Law, of two kinds

1. *Impious Patrons*, whether *Clergy* or *Laity*, that do sell the *Ecclesiastical Dignities*, or any ways *sinisterly* bestow them.

That is, 2. *Unjust Parishioners*, that do fraudulently detain, or most maliciously deny the *Tythes*, and other just Duties of the Church.

1. In former times, *Patrons* were appointed to be, as their names import, *Fathers* and *Guardians* unto the Church of Christ; to see good men and able schollers placed and planted in all *Parishes*, to teach the people of God; and so they were, as the *Ecclesiastical Stories* do record unto us: But now, such is the corruption of our times, that our *Patrons*, for the most part, I fear, cannot be said to be, like *Augustus Caesar*, that found Rome a City of Bricks, and left it of Marble, to cause their *Parishes* to be supplied with better & abler men than they were. But they are rather like *Reboboam*, the son of *Solomon*, that found in the Temple of God, *Shields of Gold*, but left in it *Shields of Brass*: So do many *Patrons*, present men worse and worse; for when any golden-mouthed *Chrysostome* is banished, or any learned *Augustine* is dead, or pious *Bernard* removed, they will presently name *Priests*

1. Patrons.

Impious Patrons, to whom likened.

1 Reg. 14. 27.

of

Numbers 22.

of *Brasse*, and brazen-faced Priests unto the Churches, that deserve no better than *Brasse* for their Ministry, and the *Gold* they will reserve for themselves. And *Balaams* ass, if he can but *speak*, and come laden with *Coin*, shall be preferred: And, as the Poet saith,

Si nihil attuleris, ibis, Homere, foras.

The usual practice in these times:

Exod. 5. 11.

Virgil. *Æneid.*
1. 2.

Though *Homer* comes to seek the Place that shall be void, if he comes with nothing to give, he shall get nothing of them. For, who knows not the practice of our timesto be, for the Priest, that seeks the Living, either to pay some good sum of money for it, or to compound for the greater, or some part of the *Tythes*, or to marry either kinswoman or servant, before the poor Clerk, or rather simple Clerk, can be presented to any Church.

The *Egyptians* took away the straw from the *Israelites*, and yet required of them, the whole tale of Bricks as formerly; which was a hard task, and a great tyranny: But these Patrons take away the corn, and leave for the poor Priests nothing but the straw. They will have all the *Gleablands*, and the Priests shall glean for their maintenance; and these Grand Masters commonly must have the greater *Tythes*, or at least some part or parcel thereof, and the Priest shall have but *Reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achillis*, what these Canker-worms shall leave them, a cloud for *Juno*, and a shadow instead of a *Water-Nymph*. And yet they must exceed in the tale of their Bricks, and bring far more than their Predecessors brought, they must study more, and preach oftner, than ever was done in former times; which is a hard case, and yet as true a case as any that you shall find in all Sir *Edward Cook's* Reports.

Gregor. & habetur 1. q. 1.
Quisquis.

But though, like *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat*, that erected an Altar against the Altar of God, and made Priests, to serve at that Altar, of the lowest, the meanest, and basest of the people, that the greatest gain might redound into his own hands, because none buyes dearer, and gives larger, than the greater dunce: So our Patrons of Ecclesiastical preferments, in many, I dare not say in most places, are resolved to sell their Churches, as *Judas* sold his Christ, and his Saviour, to them that will give most for them; yet because, as *S. Gregory* saith, *Partem habebit cum Simone, qui contra Simonicos, pro officii sui loco vehementer non exarserit*: He shall have his portion with *Simon Magus*, the *Proto-Simonist*, the first unlawful buyer of holy graces, which, according to his place, doth not do his best to suppress the sin of *Simonie*, that is, the buying and selling of spiritual graces and promotions; I will a little unfold the beynousness of this sin, that, as many of them, I fear, are settled in their resolutions, to continue the doing of it, so they may the better know hereby, what they do, and what a horrible sin they do commit, to the great dishonour of God, and the damage of the Church of Christ.

Simonie usually practised in Rome, and by former Popes.

Bern. in Convers. Pauli, Sermon 1.

And I say, that the Pope is the prime and principal father of this Bastard-brood, and that nothing was wont to be rarer at Rome than this sin of *Simonie*, which did therefore seem the lesse sinful, because it was acted by the more powerful Patron. And though we read it in their own Decrees, that, *Tolerabilior est Macedonii heresis, qui asserit Spiritum Sanctum esse servum patris & filii, quam hec Symonica pascio; quia isti faciunt Spiritum Sanctum servum suum: ut ait Terasius, Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus*: This selling of Church-Livings is more intolerable than the heresie of *Macedonius*, who said, That the Holy Ghost was the servant of the Father and of the Son, because they make the Holy Ghost to become their servant, as *Terasius* saith to Pope *Adrian*. Yet *S. Bernard*, that saw much, but not all, saith, *Sacri gradus dati sunt in occasionem turpis lucri, & questum estimant*.

manū pietatem, Holy Orders are now become the occasion of filthy lucre, and gain is counted godliness: And this Simonie is *Sacriledge* indeed; and not only *Musculus* citeth these Verses that were made of Pope Alexander, *Musculus in cap. 6. Johā.*

*Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum;
Vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius.*

but *Durandus* also saith; That *Simonie* doth so reign in the Church of Rome; *Durand. de modo celebrandi Concilii.*
as if it were no sin at all:

And their Canonists, as *Bartolus*, *Felinus*, *Theodoricus*, and some others of the Pope's parasites, are so impudent as to averr, that the selling of these things, and taking monie for Ecclesiastical promotions, can be neither *Sacriledge* nor *Simonie* in the Pope, because he is the Lord of them all, and accounteth them all his own. *Extra de officio judicis delegati ex parte N. in Glossa.*

But since we have bidden *Adieu* to him and his corruptions; his *Simonie* and his *Sacriledge*, blessed be God for it, doth not so much prejudice us: and therefore, letting him to do what he will with his own, and either to stand or fall to his own Master; I will address my self to shew the manifold evils and wickednesse of our own *Sacrilegious* and *Simonaical* Patrons, that sell those Benefices, which they should freely bestow. And I say,

1. That this buying and selling of Church-goods (for both these acts are relatives, and to be put in the same predicament, when as nothing is sold that is not bought, & *à contra*) is a thing contrary to all Laws, and to the judgement of all good men; for, *The selling of Ecclesiastical-Livings, against all Laws.*

1. The Laws of *Moses* provided so liberally for the Priests and Levites, that the buying and selling of Priests places was never known nor heard of among the Jews, until *Jeroboam's* time; who, as he sold them, so he sold himself to do evil, and to commit wickedness. *1. Of Moses: Gen. 47. 22.*

2. *Pharaoh* was so religious, that when in the great Dearth, all the land of *Egypt* was sold, the Priests had such a portion of Corn allotted them, that they needed not to sell one foot of their land; and therefore I doubt not but *Pharaoh* will rise in judgement against all those that take away the lands of the Priests, as our Gentlemen, and Souldiers strive to do, or do sell the Spiritual promotions unto the Priests, as our *Simonaical* Patrons do. *2. Of the Gen- tiles.*

3. The Law of *Grace* saith, *Freely have you received*, that is, all the graces and gifts of God, therefore, *freely give*, especially what you give to God, and for the Service of God, and sell it not. *3. Of grace. Math. 10. 8.*

4. The Civil and Ecclesiastical Laws forbid nothing more, and with greater care, than the buying and selling of Spiritual Offices: And the ancient Fathers, learned Schoolmen, and all the later Classes of *Casuits*, *Jesuites*, and of our zealous purest Protestant Writers, together with the wisest Princes and Statesmen, that have established many Statute-Laws against this sin, are all infinitely deceived, if this buying and selling of Ecclesiastical preferments, be not infinitely prejudicial to the Church of God, and therefore a most heynous and a horrible sin against the Law of God. *4. Of the Civil and Canon-Law.*

2. I say, that this buying and selling of Church-Livings, will be the diminution of all Learning, and the lessening of the number of Learned men: for when the world seeth, that after a man hath spent his time, first in School, where he suffereth a great deal of sorrows, and thinks no creature more miserable than himself, when he seeth all others free, and himself only (as he supposeth) bound under the rod; then in the University, where most of the Schollers are, as *Phalaris* saith to *Leontides*, *2. This selling, and buying of Church-Livings will be the decay of Learning and Religion.*

A Declaration

How difficult
it is to become
a Scholar.

tides, *καὶ τῶν ἐσθίων πλὴν λίμου καὶ φόβου*, needy of all things but of *hunger* and *fear*; or else, if they escape these rocks, the better part, do, with *continual watching* and *studying* wear their bodies, and tyre their spirits, and spend all the *means* they can procure from their friends for *many years* together, and in the *end*, after all this, cannot get a *poor Parsonage* or *Vicarage*, unless they *pay* for the lease of their *wearied* and almost *worn* out life, to the *hazarding* of their *soules*, and all other *Preferments* when the truth of their buying is made known; What *Fathers* will be so *provident*; I had almost said, so *irreligious*, I may truly say, so *unworldly wise*, or so *little prudent* in managing of their *estates*, as to cast away their *means* and their *sons* upon such *sourges*? I think I may say with the *Poet*,

Invitatum ad hæc aliquis de ponte negabit.

A beggars brat, knowing these *inconveniencies*, would scarce accept these *Offices*, and discharge those *duties* they do owe, upon these *conditions*.

Obj. But you will say, that we must not, and ought not, to respect our *own gain*, and look after our *own profit*; but, as the *Apostles* and *servants* of *Christ*, our chiefest care should be for the *peoples good*; because our *reward* shall be great in *Heaven*.

Sol.

I answer, that as in the *Common-wealth*, we owe our selves and our service wholly unto our *Prince*, and to our *Countray*; yet, some convenient *reward* will make us the more *willing* to serve. So in the *Church* of *God*; though I must preach *willingly*, and *wo is me*, being called to that office, if I preach not so, and discharge all other *Priestly* offices cheerfully, rather for the gain of *Souls* then for any other the *greatest* gain in the *World*; yet, *necessary* maintenance will *inable* me, or any other, to do my duty the more *cheerfully*, and with the more *incouragement*: no man can deny the same; and our *Saviour* tells us, *The workman is worthy of his hire*: and therefore, as the *Ministers* of *Christ* do give unto you *spirituall* things, so *reason* sheweth, what the *Apostle* setteth down, that you should give unto them, and not sell unto them, these *temporall* things: that so not only we which are already *entred* into this calling, may discharge our duties the more *joyfully*; but also *others*, which as yet are not of this calling, may, by the *reward* of learning, be induced to *undertake* the *Ministry*, that otherwise is *despicable* enough in the world, the more *willingly*; because, as *Symmachus* saith, *Virtus æmula alitur exemplo honoris alieni*; virtue is cherished, and set forward, with the *example* and sight of other mens *honour*; as *Alcibiades*, with the glory and honour given to *Miltiades*, was spurred forward to the like *atchievements*, that he might attain unto the like *glory*; whereas otherwise, as it is a *Maxime* in warlike Affairs that *exprobrata militia creditur, quæ irremunerata transiit*; that service is thought *base*, and that warfare not worth the following, which is unworthy of any *reward*; so it is true in *Academical* sciences and all other *Arts* whatsoever, that *Inbonorata virtus languescit*, Virtue despised and left *unrewarded* will soon faint and languish; and all good *Arts*, even of themselves without *presure*, will speedily decay; which was the only course, and the most *spitefull*, that *Julian* took, to root out *Christianity*, to take away the maintenance of the *Ministers*; for he knew that, as both *Seneca* and *Tacitus* saith, *Sublatis studiorum premiis, ipsa studia perirent*.

Luk. 10. 17.
Matth. 10. 10.

The reward of
learning, is the
best means to
increase, and
to continue
learning.

Take away the
reward, and
learning per-
isheth.

3. The buying
and selling of
Church liv-
ings, will be
the decay of
all hospitality.

3. I say that this *buying* and *selling* of *spiritual* promotions in the *Church* of *God*, will be, (as it is indeed, and hath been of a *long* time, ever since the *birth* of this *bastard* brat) the extirpation of all *hospitality* among the *Clergy*: The *Apostle* tells us that a *Bishop* should be given to *hospitality*, and

Saint

Saint *Augustine* to inforce this duty, the sooner to be observed; saith, *Faecundus est ager pauperum, cum reddit dominantibus fructum. Dei est pro parvis magna pensura:* the field of the poor is very profitable, and yieldeth his fruit very quickly, and that plentifully, because it is the property of God, to render great things to us, for the small things that we give to him. And Saint *Gregory* saith, *Egentis mentem doctrina sermo non penetrat, si hunc (vel illum sermonem) apud ejus animum manus in misericordia non commendat:* the Word of God Preached doth not pierce the heart of a needy man, unless the hand of mercy doth commend that Word and reach it home unto him; which is a very excellent, true, and most worthy saying; worthy, to be remembered, and to be praised of all Divines: And yet now, in these times, and amongst us, that, I fear, is true, which the poor complain of; That there is but small hospitality among the Clergy.

Aug. de verbis Domini sermone. 25.

How our good works do further Faith in others.

If they take away our lands, and sell our livings, how can we relieve the poor?

But they ought to consider, what the Philosopher saith, *Nihil das quod non habes*, he that hath but scarce enough to maintain himself, can spare but very little to relieve others: and therefore, seeing a Minister must not get his living by any other means, then by the means of his Ministry; and that, by his calling to be a Minister, and all his pains and diligence in his calling, he can get no means, unless he buyes his living; and when he buyes it, he is commonly set so far in debt, that, in haste, he shall not be able to recover himself out of his creditors books; How is it possible that a Minister, Parson or Vicar, should be able to be hospitable unto others, when, as the Popish Priests were wont to say *dirge's* for their dinners; So these poor Preachers must read Lectures for their maintenances; which is many times, as I have seen it, in some places, made up out of the poor mens box; and the Lecturer must preach *placencia*, lest his voluntary benefactors, if he be too bold in their reproofs, should substract the pittance of their contribution. A most lamentable thing, that a Preacher of Gods Word, that ought freely to speak the truth, must be thus fettered, for want of means; and that they, which should have plenty that they might be enabled to relieve the poor, should be brought to that scantling and penury, as to be forced to be relieved themselves, out of the portion of the poor: O consider this, all ye Sacrilegious patrons, that sell your livings, and forget God, lest he remember you, and tear you to pieces, while there is none to help you.

The poor are not able, to relieve the poor.

Ministers in some places, and at some times relieved out of the poor mens box.

4. If the observation of precedent things may preface any future thing, I say that this buying and selling of Church-livings doth portend and signify some great and imminent evil, both to the Church and state; for *Socrates* in his *Eccles. Hist.* tells us, that when some wicked Souldiers had prophaned the Church, and had Sacrilegiously robbed her Priests; as now our souldiers strive and study how to do the like: one standing by, said *ὁ ναὸς οὐκ αὐτὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν κατὰ τὸν νόμον*: This abuse of Gods house fore-sheweth no good thing to come: and *Socrates* saith, he was not deceived, because that in a very short time after, it happened according as he feared; and *Alphonso de castro* saith, as he is cited by the Bishop of Oxford, that the flourishing Churches of Greece and Armenia were forsaken of God, and had their Candle-sticks that upheld the light of the Gospel removed, when they began to maintain, that it was lawfull to buy and sell the lands, goods, and revenues of the Church.

4. The buying and selling of Church-livings, is the preface of some great evil unto the Church.

And therefore I advise and wish all that hunger and thirst after the Church-lands, houses, and goods, and all covetous Patrons to take heed of this sin, of buying and selling what belongs unto the Church; or to take away the lands or houses of the Church, which is a sin, so dangerous to themselves, so prejudiciall to the Church, and so ominous to the Common-wealth; And let them remember what I said before, that if *Pharaoh*, in the time of

Gen. 47.

that great famine which was in Egypt, made such provision for the Priests, that although all the other his subjects were constrained to sell their lands for sustenance; yet, the lands of the Priests were not sold, neither had any of them any need to sell them: and if Popish Priests that either preached nor at all, or preached their own traditions, or some fabulous narrations and fictions out of their legends, were so richly kept, and still are, in France, Spain, and Italy, on Saint Peters patrimony; Why should they deal so hardly and so niggardly with the Ministers of the Gospel, that do sincerely Preach the truth of Jesus Christ unto their people, as to sell unto them or take away from them that little, which is left and is most due unto them.

Hab. 2. 8.

Or if all this will not serve to withdraw them from this sin, let them take heed of the Prophets word, that crieth out against all such dealers, saying *Ve accumulanti non sua*: Woe be to him that heapeeth together those things that are none of his own; and especially those things, that are the Churches goods; for he shall find that this gain doth ever bring a rod at its back: When as Zophar saith, God shall cause him to vomit up that, which he hath devoured, and shall cast them out of his belly; and render vengeance to him, for the detriment and injury, that he hath done to his Church and servants.

Job. 20. 15.

The punishment of Sacrilege greater then the punishment of Idolatry.
Exod. 20.
2 Reg. 5. 27.

And this vengeance, Saint Augustine noteth to be more grievous than the punishment of Idolatry: for whereas God threatneth to punish Idolaters but to the third and fourth Generations, we find that the Sacrilege of Jeroboam, in selling the Priests Office, provoked God to root out his house, and all his posterity from off the earth; and the sin of Gehazi was punished with such a Leprosy, as stuck both upon himself, and upon all his whole seed for ever.

Why Sacrilege is foodious to God, and so prejudicial and infectious to man.

And no marvell that this sin of Sacrilege should be so odious unto God, and so infectious and pernicious unto man; because that, although other sins, as Idolatry, Murder, Adultery, Theft, and the like, may be said to be but, as it were, private and particular sins, that infect none, or but few, besides the doers of them; yet, this sin of Sacrilege is a publick, and a farre spreading sin, not only against some particular persons, but against a multitude of men and against the whole body of Religion, when by defrauding and taking away the maintenance of the Ministers, the whole Ministry of Gods service is impaired, and suffered, nay caused, to be neglected and decayed; whereby not only Idolatry, and false worship hath an open gap, and a broad way of entrance into Gods Church, but also Atheism, and no worship of God, but all corruption and lewdness must be the chiefest fruit that can grow upon this accursed tree of Sacrilege; when either the Souldiers or any others, of the Lords or Gentry, take the lands and houses of God into their possessions, or the covetous Patrons do sell and make Merchandize of any Ecclesiastical preferment.

How Sacrilege bringeth forth Atheism, Idolatry and all Wickedness.

2. The Sacrilege of the people.

2. As the irreligious Patrons do offend in selling the Ministers living, that he should freely bestow upon him; so the Parishioners are as ready and as greedy to detain and keep back that right, which is due to the Priest by Gods law, and the Minister hath also bought from his Patron, as the Patron was to sell what he should give; And it is strange to think, how wistly they are to go to Hell, if God be not the more mercifull unto them, to hold them from it! What shifts and tricks they have, to hold back their hands from paying their Tythes; and how loath they are to set out their Tythes and think all that lost that is laid out for the Priest.

But alas, they should know, that herein they deceive not us alone that are the Priests, but their own souls also, that are more damnified by this their Sacrilege, then the Priests can be by the loss of their Tythes, because

cause that hereby they rob not men, but God himself; for that the Priests are but the Lords Receivers and his Rent-gatherers, of that small acknowledgment, which he requires from us, his Tenants at will for all the great things he gives to us, to be repaid to him again, as the testimony of our duty and thankfulness, and the stipend that he hath allotted to them, that are to serve him at his Altar; And therefore, when the Israelites gave unto their Levites, as our people in many places do give unto their Preachers, the blind, the lame, and the maymed, the leanest Lamb and the lightest Sheave, the Lord complaineth, that they robbed and spoiled him in Tythes and Offerings; because the Lord saith directly, that all the Tythe of the Land, is the Lords: and all that, is Holy unto the Lord.

The Ministers are Gods Rent gatherers.

Mal. 3. 8, 10. Lev. 27. 30.

But seeing that this Sacrilegious Age, hath produced and brought forth not manus auferendi, so many hands to take away the rights of the Church, and so many tongues to speak against, and adversaries to oppose the truth of the Doctrine of Tythes, and to take away the Lands, Houses, and Possessions of the Church:

I shall leave it to be more fully handled towards the latter end of this discourse and Declaration against Sacriledge.

CHAP. V.

The words of King David, in the 2 Sam. 7. 1, 2. and their division, when they were spoken: And how, or in what sense Sitting and Standing are commonly taken in the Scriptures: And of the two persons that are here conferring together.

IF you look into the 2 of Sam. 7. 1, 2. verses, you shall find it thus written.

Afterward, When the King sate in his House, and the Lord had given him rest round about from all his enemies: The King said unto Nathan the Prophet, Behold, now I dwell in a house of Cedar trees, and the Ark of God remaineth in the Curtains: and so forth.

For the better understanding of which words, you may observe that the sum of this whole Chapter is 3. fold, and containeth these 3. parts:

- 1. Davids deliberation,
- 2. Nathans replication.
- 3. Davids gratulation.

The sum of the Chapter 3. fold.

1. The Deliberation is about an Oratory and Temple, or House to be Erected and Dedicated to God, for his servants to meet in, to worship him, and this is delivered unto us in the two first verses here set down.

2. The Replication of the Prophet is two fold.

- 1. Affirmative, and erroneous or mistaken, vers. 3.
- 2. Negative, and right; from the 3. vers. to the 18.

2. The Replication.

3. The gratulation is in an humble acknowledgement, and a grateful remembrance of the fore-passed benefits of God, with an earnest and hearty prayer, put up to God for the continuance of his favour unto him, from the 18. verse, to the end of the Chapter.

3. The Gratulation.

A Declaration

And I shall here treat of no more than of the *deliberation*, or the *Prophets consideration*, what he intended to do ; touching which, we are to observe these three things :

The 3. things observable in the deliberation,

1. The *time*, which hath a twofold manifestation of it,

1. When he sate in his house.
2. When he was safe from his enemies.

2. The *Persons* deliberating, and they are 2.

1. David, the King.
2. Nathan, the Prophet.

3. The *matter* deliberated, and considered of, betwixt the Prince and the Prophet ; and that was, the meanness and baseness of the then House of God ; and therefore he would be at the cost and charges to make it beautiful, and to erect him an House befitting the Majesty and greatness of God.

And this his good intention he justifieth and confirmeth, the same to be both honest and good, by the consequent of *Congruity*, that it was fit it should be so, in respect of a double comparison.

1. Of himself with God.
2. Of his Court with God's Ark.

1. Reason.

1. I that am but a poor creature, have an house to dwell in, and God that is the Creator of all the World, hath not an House to put his Ark in and for his servants to meet in, to hear his Laws, and to do him service.

2. Reason.

2. My Court is stately covered over with Cedars, but the Ark of God is but very meanly and basely covered over with a Canopic of skins, to shelter it from the wind and the weather.

And therefore, conceiving this to be very preposterous, and a far unbecoming thing, for him to be better provided for, than his God, he conferreth with the Prophet, and tells him, he intends to rectifie this obliquity, and to build God an House, more agreeable to his Majesty. These are the parts and parcels of the Kings deliberation and conference with the Prophet and his Bishop Nathan. And

1. The time of this deliberation. How Sitting & Standing are commonly interpreted.

Ezech. 3. 24.
1 Cor. 10. 12.
2 Cor. 1. 24.
Ephes. 6. 14.
1 Pet. 5. 12.
Ps. 135. 1. 2.
Ps. 122. 2.
2 Reg. 3. 14.

1. For the time, It is said, when the King sate in his house, and the Lord had given him rest round about, from all his enemies. So you see,

1. It was when the King sate in his house ; and these relative words sitting and standing, are noted by Divines to have some difference of sense and acceptation : As, standing being commonly taken in good part, and sitting in the evil and worser sense : as in these places, where standing is well spoken of, The Spirit entred into me and set me upon my feet ; and he that thinketh he standeth, let him take heed lest he fall ; and stand in the Lord as dear children ; and by faith ye stand ; and, stand having your loynes girt about with truth ; and, this is the true grace of God wherein ye stand ; and, praise the Lord, all ye his servants, ye that stand in the courts of the Lords House ; and, our feet shall stand in thy gates, O Hierusalem ; and, the Lord of Hosts liveth, before whom I stand. In all which quotations, and the like, the word standing, hath reference unto good, and is taken in the better sense, and so to be interpreted. And in these places, and the like, where the name of sitting runneth into obloquie, and is attributed to iniquity : Iniquity sitteth on a talent of lead ; and, Princes sit and speak against me ; and Blessed is the man that hath not sate in the seat of the scornful ; and the ungodly person sitteth lurking in the theevish corners of the streets ; and so in may other places, it is interpreted in the worse sense.

Zach. 5. 7.
Ps. 119.
Ps. 1.

How the word sate, is here taken.

But here the word, sate in his house, is of a milder meaning, and of indifferent acceptation, and rather to be interpreted in the better sense, as be-tokening the government of the King : for so [the King sate in his house] signifyeth,

nifieth, that he fate in his *Seat* of Government; and this *sense* hat h been ancient and *obvious* in our reading, as, where the Poet saith,

— Celsa sedet Aolus arce.

King *Aolus* sitteth in his high Tower, and manageth his *State-matters*; and in the *Germane* speech, they say, that to *sit*, signifieth to *reign*: as the Emperour *sate*, that is, *reigned* so many years. And this is the *moderne* meaning of this phrase even amongst us; for when we would shew, how long any one hath exercised the *Office*, and discharged the *Place* of a Bishop, Judge, or Prefect amongst us, we are wont to say, he *sate* in that place so long. And to *sit*, commonly signifieth to be in *rest* and quiet; and is opposite to, *affairs* and *business*: As where it is said, *Shall your brethren go to battle, and you sit still?* And, where the Poet saith,

— Sedeant spectentque Latini:

Let the Latines *sit still* and look on. And in both these senses, King *David* may be said to *sit in his house*, without any great matter in which *sense* we understand the word; though I rather take it in the *later way*, because, that

2. The next adjunct of the time is, *when the Lord had given him rest* 2. When was the time, that David had rest from all his enemies. from all his enemies: for this varieth little or nothing from the former, *when he sate in his house*: And therefore we may very well compose them, and confound them together, and put them to signify the same thing.

But about this *rest* that is here spoken of, the Expositors cannot all agree, when it was: whilest they do consider the many *Battles* that he fought after this conference that he had with *Nathan*; and therefore, though some take it for the *peace* he had at this present time, yet others, of a quicker sight, do assign it after the *second Victory* he had against the *Philistines*, when he was such an hammer, so terrible to all the neighbour-Nations, as that the very name of *David* and his doings, made them afraid, and glad to sue unto him for *peace*, and to take bands of resolution with themselves, to be of good behaviour towards him, and never to *provoke* him any more. And of this we read in *1 Chron. 14. 11.* when the *Philistines* came up to *Baal-Perazim*, and *David* smote them, and said, *God hath broken in upon mine enemies by mine hand, like the breaking forth of waters*; and afterward when they spread themselves abroad in the valley, and *David* smote them from *Gibeon* even to *Gazer*, and the same of *David* went out into all Lands, and the Lord brought the fear of him upon all Nations. 1 Chron. 14. v. 16, 17.

2. For the persons, that are here conferring together, they are said to be *David* and *Nathan*, the King, and the Prophet; two great Persons, and high Offices, that formerly were contained in one Person, as *Melchisedech* was the Priest of the Most High GOD, and King of *Salem*. And as the Poet saith, 2. The persons deliberating and conferring together.

Rex Annus, Rex idem hominum, Pœbique Sacerdos.

Virgil l. 3.

And when God divided and distributed these several Offices to several persons, he conferred them upon two brothers, that is, *Moses* and *Aaron*; that so the King and the Priest might live and love one another like brethren, as I have more amply shewed in my Treatise of *The Grand Rebellion*. And so King *David* here dischargeeth that his duty accordingly: And so likewise, not only the *Heathen* Kings, but also the *Jewish* Kings, the Kings of *Israel*,

The greatest
Kings and
Princes were
most familiar
with the Priests
Orators, and
Philosophers.

Israel, and all good Christian Kings disdained not the friendly familiarity and conference with their Bishops and Priests, especially when they consult and deliberate of Religion, or any point that concerns the Worship and Service of God. For as King Cræsus conferred with Solon the Philosopher : and Alexander King of Macedon consulted often with Aristotle, and sometimes with Diogenes the Cynick : and King Pyrrhus with his dear friend Cineas : So Pharaoh King of Egypt called and consulted with his Priests, that were the Magicians, and deemed the wise men of Egypt, when Moses came to treat of God's Service. And though Moses appointed 70 men of the choicest, gravest, and wisest men, that could be found of all the Elders of Israel to be the Sanhedrim, and as it were a standing Parliament to end all controversies, and all the civil affairs of the Kingdom ; Yet, when the Case of Religion came in question, and the differences about God's Worship came to be decided, neither the Kings of Israel, nor the Kings of Juda, to whom the principal care and custody of God's Laws and Service was committed, did ever commend the same unto the Sanhedrim to be concluded and settled. But, as King David here calleth and consulteth with Nathan the Prophet, about the building of God's House ; so when Religion was corrupted, and the Service of the True God neglected, in the time of King Ahab, he calleth not the Sanhedrim to rectifie and redress the same ; but he leaves the same to be determined and adjudged, betwixt the Priests of Baal, and Elias the true Prophet of the Lord ; And so did King Asa, Jehosaphat, and Ezechias, consulted not with their lay Lords, or the Sanhedrim, but with Azariah the son of Oded the Prophet, and with Esay, and the rest of God's Prophets. Nay, when the Wise men came to inquire for Christ ; Herod, that sought to destroy Him, and his Religion, inquireth not of any, but of the Chief Priests and Scribes, Where Christ should be born. And so all the Wise and Christian Emperours, Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian, and the rest, as you may find it in Eusebius, Socrates, Zozomen, and other Ecclesiastical Historians, had always some special Bishops, with whom they conferred and consulted about matters of Religion ; as Charles the Fifth did with Cassander ; and Henry the Eighth with Bishop Crammer. For they conceived that their Crowns had the greater Lustre when it was in conjunction with the Miter : And therefore in no great Council was the Man of God ever baulked ; but, that they might be sure to serve God before themselves, and be assured, that while the Church prospered, the Bishops directed, and they had God and his Messengers amongst them, all would go right and be safe ; and therefore in all, or most Courts of Conscience, where the Law reached not, they thought none so fit as these men of conscience, to decide all differences.

Neither could I ever find, that the Church of God was so much pestered with miseries, and poisoned with Errors, Heresies, and Sects, or Divisions, until the lay Lords and Gentlemen, like the Long-Parliament, neglected their proper Offices, to look into the affairs of the Common-wealth, and to see Justice and Judgement truly executed among the people, and began, *immittere falcem in alienam messem*, to thrust their sickles into other men's harvest, and to intermeddle with that, which concerns them not ; as to chop and change Articles of Religion, and to set down and compose points of faith, when the Lord saith, *Quis requisivit hec ?* Who hath required these things at your hands ? It is your duty to come into the Temple, and to perform the service, that David and Nathan, the King and the Bishops shall prescribe unto you ; and to confirm those Articles of Religion, and cause them in all things to be observed, as the Parliament did in Queen Elizabeth's dayes, the 39. Articles of our Religion, when they are, as those were, settled and concluded by the Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy.

Esay. i. 12.
The Church of
God never be-
came more mi-
serable, then
when the lay-
people under-
took to con-
clude and de-
termine points
of Religion.

in their Convocation : for the Lord tells us plainly, That the Priests *should keep knowledge, and they, (that is, the people, be they what, and whom you will, Sanhedrim of the Jews, or Parliament of any other Nation) should seek the Law, that is, the Law of God, at his mouth ; because he is the Messenger of the Lord of Hosts, that is, to declare his will, and to expound his Laws unto the people.*

But what saith the Lord in this Case when the people, be they what you will, shall usurpe the Priests Office, and begin to make new Orders and Ordinances, for the Service of God, that never required such things at their hands ? He tells them plainly, *You are departed out of the way, and you have caused many to stumble at the Law, that is, by your false glosses, and injoynd observations thereof ; and you have corrupted the Covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of Hosts ; that is, you have wronged, and quite thrown out, the Bishops and Priests from their Offices, which is, to consult with the King to see God rightly worshipped. And therefore, saith the Lord, I have also made you contemptible and base before all the people, according as you have not kept my wayes, but have been partial in the Law, that is, by making Religion and my Service, like a nose of wax, to turn which way you please, when as every one should do the duties that belong unto him ; Curabit pre-*
the Canon.

Malach. 2. 7, 8, 9.

CHAP. VI.

What the Rest, and peaceable times, of King David wrought. The Prince's authority in causes Ecclesiastical ; and how they should be zealous to see that God should be justly and religiously served.

THirdly, having seen the times, and the persons, that consulted and conferred together, we are now to consider the fruits, and effects that this quiet sitting at rest, and peaceable times, wrought in David, and what was the matter, that these two grave and great Persons do so seriously deliberate and consult about ; And most commonly we find, that rest and peace have been the bane, and surfeit of the mind, to puff it up with pride ; and prosperity hath often choaked piety, and plenty hath made Religion to pine away, and to be cast upon a bed of security, as Jezebel was cast upon a bed of fornication. For so Moses saith of the Israelites, *Dilectus meus impinguatus recalcitavit ; My beloved, fed, fattened, and enlarged, kicked with their heels ; or, Jesurun waxed fat and kicked, and then he forsook God that made him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his Salvation.* And as the Poet saith,

*Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis,
Nec facile est equa commoda mente pati.*

Ovid. de arte
Am. l. 2.

Our hearts do swell, and our minds grow luxurious and riotous, when our affairs do prosper, and all things succeed as our hearts desire, and have rest and peace, as now David had, round about us. And so indeed it fell out with our selves in these Kingdoms now of late ; our peace and our plenty, hath undone us, by making us too wanton, to rebell against our King, to provoke our God to scourge us for that our Wantonness and Rebellion. And therefore S. Augustine saith most truly, *Magna virtus est cum felicitate*

Our peace and plenty made us wanton ; and our wantonness brought our wars upon us.

A Declaration

tate luctari, ne illicitat, ne corrumpat, ne ipsa subvertat felicitas; it is a point of great virtue, to strive with felicity; lest, it inticeth us, corrupteth us, and overbroweth us; and so it is a great felicity and happiness, not to be overcome with felicity, or, not to be undone with prosperity; as many Men, Towns, and Kingdoms have been many times: for as the said Poet saith,

Tum, cum tristis erat, defensa est Ilium armis,

Troy in her adversity was well defended; but alas

Militibus gravidum lata recepit equum.

Quam facile cadunt splendide fortuna.

How king Davids peace and plenty increased his Piety.

Th: summe and substance of Davids deliberation.

2 Chron. 6. 41.

Exod. 30. 16.

Hebr. 9. 4.

The excellency of Religion, which is the preserver of all happiness.

But sitting and jocond she was destroyed. And so it is with many, *ἡ δὲ εὐδαίμων πόλις λαμπρῆς πυχᾷ;* Their fair fortunes makes them to fall.

But it was not thus now with King David; for his Rest begat Religion in him; and his peace, plenty, and prosperity increased his Piety: and as he delighteth to recount Gods benefits, so he considereth how he may show his thankfulness for them; and therefore he thus museth and meditateth on the matter.

God hath given me a Kingdom, and a Royall stately House; built of Cedars in that Kingdom. Therefore I will build an House for him, and he hath given me rest round about; therefore I will prepare a place for his Ark, which he ordained to be the sign and symbole of his presence; and which hitherto hath had no resting place, but many a sad and wearisome perambulations, that now at last it may rest and be no more forced to be transported and carried from place to place. For though, *Enter, presenter, Deus est, & ubiq; potenter,* God himself, hath an ubiquity of presence, being essentially full, and filling all places, *Supra celos non elatus, & subter terram non depressus; non exclusus, nec circumscriptus;* yet because his grations and his powerfull presence is promised to be, and to be shewed and extended in a speciall manner in some places more, and rather, then in other places, and that place specially is, where his Ark resideth, and which is called the Ark of his strength, and the Ark of his Covenant, and the Ark of the Testimony: because he Covenanted and promised by the tables of that Covenant, and the other symbols of his presence, that were kept in that Ark, to be present and assistant, and most powerfully to bless, and protect, all those that kept the Covenant, and observed those Testimonies that were preserved in that Ark; therefore saith David, In requital of Gods favours shewed unto me, I will build a House for Gods Ark; that so, the tables of the Covenant, betwixt God and his people, and the Manna, and the rod of Aaron, which were to be kept in the Ark, might be the more safely preserved, and rest in one place without any more wandering, and the people and servants of God which are obliged and commanded to come to serve God, and to bring their offerings and oblations to offer unto God before the Ark where it should be, might be the more certain of the place of its residence, and might with the more conveniency, and in a far better manner, perform their duties, and discharge their service unto God; then while the Ark wandered from place to place. And this was the result and summe of Davids deliberation, and conference with the Prophet Nathan.

And it is no wonder, that King David was so Religious, and so punctual, in all particulars appertaining to Religion and the service of God; because Religion, as one truly saith, is, as the Poles of the World, the Arctick and Antartick, or that Mount Atlas, which (the Poets say) holds up Heaven for

for it stands on earth, and it reacheth to God in Heaven, and it is that which payeth all Societies, and all states here below; for, without the faith and belief of Gods Providence, to oversee our actions, and then to reckon for our transgressions, and to punish the delinquents, might, craft, and falsehood would sway in the World alike with men; as it is with the Beasts of the field, and the Fishes of the Sea; and the Conscience of good and evil would be all one: and Religion, is that which enableth the noblest man; erects his affections, and estates him in a state of happiness, far above nature; and, in a word, this procures all blessings to light upon us. So that whether you aime at the spiritual, true, and eternal felicity, or the civill-Weale and temporall happiness only; yet, Religion is, and ought, mainly to be magnified and preserved; and therefore the King did most wisely and Religiously call the Prophet, to consult about the building of an House for the Ark, and for the service of God.

And this practice of King David is a pattern and a looking-glass for all Kings and Princes, whereby they may see, how to spend the times of peace and prosperity to their best profit and advantage; and that is,

1. Not to spend their whole time, either in idleness, or vain pastimes; because, as Hesiod saith, *Illi pariter indignantur dii & homines, quisquis otiosus est*; both the gods and men detest him that is idle, and therefore Christ demandeth of them that did nothing, *Why stand ye here all day idle?* and for pastimes and recreations, *Ludendi modus retinendus est*; a mean or measure, and certain ends and rules, ought to be observed therein.

What Davids example should teach all other Princes.

1. Lesson.

Matth. 20. 6.

Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere virtus.

Horat.

For so do we read of the Roman Scævola, he used to recreate his spirits, after he had wearied himself in the weighty Affairs of the Commonwealth; but, as it is said of Scipio Africanus that he was, *Non minus otiosus quam cum otiosus*, never less idle then when he was idle; *Quia semper in otio de negotio cogitavit*; because, that when he had nothing to do, he was still thinking and considering what he should do, even as King David here When he sat in his house and was at rest, and took his ease, and was quiet from all Wars, he bethinks himself of building Gods House; So should all other Kings and Princes do: to give unto the very times of tranquillity their proper task and share of their Affairs; because, as Homer bringeth in God telling Agamemnon, that

Valer. Max. l. 8. c. 8. Not to spend all their time in pleasures.

Non decet principem solidam dormire noctem.

Homer. Il. 2.

It becometh not a Prince to take a sound sleep all night long, as Alexander did on that night, when he was on the next very day to fight with Darius. Which might have lost him the field; had not his fortune been better then his fore-sight. For God puts a Scroule into every Prince his hand, sensible to that schedule of Ezechiel, wherein all their charge and duties are set down at large, with this inscription, *Gesta illos in sinu*; Bear all these alwaies in thy bosome, and let them never depart out of thy mind; and as the Egyptians Hieroglyphic painted, *Oculum cum Sceptro*, an Eye with the Crown or Scepter, to betoken a prudent Prince; so should every King have an eye in his head, as well as a Scepter in his hand, or a Crown upon his head, and to use Vigilance as well as Authority over his people.

Quint. Curt.

Ezech. 2. 9.

And so Augustus Caesar, that found Rome of brick, and left it of Marble, is made famous by the Historians for his great and extraordinary care and vigilancy which he alwaies used for the good of his Empire; when as he gave himself no rest, nor suffered any one day to pass over his head, in quo non aliquid legeret, aut scriberet, aut declamaret; but he either read, or

The great care of Augustus Caesar for the good of the Commonwealth.

A Declaration

A careless
Gentleman.

writ, or made some speech unto the people; and when he heard of a certain Gentleman of Rome, that was very deeply indebted, and yet slept most securely, without care to pay his debts, and without fear of any danger, he desired that he might buy the *bed*, whereupon he rested; because the debts that he stood bound for, both to God and to the Common-wealth would never suffice him to sleep so secure, when as it is *ars artium* the chiefest of all arts, and the hardest of all things, to Rule and Govern an unruly people; so difficult, that the Prophet David compares it to the appeasing of the raging Seas; saying, *Tbou stillest the rage of the Sea, and the noise of his waves, and the madness of his people*; because, as Seneca saith, *Nullum morosius animal, nec majori arte tractandum, quam subtilis homo*; There is not any living creature so froward, and so hard to be tamed and ruled, as a suttle and crafty man.

Reges satui
quibus similes.

But those Kings and Princes, that think the Common-wealth to be made for them, and not themselves for the Common-wealth; and do spend their time, not much better, then that Roman Emperour; who, when he was in his privy Chamber, sported himself in catching flies, and to pull out their eyes with a pin; for which he became so ridiculous, that oftentimes, when any demanded *Who was with the Emperour?* his servants would answer, *ne musca quidem*, truly not a flie, they are said to be *tanquam simie in tecto*, like Apes on the top of a house, that delight themselves to spoil, and to untile the house. And God made them Kings and appointed them for other ends, and not to destroy his people, as many Tirants do; which we deserved, for being so unthankfull to God, and so undutifull to our King, that was so pious and so gentle, like King David, and so good as the best that ever England had.

3. Lesson.
That King David's chiefest care was for Religion and to promote the service of God.

2. As King David spent not his time like Domitian in catching of flies, nor like Heliogabalus in following after his pleasures, but like Scipio and Augustus for the good of his Kingdom; So here you may see the chiefest good he aimed at was to erect an House, and a House of Beauty and Majesty for the Majesty of the God of Heaven; for his thoughts conceived it not a sufficient discharge of his duty, to provide for the peace of his Kingdom, and the happinets of the Civill State, unless he did also take a speciall care for the honor and service of God, and see the works of Piety performed, as well and rather then the duties of equity and civility: for he understood it full well, that God ordained Kings to be, not only *Reges murorum*, for the preservation and defence of walls and Cities, and the outward prosperity of their people; but also *Reges sacrorum*, to see the holy duties of Religion, and Gods worship duly performed.

And therefore, as God had made him a Monarch over men, and had given him an House of Cedars, so he was desirous to become the Priest of God, and to build him an House for his service.

What all kings
and Princes
ought to do.

And this should be a good lesson for all other Kings and Princes, to imitate this good and godly King in the like sweet harmony of pollicy and piety, and to have a greater care to provide for the Ark of God then for the Kings Court; because Religion is the basis and pillar that must bear up their Kingdoms. And therefore all good Kings ought not only, with Moses, to rescue their people and to set them at liberty from the Egyptian bondage, and out of the hands of Usurping Tyrants, as our gracious King hath now done; or with Sampson to fight for them against the forces of the Philistines; or with Augustus to make their Cities abound with all kind of prosperity; or with Ezechias to set up an exchequer for silver and gold, and precious stones, and for shields, and store-houses, for to keep Wheat and Wine, and Oyl, and stables for Horses and all Beasts of service; that is to strengthen their Kingdoms, with Meat, Money, and Ammunition, and all other necessities both for War and Peace: but they ought also with David to

Judges 15.

1 Chron. 31.

27.

to bring home the Ark of the Lord into the House of God; and to set *Levites* to do the service of the Tabernacle; that is, good and godly Ministers and Bishops, to attend the Church, and to teach the people; and with King *Asa* to overthrow the Idols and Altars, and all other monuments of Idolatry, and false worship of God; and with *Jehu* to slaughter all the Priests of *Baal*, and to root out all Heretical, Schismatical, and false teachers from the Church of Christ.

And to make this more apparant and clear, that all good Kings and Princes ought to take care of Religion, and to see that Gods service should be duly exercised within their Dominions; you shall find that, when through the profaneness and negligence of King *Saul* to discharge his duty, and the desidioufness and carelesness of the Priests and Levites; many abuses crept into the Church, as the Tabernacle was broken and lost, the Ark of God was out of the Temple, out of the proper place of it, and was obscured and hemmed, and, as it were, imprisoned in private houses, so that the people had no publique place of Assembly; to here the law and to offer Sacrifice unto God, but every one had his Chappell of ease, and his private Oratory by himself; to serve God as he listed; as now of late it hath been with us; *David*, as soon as ever he was chosen to be King in *Hebron*, the first work he did, was to consult with his Captains, and all the Congregations of *Israel*, to cite and summon the Priests and Levites, and all the Clergy that were for the service of the Tabernacle, to appear before him, and to cause the Ark of God to be brought again unto them, that they might inquire at it, which they did not, nor could do, in the daies of *Saul*; and when he had assembled the Children of *Aaron* and the Levites, he shewed them the abuses, that Religion had sustained in the daies of *Saul*, and he caused the Ark to be carried upon the shoulders of the Levites, unto the place that he had prepared for it: and when he had called for *Zadok* and *Abiathar* the Priests, and for the Levites, for *Uriel*, *Asaiab*, and *Joel*, *Semaiah*, and *Eliol*, and *Aminidab*; he did set down which of the Levites should serve, and in what order they should Minister before the Ark, and he injoynd the sons of *Aaron* that were Priests, how they should go forward every one in their course.

And so, according to this Practice of King *David*, King *Solomon* his son, and all the succeeding Kings, that were good and godly, did the like; for of *Solomon* it is recorded, that he appointed according to the order of *David* his father, the courses of the Priests to their service, and the Levites to their charges to praise and Minister before the Priests, as the duty of every day required; the Porters also, by their courses at every gate; for so *David* the man of God commanded. And it is further Chronicled of King *Solomon*, that what his father here projected, and consulted about, the building of an House to the Lord, he really performed; and when he had built it, he made a very godly speech, and a most excellent Oration unto the people, touching the Worship of God and his Religion; and he deposed *Abiathar*, and set up *Sadoc* in his place, and Sanctified the Temple; and placed the Ark of God therein; and offered burnt offerings and Sacrifices, and directed the Priests and Levites in all their proceedings; even as his father *David* had done before him; and that which is very observable, it is said, that the Priests and Levites left nothing unobserved; but did all things, according as they had received in commandment from the King.

So likewise King *Jehosaphat* is highly commended for his piety and Religious care of Gods Worship; for it is recorded of him, that he appointed and disposed the Priests and Levites to do the service of the Tabernacle; and that by order of his Authority the Woods, and Groves, and High places, which were the lets and hinderances of the true Religion, were quite re-

2 Chron. 17. 7, 8, 9. moved and taken away, because the people by their *private Meetings* and *Conventicles* in those places to serve God, as they now adays do with us, wholly neglected the *Cathedral* and *Mother-Church*, which was at *Hierusalem*, and to which they were, from every corner of the Kingdom, yearly to repair.

2 Chron. 29. per totum. And when the *Service* of God was corrupted, and the *Temple* most filthily defiled, through the *negligence* and *sinfulness* of the *Priests*, King *Exechias* commanded it to be *purged*, and he caused *lights* to be set up, *incense* to be burned, *Sacrifices* to be performed, and the *Brazen Serpent*, that was become an *Idol* and worshipped by the people, to be broken down, and consumed to ashes.

2 Reg. 12. 7. So King *Jos* reproved the *Priests*, of his time, for their excessive *abuses*, and the *insolent* behaviour that was seen in them; for he sequestered the *oblations* of the people, which the *Priests* had *unjustly* and *wantonly* taken, and appropriated to themselves, and by his *Royal Authority*, caused them to be converted for the *reparation* of the *Temple*.

2 Reg. 23. And King *Josias*, to his everlasting praise, shewed himself most careful to suppress the *Idolatrous Priests*, to purge the *Church* from all *Idolatry* and *Superstition*, and to put the *Priests* and *Levites* in mind of their duties; as you may see in 2 Reg. 23. per totum.

Obj.

And if our adversaries of the *Roman Church*, do object and say, *Quid Imperatori cum Ecclesia?* What hath the *Emperour* or any *lay-Prince* to do with the *Church*? let him rule the *Common wealth*, and leave *Religion* and what belongs to *God's Worship*, to be ordered and observed by the *Pope*, *Bishops*, and *Priests*, whose *Office* and *Calling* is, to take care, and to see the *Church* of *God* should be sufficiently served, and all *holy duties* holily performed. And the *examples* alleged, infringe not the *force* of this *Objection*: because *David* was a *Prophet*, even as *Moses* was; and his ordering the *affairs* of the *Temple*, and setting the *Service* of the *Church*, was done by *virtue* of his *Prophetical*, and not of his *Princely-Office*. And *Solomon* was *Divinely inspired* by *God's holy Spirit*, both for the *building* of the *Temple*, and the *ordering* of the *Priests* and *Levites* for the *Service* of the *Temple*. And as *Jehu* had the *direction* of the *Prophet Elishai*, for the suppression of the *Priests* of *Baal*, so had *Exechias* the *Prophet Esay* to direct him in the *purging* of the *Temple*, and *Reformation* of those *abuses*, that had crept in into the *Service* of *God*.

Sol.

To this we answer, That as *Josias* the *Prince*, was required to go in and out at the word of *Eleazar* the *Priest*, so we yield, that the *King* ought to bearken to the counsel and direction of his *Bishop* and *Priest*, as *David* here did consult with *Nathan*, and *Exechias* with the *Prophet Esay*. And while *Religion* is purely maintained, the people truly instructed, and the *Church* rightly and orderly governed by the *Bishops*, and the rest of the *Ecclesiastical Governours*, the *Prince* needs not to trouble himself with any *Reformation*, or to meddle with the *matters* of *Religion*: But the *Kings*, *Prince*, and *Supreme Magistrate* ought to see, that all the *aforesaid things* are so; and if they be not, to correct the *Priest*, when he is careless, and to cause all the *abuses*, that he seeth in the *Church*, and in *Religion*, to be *Reformed*: Because, as *S. Augustine* saith, *In hoc reges Deo servant, sicut in divinis precipitur, in quantum sunt reges, si in suis regnis bona jubeant, et mala prohibeant, non solum que pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam que ad Divinam religionem.* In this *Kings* and *Princes* do serve *God*, as they are commanded by *God*, if they do command, as they are *Kings* in their *Kingdoms*, those things that are *good* and *honest*, and *prohibit* the things that are *evil*, not only in *cases*, that do properly appertain to *civil society*, but also in such things as belong and have reference to *Religion* and *Piety*. And when they do so, the *Bishops* and *Priests*, be they whom you will,

Augustin. contra Crescentum
l. 3. c. 51.

will, should observe their Commands, and submit themselves in all obedience to their Determinations and censures. For *Moses* was the civil Magistrate, and the Governour of the people, and, as he received them from God, so he delivered unto the people all the *Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances* that appertained to *Religion*, and to the Service of God: And when *Aaron* erected, and set up the golden Calf, to be worshipped, and so violated the true Religion and Service of God, *Moses* reprov'd and censured him; and *Aaron*, though he was the High Priest of God, and the Bishop of the people, yet as a good example for all other Priests, and Bishops, he submitted himself most submissively unto *Moses* the chief Magistrate, and said; *Let not the anger of my Lord wax hot.* And I would the Pope would do so likewise.

That the Bishops & Priests ought to submit themselves to the lawful commands & directions of their Kings & civil Governours.

Exod. 32. 32.

And therefore, though we say the Judge is to be preferred before the Prince, in the knowledge of the Laws; and the Doctor of Physick in prescribing potions for our health, and the Pilot in guiding his Ship, which the King perhaps cannot do: Yet it cannot be denied, but the King hath the commanding power to cause all these to do their duties; and so punish them, if they neglect it. So, though the King cannot preach, and may not administer the holy Sacraments, nor intrude himself with *Saul* and *Uzzia* to execute the Office of the Priest or Bishop; yet he may and ought to require and command both Priests and Bishops to do their duties, and to uphold the true Religion, and the Service of God, as they ought to do, and both to censure them, as *Moses* did *Aaron*, and also to punish them, as *Solomon* did *Abiathar*, if their offence so deserve, when they neglect to do it; and both Priests and Bishops ought, like *Aaron* and *Abiathar*, to submit themselves unto their censures.

CHAP. VII.

The Objections of the Divines of Lovaine, and other Jesuites, against the former Doctrine, of the Prince his authority over the Bishops and Priests, in causes Ecclesiastical, answered; And the foresaid truth sufficiently proved by the clear testimony of the Fathers and Councils, and divers of the Popes and Papists themselves.

BUT against this Doctrine of the Prince his authority to rectifie the things that are amisse, and out of order in the Church of God, the Jesuites and their followers tell us, *Spirituales dignitates prestantiores esse secularibus seu mundanis dignitatibus*; That the Spiritual Dignities are more excellent than those that are worldly. When as these two Governments, the one of the Church, and the other, of the Common-wealth, are like the two great Lights, that God hath made, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night; and the Government of the Church must needs be acknowledged to be the Day, and to have the greater light to guide and to direct it. The Apostle telling us plainly, that now the Gospel beeing come, and the Church of Christ established, the night is past, or far spent, and the day is at hand, and come amongst us. And the Government of the Secular State, is like the Moon, that ruleth the Night, and receiveth her clearest light from the Sun; as all Christian Kingdoms do receive their best light, and surest Rules of Government from the Church of God, which is the pillar and the ground of truth: But,

Obj.

Gen. 1. 16;

Rom. 13. 12.

And though the light of the Church be the greater; yet that proves not but that the King should be the prime and chief Governour of the Church.

To these, that thus make the Civil Government subordinate to that, which

which is *Spiritual*, as both the *Papists* and our *Fanatick-Sectaries* here amongst us, like the old doting *Donatists*, would do; and so abridge and deprive the *Christian Prince* of his just right and jurisdiction over the *affairs* and *persons* of the Church: I answer,

Sol.

1. That *Symbolical* propositions, examples, parables, comparisons, and similitudes, can prove nothing; they may serve for some *illustrations*, but for no *infallible* demonstrations of truth.

Isidorus in Olosa in Gen. ut citatur.
In the Scourge of Sacrilege.

2. I say, that *Isidorus*, a popish Doctor, preferreth the Government of the Kingdom, before the Priesthood, by comparing the Kingdom unto the Sun, and the Priesthood unto the Moon.

Balsamon in Sexta Synodo Canone 7.

3. I say, that *Theodore Balsamon*, a good School-man, saith, *Nota Canonem: Dicit Spirituales dignitates esse, prestantiores secularibus; sed ne hoc ed traxeris, ut Ecclesiastica dignitates praferantur Imperatori, quia illis subiaciuntur.* You must note, that when the Canon saith, the *Spiritual* dignities are more excellent than the *Secular*, you must not so understand it, as to prefer the *Ecclesiastical* Rule or Dignities, before the *Imperial State*, because they are subject unto it, and so to be ruled by it.

4. And lastly, I say, that the *Regal* Government, or *Temporal* State, and civil Government of the *Common-wealth*, is not *merely* secular and worldly, as if *Kings and Princes*, and other civil Magistrates, were to take no care of mens souls, and future happiness, which they are bound to do; and not to say with *Cain*, *Nunquid ego custos fratris*, Am I obliged to look what shall become of their souls? But they are called *Secular States*, and civil Government, because the *greatest*, though not the *chiefest* part of their time and employment, is spent about *Civil* affairs, and the *outward* happiness of the Kingdom, even as the *Ecclesiastical* persons are bound to provide for the *poor*, and to procure *peace*, and compose *differences* among neighbours, and the like *civil* offices; though the *most* and *chiefest* part of their time and labour is to be spent in the *Service* of God, and for the good of the souls of their people. And so *Jobannes de Parisiis*, another man of the *Roman Church*, doth very honestly say, *Falluntur qui supponunt, quod potestas regalis, sit Corporalis, & non Spiritualis, & quod habeat curam corporum & non animarum, quod est falsissimum*: They are deceived, which suppose that the *Regal* power is *only* corporal, and not *spiritual*, and that it hath but the care and charge over the *bodies* of his Subjects, and not of their *souls*; Which is most false.

Jobannes de Parisiis Can. 18.

Obj.

1. They say, as I have said even now, that *similitudes*, and examples *nihil ponunt in esse*, and are no apodictical proofs for any *weighty* matters, especially the examples of the *old Testament*, to confirm the doing of the *like things* under the *new Testament*; because, that for us to be *guided* and *directed* by the examples of the *old Law*, is the *high-way* to lead us to *infinite inconveniences*.

Therefore it followeth not, that because the *Kings of Israel and Juda* did such things, as are fore shewed, unto the *Priests and Levites*, and the setting of the *Service* in the Temple; therefore our *Moderne Princes* should have the *like* Authority, to do the *like things* unto the *Bishops and Priests* of the *new Testament*, about the *Worship* of God, and the *Government* of his Church; and especially in the *censuring* of them, that are appointed by Christ to be the *Prime* Governours, of the same.

Sol.

Ephes. 4. 12.

1 Cor. 12. 28.

To this I answer 1. That this is, as the *Schools* say, *Petitio principii*, and a begging of the Question; for we say, that although, for the *perfecting* of the *Saints*, for the *work* of the Ministry, for the *edifying* or building up of the *body* of Christ, that is, the Church, God hath set in his Church, first *Apostles*; secondarily *Prophets*, thirdly *Teachers*; and so *Bishops and Priests* primarily and principally, to discharge the *aforsaid* Offices and Duties: yet this proveth not that they are *simply* and *absolutely* the *Prime Governours*, and

and Chief Rulers of the Church; but that the Kings and Princes, in the other respects aforementioned, may be justly said to be the Prime and Supreme Governours, as well in all causes Ecclesiastical, as Temporal; for the Prophet *Esa*, speaking of the Church of the Gospel, saith, That Kings should be her nursing fathers, and Queens her nursing mothers. And I hope you will yield, that the fathers and mothers, are the Prime and Supreme Governours of their children, rather than their School-masters and Teachers.

In what sense the Bishops & Priests, and in what sense Kings & Princes may be said to be the prime Governours of the Church. *Esa* 49. 23.

But, though the progeny of the Pope, and our frantick *Señaries*, would fain thrust out the eyes of the politic Prince, and make him just like *Polypemus*, that had a body of vast dimensions, but of a single sight, scarce able to see his wayes, and to govern himself; yet I shall, by God's assistance, make it most apparent unto you, by the testimony of the Fathers, Councils, and some Popish Authors, that the Sovereign Prince hath, and ought to have, alwayes a peremptory Supreme power, as well over the Ecclesiastical persons, and causes of the Church, as over the Civil persons and causes of the Temporal State and Common-wealth; For,

1. *S. Augustine* writing against *Parmenian*, the *Donatist*, that would, with our *Disciplinarians*, that are the very brood of those *Donatists*, unarme the King of his Spiritual Sword, saith, *An forte de Religione fas non est ut dicat Imperator, vel quos miserit Imperator? Cur ergo ad Imperatorem vestri venerunt legati? Cur eum fecerunt cause sue judicem?* Is it not lawful for the Emperour, (and so the Prince) or whomsoever he shall send, to treat and determine matters of Religion? If you think it is not, Why did your Messengers then come unto the Emperour? And why did they make him the Judge of their cause? Whereby you see *S. Augustine* judgeth the Emperour, or any other Supreme Prince, to have a lawful power to hear, and to determine the points and matters controverted among the Bishops, and so to have a Spiritual jurisdiction as well as a Temporal.

1. The testimony of the Fathers. *Aug. p. 1. Cont. Epistolam Parmenian.*

Nicephorus also, in his Preface to the Emperour *Immanuel*, saith, *Tu es Nicephorus in Dux professionis fidei nostre, tu restituisisti Catholicam Ecclesiam, & reformatisti Ecclesiam Dei à mercatoribus celestis Doctrinæ, & ab hæreticis, per verbum veritatis*: Thou art the Captain of our Profession, and of the Christian Faith, and thou hast Restored or Reformed the Catholick Church, and cleansed it from those Merchants of the heavenly Doctrine, and from all the Hereticks by the word of Truth. And I think nothing can be said fuller and clearer than this, to justify the Spiritual jurisdiction of the Prince, and Supreme Magistracy in causes Ecclesiastical. Yet *Theodoret* and *Eusebius* say as much of *Constantine* the Great.

prefatione ad *Immanuel. Imitat.*

Theodoretus l. 1. c. 7.

2. You may read in the Council of *Chalcedon*, That all the Bishops and Clergy, that were gathered together to that place, (as the Members of our Parliament use to do) were wont to lay down the Canons they had agreed upon in the Council, until the Emperour should come to confirm them with his Royal assent; and when the Emperour came, they said, These Decrees seem good unto us, if they seem so to your Sacred Majesty. And the Bishops of the Council of *Constantinople*, that was after the first Council of *Ephesus*, wrote thus submissively unto the Emperour *Theodosius*, We humbly beseech your Clemency, that as you have honoured the Church with your Letters, by which you have called us together, *Ita finalem conclusionem decretorum nostrorum corroboret sententia tua & sigillo*, So you would be pleased to strengthen and confirm the last conclusion of our Decrees, by your Royal Sentence and Seal.

2. The testimony of the Councils.

Concil. Chalcedon. Artic. 1. pag. 831.

3. As the Fathers and Councils do thus acknowledge the Emperours right in the Spiritual jurisdiction; So many of the Popes and Papists themselves have confessed the same truth, and yielded the same right unto the Emperour, and other Sovereign Magistrate, in the Church and Church-matters, and

3. The testimony of Popes and Papists.

Platina in
severino papa.

Zabarella de
Schismate &
Conciliiis.

Theodoret l. 2.
c. 16.

2 q. 4. Manda-
tis.

2. q. 7. Nos si.

Epist. Eleuth.
inter leges.
Edward.

Theodoretus,
l. 2. c. 1.

How the Em-
perour and
Kin. execu-
ted the power
that God had
given them.

Idem. l. 1. c. 7.

Sozom. l. 4.
c. 16.

Conciliorum,
Tom 2. In vita
Sylvani, &
vigiliis.

Concil. Boni. 3.
c. 2.

and over all the persons belonging unto the Church; for *Platina*, that was *Library-keeper* unto the Pope, saith, that, Without the *Letters patents* of the Emperour to confirm him, the Pope is no lawfull Pope; and *Zabarel*, a great Scholar, saith, The Pope may be accused before the Emperour, of, and for any notorious crime, and publick scandalous offence; & *Imperator potest à papa requirere rationem fidei*; and the Emperour may inquire, and call the Pope, to yield an account of his faith and Religion.

And so many of the better Popes were not ashamed to confess the same: for Saint *Gregory*, who for his great learning and piety was surnamed, the Great, writing unto *Mauritius*, the Emperour, saith, *Imperatori obedientiam præbui, & pro Deo quod sensi minimè tacui*; I have yielded all obedience unto the Emperour, and what I conceived to be truth and for God, I concealed it not: and, before Saint *Gregories* time, Pope *Liberius*, being convented to appear before *Constantius*, denied not most readily to obey his summons. So did Pope *Sixtus* upon the like complaint, appear to purge himself before *Valentinian*; and Pope *Leo* the third, before *Charles the Great*. And it is registred that Pope *Leo* the 4th. wrote unto the Emperour *Lodowick* saying, *Si incompetenter aliquid egimus, & iusta legis tramitem non conservavimus, admissorum nostrorum cuncta vestro iudicio volumus emendare*; If we have done any thing unseemly and amiss; and have not observed and walked in the right path of the just law, we are most ready and willing to amend all our admissions, or whatsoever we have done amiss according to your judgment; and Pope *Eleutherius* saith to *Edward* the I. of England, *Vs estis Vicarius Dei in Regno vestro*, that he (and so every other King) is Gods Vicar in his Kingdom. This was the mind and sense of these Popes, and many other Popes in former ages were of the same mind, until pride, avarice and ambition corrupted them, to be as now they are.

And, as God hath given this power and required this duty of Kings and Princes, to have a care of his Church, and to reform Religion, and the Fathers and Councils have confirmed this truth, and divers of the very Popes themselves, and Papists have yielded, and submitted themselves unto their spiritual jurisdiction even in the Ecclesiastical causes; so the Emperours and Kings omitted not to execute the same from time to time, especially those that had the master power and ability to discharge their duties: for *Theodoret* writes that *Constantine* was wont to say, *Si episcopus turbas det, mea manu coercetur*, If any Bishop shall be turbulent and troublesome, he shall be refrained and censured by my hands: and both *Theodoret* and *Eusebius* tells us how he came in his own person unto the Council of *Nice*, *Et omnibus exsurgentibus, ipse ingressus est medius, tanquam aliquis Dei celestis Angelus*, the whole company of the Bishops and all the rest arising, he came into the midst amongst them, as it were an Heavenly Angel of God; And *Sozomen* writeth how that ten Bishops of the East, and ten others of the West, were required by *Constantine* to be chosen out by the Convocation, and to be sent to his Court, to declare unto him the decrees and canons of the Council, that he might examine them, and consider whether they were consonant to the Holy Scriptures. And the Emperour *Constantius* deposed Pope *Liberius* of his Bishoprick, and then again he deprived Pope *Felix*, and restored *Liberius* unto the Popedom; and in the third Council, at *Constantinople*, he did not only sit among the Bishops, but also subscribed, with the Bishops, to such bulls as passed in that Council, saying, *Kidimus & Subscripsimus*, we have seen these canons and have subscribed our approbation of them. And King *Odoacer*, touching the Affairs of the Church saith, *Miramur quicquam tentatum fuisse sine nobis*; We do admire, that you should attempt to do any thing without us: for, while our Bishop lived, (that is the Pope) *sine Nobis nihil tentari oportuit*, Nothing ought to be done without us; much less ought it to be done, now, when he is dead.

And

And the Emperour Justinian doth very often in Ecclesiastical causes, use to say, *Definimus & jubemus*, We determine and command, and we will and require, that none of the Bishops be absent from his Church, above the space of a year; and he saith further, *Nullum genus rerum est quod non sit penitus quarendum Auctoritate Imperatoris*; there is no kind of matter, that may not, or is not to be inquired into, by the Authority of the Emperour; because he hath received from the hands of God the common government and principality over all men. And the same Emperour, as Balsamon saith, gave power to the Bishop to absolve a Priest from penance, and to restore him to his Church: And the same Author saith, that the Emperours disposed of Patriarchal seats, and that this power was given them from above: and he saith further, that the Emperour Michael, that ruled in the East, made a law, against the order of the Church, that no Monk should serve in the Ministry, in any Church whatsoever.

Authent. Collat. I tit. 6.

Quomodo oportet Episcop.

Authent. Collat. Tit. 133.

Balsamon de Peccat. Tit. 9.

Idem in Calced. Concil. c. 12.

Idem de fide Tit. 1.

And we read further, how that divers of the Emperours have put down and deposed divers Popes, as Otto deposed John 13. Honorius deposed Boniface, Theodoricus deposed Symmachus, and Henry removed three Popes that had been all unlawfully chosen: and in the Council of Chalcedon, the Supreme Civil Magistrate adjudged Dioscorus, Juvenalis, and Thalassus, three Bishops of Heresie, and therefore to be degraded, and to be thrust out of the Church.

Evodius inter decreta Bonifacii 1.

U.bergen anno 1045.

And so you see how the Emperours, Kings, and Civil Magistrates behaved themselves in the Church of God, and used their power and the Authority that God had given them, as well in the Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Church, and points of Faith, as in the Civil Government of the Common-wealth.

CHAP. VIII.

That it is the Office and Duty of Kings, and Princes, though not to execute the function, and to do the Offices of the Bishops and Priests; yet, to have a special care of Religion, and the true Worship of God, and to cause both the Priests and Bishops, and all others; to discharge their duties of Gods service. And how the good and godly Emperours, and Kings have formerly done the same from time to time.

But, as God hath given unto the Kings and Princes of this world, a Power and Authority as well over his Church, and Church-men, be they Prophets, Apostles, Bishops, Priests, or what you will; as over the Common wealth, and all the lay persons of their Dominions; So they ought and are bound to have a special care of Religion, and to discharge their duties for the glory of God, the good of his Church, the promoting of the Christian Faith, and the rooting up of all Sects and Heresies, that defile and corrupt the same: for, as Saint Augustine saith, and I shewed you before, *In hoc Reges Deo serviunt*, herein Kings and Princes do serve God; if, as they are Kings, they injoyn the things that are good, and inhibit those things that are evil, and that *Non solum in iis qua pertinent ad humanam Societatem, sed etiam ad divinam Religionem*; and again he saith, that Kings do serve Christ here on earth, when they do make good laws for Christ: and Athanasius said unto the Emperour Jovinian, *Conveniens est pro principe studium & amor rerum divinarum*, It is meet and convenient for a good Prince to

Aug. contra Crescon. l. 3. c. 51.

Idem Epist. 48.

study and love Heavenly things, because that in so doing, his heart shall be alwaies, as Solomon saith, *in manu Dei*, in the hand of God; and Saine Cyrill tells the Emperours Theodosius and Valentinian, that *Ab ea qua erga Deum est pietate, reipublica vestra status pendet*, the state and condition of their Common-wealth doth wholly depend, according to that piety and Religion which they bear towards God. Because, as Cardan truly saith, *Summum presidium Regni est iustitia ob apertos tumultus, & Religio ob occultos*, Justice is the best defence of a Kingdom, and the suppressor of open tumults, because, righteousness exalteth a Nation; and Religion is the only Protector and safety against all secret and privy Machinations; because, as Minutius Felix saith, What the Civil Magistrate doth with the sword of justice, to suppress the nefarious doers and actors of wickedness, Religion rooteth out and suppresseth the very thought of evil, which a Godly and a Religious man feareth as much, and more then a wicked and prophane man doth dread the punishment of his offence; and so Religion, Piety, and the fear of God keepeth the very hearts and souls of the subjects from swelling against their Sovereign, and from the least evil thought of Rebellion; and it is the want of the fear of God, and true Religion, whatsoever men pretend, that makes Rebels and Traytors in every place; because the true Religion tells us plainly, that every soul, that is, every man, unfainedly from his heart, should be subject to the higher Powers; And the true Religion teacheth us as Tertull. saith, *Colere Imperatorem, ut hominem à Deo secundum & solo Deo minorem*, To acknowledge, and to serve the Emperour, and so our King and our Prince, as the next person to God, and inferior to none, but to God. When as he is *Omnibus major & solo Deo minor*, above all men, and below none, but only God.

And therefore it is most requisite, that all Kings and Princes should have care of the true Religion and the service of God; and with the Prophet David to build Temples and Churches for him, that hath given their Crowns and Thrones unto them: and to provide maintenance for those servants of God, that serve at his Temple, as they do for those that serve themselves; and so, both to be Religious themselves, and to see that their subjects, so far as it lieth in them, should be so likewise; and this their own piety and goodness in the service of God, will make them famous amongst all posterities, and their names to shine as the Sun; when, as Saint Ambrose saith, *Nihil honorificentius quam ut Imperator filius Dei dicatur*, nothing can be more honorable, then that the Emperour or King should be named and called the Son of Gods which is a more glorious Enlogie, then Homer could give to the best Heroes of all Greece; or that Alexander, Julius Caesar, or the like, could atchieve, by all their military exploits, or the best domestick actions that they have done; and their making provision for the Teachers of the true Religion, and the promoters of Gods service, the Bishops and Ministers of Christ his Church, which makes their subjects both Loyall and obedient unto them, and also Religious towards God, will preserve the peace and procure the happiness of their Kingdoms.

And according as God hath given this Authority, and laid this charge upon all Kings and Princes, to have a care of his Religion, and the Ministers of his Church; so we find very very many, both in former times, and also of latter years, and so both of Gentiles, Jews, and Christians that were exceeding zealous for the Honor of God, and the upholding of them that served at his Altar; as,

1. Gentile kings:

The great bounty of king Cræsus to the god Apollo and to his Priests.

1. The Gentile Kings, as Pharaoh King of Egypt, that in the extremity of that dearth, which swallowed the whole Land, he made provision for Gods Priests, so that they neither wanted means, nor were driven to sell their Lands.

And so Cræsus King of Lydia, was so wonderfull zealous of the Honor and

Theodoret, l. 4. c. 3.

Prov. 21. 1.

Cardanus de sapientia lib. 3.

Minut. Fel. in Octav.

The want of the fear of God the only thing that maketh Rebels.

Rom. 13. 1.

Tertul. ad Scapul.

How requisite it is for Kings to have a care to preserve Religion.

Ambrosius Epist. 32.

The fruits and benefits of maintaining true Religion in a kingdom.

How many former kings were very zealous to uphold Religion.

and the worship of the god of Delphos, and so bountifull to Apollo's Priests that Herodotus saith, that he made oblation of three thousand choise Cattel; such as might lawfully be offered; and caused a great stack of wood to be made; wherein he burnt Bedsteads of Silver and Gold, and Golden May-fors with purple rayment, and Coats of exceeding value; and he laid the like charge upon the Lydians, that every man should consecrate those Jewels, which he possessed most costly and pretious; from which their Sacrifice, when as the streams of liquid and molten Gold distained in great abundance, he caused thereof to be framed half staves, or sheards, the longer sort, as he intitled them, of six handfull; the shorter of three and a hand breadth in thickness; amounting to the number of an hundred and seventeen. Whereof four were of fined Gold weighing two Talents and a half; and the rest of whiter Gold, that weighed two Talents likewise; he gave also the similitude of a Lion, in tried and purged Gold, and two Books very fair and stately to see to, the one framed of Gold, weighing eight Talents and a half, with the additionall of twenty four pounds; and the other of Silver: And he presented likewise four silver Tunns, two drinking Cups, the one of Gold and the other of Silver; and silver Rings, with the shape and forme of a woman three Cubits high; and withall he offered the Chains, Girdles, and Wastbands of the Queen, his wife; and to the Priests of Amphiarus he gave a shield, and a speare of solid Gold, and a quiver of the same metall: all which, saith mine Author, he offered in hope to purchase thereby unto himselfe the gracious favour and good-will of that god: and, if he was so magnificent and bountifull to the Priests and Temple of that god, which was no gods, how Royall, think you, would he have been, if he had known the true God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Herodotus; l. i
clio.

So Cyrus and Darius Kings of Persia and of Babylon, made such royall decrees for the re-edifying of the Temple at Jerusalem, and the Worshipping of the God of Daniel, and his three companions Sidrac, Misach, and Abednego, which was the true God; that they are registred in the Book for their perpetuall honour and praise, to this very day; and shall continue longer then the stately Piramides of Egypt, even to the end of the World; when as most others of their laws and actions are shut up in silence, and buried in the grave of forgetfulness.

Ezra. 1. 7.
& c. 6. 3.
& c. 8. 9.

So Artaxerxes Mneon, the son of Darius Nothus, formerly called Ochus or Achus, that in the Persian language signifieth a Prince; was very zealous for the building of Gods House, and the inabling of the builders thereof with all things necessary for the work; and as his father Darius said; Let the work of this House of God alone, and let the Governour of the Jews and the elders of them, build this House of God in his place: Moreover I make a decree, (and it was a most Royall decree) what you shall do to the Elders of these Jews, for the building of this House of God, that of the Kings goods, even of the tribute beyond the River, forthwith expences be given to these men that they be not hindered: and that which they have need of, both young Bullocks and Rams, and Lambs for the burnt offerings of the God of Heaven; Wheat, Salt, Wine, and Oyl, according to the appointment of the Priests; let it be given them day by day without faile, that they may offer Sacrifices of sweet savours unto the God of Heaven, and pray for the life of the King and of his Sours, that were four;

Here is a glorious zeal and a brave Resolution for the honour and service of God.

1. Artaxerxes.
2. Cyrus, the younger.
3. Atossa, called also Arsaces.
4. Oxendra.

And I have also made a decree that Whosoever shall alter this word, let Ezra. 6. 7, 8; 1
Timber be pulled down from his house, and being set up, let him be hanged thereon, 9, 10, 11.

Ezra. c. 7. 21.
24.

and his house be made a dunghill for this : So the son, following the steps of his father (as our Most gracious King doth, in like manner) made a Decree to all the Treasurers that were beyond the River, That what soever *Ezra the Priest* shall require of you, it be done speedily; Also, we certify you, that touching any of the Priests and Levites, Singers, Porters, Nethinims, or Ministers of the House of God, it shall not be lawful to impose Tolle, Tribute, or Custom upon them : a thing clean contrary to the practice of *own times*, when the greatest Tolle, Tax, and Imposition, was usually laid upon the Ministers of the Gospel of Christ : to shew unto you, how far short our Christians now are in piety and zeal of Gods Worship, to these Heathens that knew not Christ : and therefore no doubt, but that they shall rise in judgement against us, that profess to honour Christ, and yet think we can never take enough from his Church, nor lay Taxes and Loads enough upon his Ministers ; And how this will be answered before Christ at the last Day, let the sacrilegious persons that labour so much, and strive so eagerly to take our houses from us consider it ; for I know not how to do it.

2. The Kings
of Israel and
Juda.

As these Heathen Kings and Monarchs were thus zealously affected to the House & Service of God, and thus religiously given to provide maintenance for the Priests and Ministers of the Temple ; So the Kings of Israel and Juda were no whit inferior unto them : but in a far righter way, and to a truer God than most of the Heathens did : For here you see King David adjudged it to be as needful to build a Temple for God, as to erect an house for himself. And so the Books of the Kings, and the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and Juda, do sufficiently set down how Solomon did most religiously build God's House, and offered Royal Sacrifices in that House, and most orderly settled the Priests and Levites, to do the Service of God in this Temple, that he had built. And so *Jehosaphat*, *Eszechias*, *Josias*, and all the rest of the good Kings of Juda, did execute the power that God had given them, in the setting and establishing of His Religion, and the True Worship of God, as you may most amply read in their lives : And those Kings that did not care for the preservation of the True Religion, and Gods Service, and his Houses, as *Jeroboam*, *Baasha*, *Ahab*, and the like, the wrath of the Lord was kindled against them, that he rooted them and their posterity out of their own house, because they neglected the Service and the House of God. And so he will do to all those Kings and Princes, that will imitate them in prophaning his House, neglecting his Service, and abusing his servants, because that with Him there is no respect of persons, but He will bind Kings in fetters, and their Nobles with links of iron.

Psal. 148.

3. The Christian
Kings.

The Christian Emperours and Kings, are not left un-chronicled for their great zeal, extraordinary care, and Royal bounty towards the Bishops and Ministers of Christ, to propagate and uphold the Christian Religion. For it is Registred in the Writings of those times, that *Constantine* the father of *Constantine* the Great, was wont to say, That he respected the Preachers of the Gospel, more than the Treasures of his Exchequer. And his son *Constantine* was called Great, as well for his Piety, that made him like *John Baptist* to be *Magnus coram Domino*, Great in the sight of the Lord, as for his Potency, that made him Great among men. And *Eusebius*, (that wrote the Life of *Constantine*, and sets down his Piety) saith, The Court of the Emperour *Valerian*, was so replenished with godly men, and religious Christians, that it seemed to be the Church of God rather than the Kings Court : So great a care had he of Religion and the Service of God, that, as the Prophet *David* saith, none should be his servants, that served not God, but who so leadeth a godly life, he shall be my servant, said this good Emperour, as good King *David* said before him.

Psal. 101. 9.

And the Emperour *Jovinian*, that succeeded *Julian* the Apostate, who with-

withdrew very many from the Christian Religion, to imbrace the idolatrous service and superstitions of the Heathens, when he attained unto the Empire, said to the people, That he would be a *King of Christians*, or he would be no King at all. And *Alphonfus*, King of *Arragon*, is made Famous in all *Chronicles*, for the great love he bare to Learning, and especially for the great zeal he had to the Christian Religion, and the great care he took to promote the Gospel of Christ, and to provide for his servants; and when some other King said unto him, That it was too base an office for a King to trouble himself with such affairs; *Alphonfus* answered, *Vox Populi ista est potius quam regis*, That voice seemed to him to be the voice of an *Oce*, rather than of a King. And as *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, very Christian like, called themselves the *husbands* of Christ; so *Constantine* was wont to say, That he gloried more to be the *servant* of Christ, than in being the *Emperour* of the World.

And such pious Kings, and godly Emperours were this zealous to maintain the Christian Religion, which bare up the Pillars of their Dominions, and makes their names now, to live glorious, though they are dead; So the Throne of this Empire, and Kingdom of Great Brittain, hath not wanted *great Princes*, and most worthy Kings, that have trod in the steps of King *David*, to provide Houses for God's Service, and to imitate the examples of the best of the aforesaid pious Princes, to see the Religion of Christ, and the True Faith purely maintained within their Kingdom: as you may find it in our *Chronicles*, and the Statutes of King *Law*, King *Alfred*, King *Edward*, that for his devotion and zeal to the Christian Religion, was rightly called *Saint Edward*, King *Ethelstane*, and King *Canute*, the *Dane*, that laid the foundation of his Building, to compose the differences of Religion, and to rectifie whatsoever he found amiss therein; before he entred upon the causes of the Common-wealth; For I read it Registered, that after sundry Laws enacted, touching our Religion, and the Faith of Christ, as the celebration of certain Holy-days, the right form of Baptism, the duty of Fasting, the teaching of the Lords Prayer unto the people, the administration of the Common-prayer, and the celebration of the blessed Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ thrice every year, and some other Duties of our Religion, this Title followeth, *Jam sequitur institutio legum secularium*, which as *Speed* sheweth, are most excellent for the execution of Justice. And it is Recorded, that *William* the Conqueror, in one of his Parliaments, said, That he being Vice-gerent to the King of kings, holdeth his Kingdom to this end, to defend his people, and especially the people of God, and his holy Church, that is, the Bishops and Priests, to reach the people, and to performe the Worship and Service of God in his Church.

And even, in our own dayes, (the Holy Name of God be for ever blessed and praised for it) we have had such pious Kings, as, I believe, I may justly say, The Christian World, for Piety and Religion, for love to God's Ministers, and the care of God's Worship, could shew but very few like them, and none to precede them therein; and that is, King *James*, and King *Charles* the First, whose glorious name, above all other Kings, since Christ, I shall ever honour and extoll, as the most constant Defender of the Christian Faith, the most loving Patron of God's Ministers, the Bishops and Preachers of his Word, and the most faithful Witness and Martyr, that lost his life for the preservation of God's Church, and the Religion of Jesus Christ, with whom I do alwayes, when I think of him, behold and see him Crowned with Eternal Glory: The most Blessed of all our Kings, and the Best of all our Saints.

Thar this our kingdom had many zealous, and most godly Kings.

Vide Speed, lib. 1. c. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Speed quo supra, pag. 384.

The rare and just commendation of King Charles the First.

CHAP. IX.

Of the chiefest Parts and Duties of Kings and Princes, which they are to discharge for the maintenance of God's Service, and the True Religion; and the necessity of Cathedral-Churches and Chappels for the people of God to meet in, for the Worship and Service of God.

YOU have heard, how that God hath given the Power and Authority unto Kings and Princes, to be the Supervisors, Directors, and Reprovers of things amiss, as well in the Church, as in the Common-wealth: And how he requireth and commandeth them, to discharge those Duties accordingly; and to have a care to preserve his Religion, as they do regard their own Salvation. You have likewise heard, how all Kings, both Heathens, Jews, and Christians, did execute that power, and, according to their ability, discharged their Duties, as well in the Spiritual jurisdiction of Ecclesiastical causes, as in the decision of Civil causes. It resteth, that I should shew unto you, the chiefest Parts and Duties, that they owe to God, and are to discharge, for the promoting of his Service, and the Religion of Jesus Christ. And I conceive them principally to consist in these Four Points, which may be like the four Rivers of Paradise, to water the Garden of God's Church, to make it to bring forth plenty of fruits, to the glory of God, and the salvation of mens souls. And they are,

The four chiefest things that Kings & Princes ought to do for the upholding of God's Religion, and the Service of Jesus Christ.

1. To take care, and to cause, that there should be Cathedral-Churches and Chappels fairly built, and decently trimmed and adorned, as befits the House of God, for his people to meet in, for the Worship and Service of God.
2. To see that able, honest, and religious Bishops be placed in those Cathedrals, and others the like pious and painful Ministers, be appointed in all the Parochial Churches and Chappels, to perform the true Service of God: as they ought to do; and to see those Drones that neglect it, and those factious Sectaries and Hereticks that defile and corrupt it, and those scandalous livers, that do much prejudice unto their holy Calling, to be punished, and removed, if they amend not, for their negligence and transgressions.
3. To provide, by their good Laws such maintenance, revenues, and means for the Reverend, and godly Bishops, and the rest of the worthy Clergy, whereby they may be enabled with joy and comfort, to discharge their duties in God's Service, to his glory, and the good of his people.
4. To put a bar, and to hinder by their Regal power and authority all the sacrilegious violaters of holy things to rob the Church of Christ, and his servants, and to commit the horrible sin of Sacrilege, which is so transcendently abominable in the sight of God, and so infinitely destructive to the souls of men.

1. The necessity of Cathedral-Churches and other Parochial Chappels for the Service of God.

These things ought to be done, as I conceive, by all good and godly Kings and Princes; and whoso doth these things shall never fail. And.

1. In defence of Cathedral-Churches, we have to alleadge, that till the time of Evaristus and Dionysius, Popes of Rome, no other kind of ministerial Church was ever heard of, from the beginning of the World; for from Adam unto Moses, men did call upon the Name of the Lord, and offered Sacri-

Sacrifices, but without any *ministerial Church* at all. And in *Moses* time, God commanded him to erect a *Tabernacle*, which stood instead of a *Church* for all the Land of *Judea*, and that was *Templum portatile*, as *Josephus* calls it, to be carried up and down, until the dayes of *Solomon*. But *Solomon* erected a *Temple*, as a standing *Church* at *Hierusalem*, to be in the place of the *Tabernacle*. And then, until the time of the *Gospel*, there was no other *Church* for God's people, (I speak not of the *Gentiles idolatrous Temples*) throughout the whole *World*. And that *Metropolitan Church* of *Hierusalem* was more than *Diocesan* or *Provincial*, for it was *National*, for the whole *Kingdom of Iury*. And after the *Gospel* was preached unto the *Gentiles*, and all *Nations* began to be converted, then sundry *ministerial Churches* were erected, according to the number of their *Bishops*, so that every particular *Bishop* had his particular *Church*, after the manner and in imitation of the *Jews*, which having but one *Bishoprick*, and one *High Priest*, or *Bishop*, had likewise but one *Cathedral Church* for that whole *Nation*. And afterwards, when the *Bishops* saw the multitude of *Christians* exceedingly increasing, *Evaristus* first, *Titulos seu Parafias in urbe Roma presbyteris divisi*, & post eum *Dionysius idem fecit*; And after him *Dionysius* the *Pope*, devised *Parochial Congregations*, and divided every *Bishoprick* into particular constant *Congregations*, which were but *Members*, and their *Churches* but the *Chappels*, of the *Diocesan* and *Provincial Churches*. And the use for which both the *Cathedral* and *Parochial Churches* do serve, was and is, for the service of God to meet in them for to worship God; and this, besides the practice of all times ab origine to this very day, do sufficiently conclude the necessity of them.

1. For as the *body politick*, or the whole multitude of the *Common-wealth*, is to be divided into his several *Limits*, *Provinces*, *Countries*, *Baronies*, and the like; so the *collective* and *mystical body* of God's *Church*, is to be distributed into several *Congregations*, as the *body natural* is to be distinguished by the several *parts* and *parcells* thereof: and though as we are *private* and particular men, the *place*, and *time*, and *form* of *prayer* and *service* of God are in the *choice* of every particular man, according to the condition of his *necessity* and *private* occasion; yet as every particular man is a *member* of the *publick State*, either *Temporal* or *Ecclesiastical*, *Church* or *Common-wealth*; so the *service* that he oweth, and ought to perform, either to the *King*, or to *God*, must needs be *publick*, and together with the rest of the *members* of the *State*; and so the *publick Service* is so much *worthier* than the *private*, and excelleth the same, as much as a *Society* or *Congregation* of men, is *worthier* and excelleth one particular man.

And *S. Chrysostom*, to shew the excellency of the *publick Service* of God, and *Common-prayer* before and above any *private prayer* or *service*, saith, That as the *coals* of fire being scattered do yield but little heat, and will soon die; but when they are close beaped together, they'll yield much heat, and the fire continueth long; So a multitude of devout and faithful men gathered together, and with one heart and one soul pouring forth their *prayers* and *petitions* unto God, their *prayers* are a great deal more *prevalent*, and more *likely* to obtain their request from God, then when they are severed, and offered up by every single person; as a twisted thred, like a threefold cord, is far stronger than any two single ones: So, though the *prayers* of one man be but weak, yet the supplications of many men are very mighty, and like unto the loud sound of thunder, or the noise of many waters, as *S. Basil* saith; and the consent of desires, the concord betwixt them, and the united love of joynt Assemblies, are so well-pleasing unto God, that as a holy Father saith, *Impossibile est multorum preces non exaudiri*; It is almost impossible, but that the *prayers* of such associated *Congregations* should

Platina de vita Pontific.
Garrion annal.
Monarch.
Exod. 25. 40.
Acts 7. 44.
2 Sam. 7. 6.
Acts 7. 47.

1. Publick
prayers are
more preva-
lent with God
than the pri-
vate prayers.

S. Chrysostomes
example to
shew the bene-
fit of publick
prayer, and
how it excel-
leth the pri-
vate.

Math. 18. 20. should be heard; because, as S. Ambrose saith, The publick meeting of Gods people hath a special promise of Gods presence to be with them, as where Christ saith, *When two or three are gathered together in his Name, he will be there in the midst of them.*

Jones 4. 11. And therefore the King of Niniveh called his people together, to joyn with him in prayer to God, that they might not be destroyed; and so besetting God, or besieging God, as Tertullian saith, like an Hoste of men, their prayer was heard, and they were received into grace. And S. Paul, though he might have confidence his prayer should speed with God as soon, and obtain as much, as any other; yet doth he confess, that the prayers of the Church of Corinth, together with his own prayers, did much help and further his deliverance from those great troubles that he suffered in Asia.

2. Publick prayers more justifiable then the private. 2. The publick prayers and service of God hath this prerogative above the private, that they do assure us they are more lawfull, and shall sooner be heard of God; because the things prayed for, and deprecated, are judged to be good and needfull, and are so approved of by the general judgment of the whole Congregation, when we hear them deprecated or desired by the common consent of all the people.

3. Our devotion and zeal are more and more strengthened in the publick Congregation. 3. The convention or meeting of the people in such publick places to serve God, doth sharpen the edge, and as it were give life and strength to every particular mans devotion; for when, through the frailty of our flesh, our spirit waxeth dull, and our zeal beginneth to grow sluggish to perform these Holy duties, the fervor, that we see in the rest of the Congregation, will mightily serve to stir up our thoughts, and to quicken our devotion to sail along with our brethren to the conclusion of those godly exercises.

4. They are helped by the good examples of others. 4. As every particular man is bettered, and much furthered in his devotion and service of God, by the good examples that all the Congregation doth shew unto him; so the whole company that considereth it, is not a litle damnified and offended at the waywardness, and neglect of those particular persons, that come not unto the publick service of God: and so, whereas the neglect of our private devotion is only hurtfull to our selves, our refusal or remissness to come to the publick exercises of our Religion, doth prejudice many, and gives offence to the whole Church; and you know what our Saviour saith, *Woe to that man by whom offence cometh; and therefore woe to him that despiseth the publick exercises of Gods Church, and refuseth to come unto them.*

Math. 18. 7. And for the preventing of this woe, and the rest of the reasons formerly shewed, the Prophet David did so earnestly desire to praise the Lord in the Congregations; yea, in the great Congregations, and among much people and so affectionately to say, *One thing have I desired of the Lord, which I will require, even that I may dwell in the House of the Lord all the daies of my life, to behold the fair beauty of the Lord, and to visite his Temple.*

Psal. 16. 12. And therefore, seeing it is so necessary, that the people of God should publickly meet, and be gathered together to serve God; it is most requisite and necessary, there should be Cathedralls and Parochiall Churches, for them to meet in, for to do the publick service of God.

Obj. But against this it may be objected, that the necessity of publick meetings, and the benefits that may be reaped from those Assemblies, rather then from any private serving of God, doth no waies prove the necessity of having Cathedralls and materiall Churches: because the presence of a company of Christian people, wheresoever Assembled, and the offices of Religion, as Preaching, Prayer, and Administring the Sacraments, performed; makes the meeting publick: and the peoples exercising these duties,

duties makes them to be a Church of God. As the presence of the Prince, and his followers; maketh any mans private house to be the Kings Court.

To this Objection I have fully, and very largely answered, in my second book of the *Great Anti-Christ revealed*, pag. 84. & deinceps. And therefore I shall refer my Reader thither to be fully satisfied; yet, here I say, that it is not the *Assembly*, or the popular conflux of a multitude of men, or the duties that they do though they be the very duties of Religion, that makes the meeting lawfully publick, or the place of Gods publick service; but it must be a *Convention*, and a gathering together of the people, into such a place, that is assigned and *Consecrated* for Gods publick service, which makes the publick meeting justifiable and lawfull; otherwise, it is but a private conventicle, altogether unlawfull, though it should consist of never so great a company of men: unless it be, as it was in the Apostles time, in the daies of persecution, or that the people have such lawfull lets and hinderances to come to the *Consecrated* place of Gods service, as I have set down in the book afore-cited. At all other times, the publick service of God must be performed in a publick *Consecrated* place, as it is meet the *Holy* service should be done in a *Holy* place; and you must know, that the ubiquity of Gods presence in every place makes not all places alike sacred; even as the Lord sheweth unto Moses, when he bids him to pull off his shoes from his feet, because the place, where thou standest is *Holy* ground; for the presence of God is either,

Exod. 3.15.

The presence of God twofold.

1. Ordinary, or
2. Extraordinary.

And as the extraordinary works of God have distinguished the times, to make some times more Holy then other, so the extraordinary presence of God hath sanctified some places more then others; and the place that he sanctifieth with his most speciall presence, is the place, which he appointeth to his servants, for their publick meeting, to do his service; and he hath not left it in the liberty of every man to run at random, to serve the Lord where he pleased; but, as he designed the time, when they should serve him, so he appointed the place, where they should come to serve him. And so Adam in that short time, which he had in Paradise, wanted not a place (appointed, no doubt, and usual) to stand before the Lord and to Communicate with him; and the sons of Adam, being out of Paradise, knew the place, where God appointed, and expected they should repair to offer their Sacrifices and oblations unto him; and so the Lord tells the Children of Israel, that they should not discharge their duties and perform his service in any place that they pleased, but they should seek the place which the Lord their God should choose, out of all their Tribes, to put his name there to dwell; and there they should come, with their oblations and offerings to serve him.

Gen. 3.8.

Deut. 12.9. & 14.

And so, when the Israelites had quite vanquished the Canaanites; and subdued the Philistines; and the other their enemies round about; and, as the Text saith, given rest unto his people, the time was come, that the Lord God thought fit to choose the place, to put his name there, and where all the people should publickly meet, to do him service; and the Lord marked out Jerusalem for himself, and in Jerusalem he chose Mount Moriah, the very place where Abraham was to sacrifice his son Isaac, to be a standing and a permanent place for his name, saying, This shall be my rest for ever, here will I dwell, for I have a delight therein; and there David now resolveth to build his Temple, to be a Cathedral and the Metropolitan Church for the High Priest, to offer Sacrifice and burnt Offerings unto God; and for the rest of the people there publickly to meet to serve the Lord; and his heart was mightily inflamed with zeal and desire to do it; but the Lord accept-

2 Chron. 6.7.

ted of his resolution, and by *Nathan* his Prophet told him, that, because he was a man of War, and had shed much blood, (and his Church must not have her foundation laid, nor her walls erected in blood) he should not build his Temple, but *Solomon* his son, that was a Prince of Peace, should erect it in the Place that he appointed, and with the materialls that he had provided; and so he did, as you may see *2 Chron. c. 3. 4. & 5.*

And when this Temple was destroyed, and the people, for their sins and neglect of Gods service, and prophanation of this House of God, were led Captives into *Babylon*, and when, after the time of their Captivity was expired, that is, the full space of 70. years, they were permitted to return into their own Land, the Lord did put it into the heart of *Cyrus* King of *Persia*, (as the Prophet *Esay* fore-shewed he should do, long before the birth of *Cyrus*) to cause *Ezra*, *Zerubbabel*, *Nehemiah*, and the rest of the Elders of the *Jews*, to build another House and Temple unto God, in the same place, where *Salomons* Temple did stand; and when the enemies of Gods people, and the prophaners of Gods House, like our malignants, sought to hinder the building of it, the Lord put it in the heart of *Darius* and his son *Artaxerxes* to cause it to be finished, according to the decree of King *Cyrus*. And the *Jews* were so zealous to do it, that they made an end of the work in five years: and so, by reason of their enemies and their haste, it was far disproportionable and different from the former, which made the old men, that had seen the glory and beauty of the first, to weep and lament at the mean aspect of the second. And yet it was not so mean, but that it might be admired for the beauty and majesty of it, especially after that *Herod*, surnamed the Great, had repaired, enlarged, and so magnificently beautified the same; so that one of his disciples, in admiration of the work, saith to Christ, Master, See what manner of Stones and what buildings are here! And the *Jews* tell him, that it was forty six years in building, before it was brought to that perfection, which *Zerubbabel* did unto it.

Ezra 6. 13.

Iosephus Antiq.
l. 15. c. ult.

Mark 13. 1.

Matth 24. 1.

Joh 2. 20.

Ioseph. Antiq.
l. 11. c. 4.

Cum incensum erat in secundo anno Cyri, qui regnavit annis — 30.
Et post eum Cambyses, regnavit annis — 8.
Et absolutum erat Darii Histaspis anno — 9.
Et sic dempto primo anno Cyri, remanent anni — 46.
sicut Iudei dicunt.

For of this Temple the *Jews* here do speak, as *Throphylas*, *Tolet*, and *Calvin* do observe.

Exod. 23. 17.
& 34. 23.
& 24.

Act 13. 27.
& c. 15. 21.

Origo earum
tempore capti-
vitatis Babyl-
onica cepit.
Sigon. de rep.
l. 2. u. 8.

Sigon. de repub.
Heb 1. 2. c. 8.
Maimon. in
Typhal. c. 111:
Seft. 1. 22
Goodw.

Luk 7. 5.

To this Temple and Metropolitan-Church, the *Jews* were all required to meet, and to appear before the Lord, to do him service, three times every year: and because these times were too seldom, and the waies too far for them to come, from all the parts of *Jury* any oftner, they had from time to time many Synagogues and Chappels, like our Parochiall Churches, wherein they might publickly meet, as they did, every Sabbath to serve the Lord; and because this Cathedral Church, the Temple of the High Priest, though very large and spacious, yet was not sufficient to contain the many thousands of people that were in the great City of *Jerusalem*, they had very many Synagogues set up in this City, and *Paulus Phagius* recounteth no less then 400 of them. And *Sigonius* saith, there were 480. And out of *Jerusalem*, they had many Synagogues in other Cities and Provinces, as there were Synagogues in *Galilee*, *Matth.* 4. 23. Synagogues in *Damascus*, *Act.* 9. 2. Synagogues at *Salamis*, *Act.* 13. 9. Synagogues at *Antioch*, *Act.* 13. 14. And their Tradition is, saith *Maimonides*, that where-soever ten men of *Israel* were, there ought to be built a Synagogue: and the *Jews* acknowledged it a great favour, and were very thankfull to any man, that built them any of these Synagogues; as the Elders of the *Jews* besought Christ to heal the servant of the *Centurion*, because He loved their

their Nation and had built them a Synagogue. And I would our men would be as glad and as desirous to have our decayed Churches built, and not to make such havock to destroy them, as they do, and that without any cause in the World: For

You may see how Christ himself and his Apostles, came and taught very often not only in the Temple, but also in these lesser Synagogues of the Jews: and it is admirable to consider how the primitive Christians, as Eusebius recordeth, erected such Oratories and Basilicaes, that is, Royall-houses and Churches, as stately as any Kings Palace, and beautified the same with excessive charges, to make them fit places for the publick meetings of the Christians, to serve their God; and so the Church of Saint Paul in London, and of Saint Peter in Westminster, and the rest of the Cathedrall Churches throughout England, and Ireland, (to pass no further) can bear sufficient witness of the zeal and devotion of our Christian predecessors to erect such Great, and adorn such Beautiful Houses unto God; as became so great and so glorious a God, (as our God is) to have. Euseb. 1. 10. c. 3. & 4. Magnos magnis decent.

And as the number of the Christians waxed daily beyond number, and increased more and more, as you may conceive, by the increase, which a few weeks time hath wrought after the ascension of Christ; when St. Peter's sermon converted 3000. souls in one day; so it caused the distinction of Assemblies, and the number of Churches to be increased and multiplied in all Countreys and Cities more and more: So that in Rome, about a hundred year after Christ, the Congregation of the Christians, became so huge great, that Evaristus then Bishop of Rome, for the avoiding of confusion, and the easier and better instruction of them, caused them to be distributed and parted into fifteen particular Parishes, and assigned fifteen severall Presbyters to instruct and govern them: the Presbyters then being honest men, and no waies contradicting Evaristus.

And to prove that the first Christians, who lived under persecutions, even from the Apostles time, had some kind of Churches; though as then not so magnificent, you may see in 1 Cor. 12. 13. & 22. & c. 14. 19. & 23. And so the most ancient of the Fathers do bear witness, as Clemens, Tertulian, Socrates, and Eusebius, proves the same out of the book of Philo Judaeus, lib. 2. cap. 17. And Lactantius, In carminibus de passione Domini: saith,

*Quisquis ades, mediusque subis in limina Templi,
Siste parum.*

Whosoever thou art, that comest to the House of God, stay a while, that is; to consider whither thou goest, and; as Salomon saith, To keep and look to thy foot, when thou goest to the House of God, which is; as God himself expoundeth the meaning thereof unto Moses, saying, Put off thy shoes from thy feet; that is, to make clean thy waies, and bring no filth, nor any carnall affections, nor worldly desires into the House of God; because, The place whereon thou standest is Holy ground; that is, by reason of Gods gracious and speciall presence in that place, where Moses stood, and where God is prayed unto, and praised by the Minister, and worshipped by the rest of his faithful servants. And if any man desires fuller proofs of this truth, I refer him to Cardinall Bellarmine, and to that excellent and Learned Sermon of Master Mede upon the 1 Cor. 11. 22.

Yet I deny not, but the prime Primitive Christians, and the Church which was at Jerusalem, and received that Religion, that is, the Faith of Christ, which the Scribes and Pharisees and their laws did not allow of, were constrained, many times, to hide their heads in desolate places, and were enforced by stealth to exercise and discharge the duties of their profession.

session in vaults and private houses, where they might be most safe, though the places were not suitable to their service; the swords of their enemies were so sore against them.

But at length, between times, by sufferance and connivency, and sometimes through favour and protection, they began to be imboldened, and to reare up Oratories and Churches, though but simple and of mean aspect, because the estates of most of them were but mean and very low, as S. Paul sheweth, *Not many Rich, not many Noble are called*; which was indeed a good way to suppress the danger of malignity, that looks not so much after poor estates; and a good way to increase their number, and propagate their design with more safety. And as by this means the Church began to take root, and to grow stronger; and the wealthier, nobler, and wiser men began to be in love with the Christian Religion; So then they loved nothing more than to build Churches answerable for their beauty, to the dignity of their Religion, and for their greatness to the number of their Professors; And the devotion of these Christians was so large, and did so liberally contribute towards the erecting of their Churches, as the Israelites in the dayes of Bezaleel did chearfully present their Gifts and Free-will-offerings towards the setting up of the Tabernacle: no man was backward, and no man a niggard in this work, which they conceived to be so profitable and so necessary for them to do: and that in two special respects,

How zealously the first Christians were affected, & how bountifully they contributed towards the building of their Churches.

The double benefit that we reap by our coming to the Publick meeting in the Church.

1. Benefit.

2. Benefit.

1. The good that is effected, by the publick meeting of the people in these Churches.
 2. The evils that are prevented

1. The meeting of the Congregation publicly in a lawful place, and a consecrated Church, assures them they offend not the Laws, either of God or man, and so secures them from all blame, and prevents the occasion to traduce, and to suspect the lawfulness of the holy Duties, that we perform; when as *Veritas non quarit angulos*, Truth and the performance of just things and holy actions, need not run and hide themselves in private, hidden, and unlawful places, but may shew themselves and appear so publicly, as they might not be subject to any, the least unjust imputation.

2. The meeting in a publick consecrated Church, and not in a private Conventicle, escapes those dangerous plots and machinations, that are very often invented and contrived in those Conventicles, that are vailed for that purpose, under the mantle and pretence of Religion; And it freeth the comers unto the Church from those seditious Doctrines and damnable Divinity, which the Sectaries and Hereticks do scatter and broach in those unlawful Conventicles, which are the fittest places for them, to effect their wicked purpose, and must needs be sinful, and offend both God and man: because, they are contrary to the Laws, both of God and man; When as the coming unto the Church quits my conscience from all fear of offending, because that herein I do obey, and do agreeable to the Laws both of God and man. And who then that hath any dram of wit, would not avoid private and forbidden meetings, and go to serve God, unto the publick Church, which is the House of God, erected and dedicated for his Service.

CHAP. X.

The Answer to the Two Objections that the Fanatick-Sectaries do make. 1. Against the Necessity. And 2ly against the Sanctity, or Holiness of our Material Churches, which in derision, and contemptuously, they call Steeple-houses.

And yet for all this, and all that we can say for the Church of God, I find Four sorts of Objections, that are made by our Fanaticks and Skenimaftices against our Material Churches. As,

{ 1. Against the Necessity. } { 3. Against the Beauty & Glory } of
 { 2. Against the Sanctity. } { 4. Against the impurity & Impiety } them.

4. Sorts of Objections against our Material Churches.

1. They do object, there is no Necessity of any Material House or Church of God for his servants to meet in to serve God; because the woman of Samaria, discoursing with Christ about the place where God would be worshipped, Whether in that Mountain, where the Fathers worshipped, or in Hierusalem, which, as the Jews said, was the place where men ought to worship; Our Saviour tells her plainly, They worshipped they knew not what; for the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this Mountain, nor yet in Hierusalem, worship the Father; but the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; because, God is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in Spirit and in truth; and such worshippers the Father seeks, and such he loves.

1. Objection against the necessity; that we have no need of Churches.

John 4. 20, 23.

And therefore, so we have clean hearts, and pure consciences, and worship God with our souls and spirits, faithfully to pray unto him, and to praise his Name, it is no matter for the place where we do it, in a Church, or in a Barn; because God looks rather to the inward heart, than to the outward place where we stand.

To this I answer, *Maledicta glossa quæ corrumpit textum*, and our Saviours words gives them no colour to extort such consequences, and to draw such conclusions from them; for the words are plain enough, that although formerly, before Moses his time, Jacob had a Well near Sichar, and he with the other Fathers, worshipped God in that Mountain, and afterwards God required them to worship him in the place, that he should chuse to put his Name there, which, after the time of David, and the building of his Temple by Solomon, was to be Hierusalem, and no where else, to perform the commanded Publick Service of God, under the punishment of cutting off that soul from his people, that should do otherwise.

Sol.

Yet the hour cometh, and now is, that is, coming, or beginning to come, that the partition-Wall betwixt the Jews and the Gentiles shall be broken down, and the bounds and borders of Gods Church, and the true worshippers of God, shall be enlarged, and they may lawfully, without offence, worship God, not only in *Jury*, where God was only formerly known aright; but also in all the Nations, and in any Kingdom of the World, so they worship him in spirit and in truth, as they ought to do: But here is not one syllable, intimating, that they should not, or needed not, to meet to serve God in the Publick Church, but that whensoever, and wheresoever, in any Kingdom of the Earth, they should gather themselves together in the Publick Church, to worship God, they should worship him in spirit and in truth, otherwise, their worship is to no purpose, and will avail them nothing, though they should do it publicly in the Church. This is the true meaning of our Saviours words.

Obj. 2.

2. We have another sort of Sectaries, that yield it requisite and convenient for the Saints and servants of God to meet and gather themselves together for the Service of God, and do acknowledge the great benefits, that may accrew and be obtained in a Congregation, rather than by any single person; but they think there is no necessity of their meeting in a Material Church, or a Steeple-house, as they call it, rather than in a house, or a chamber, or a barn, or any other place, where they shall appoint to meet; because God hath made all places, and there is no real Sanctity in any one place, more than in any other; but the sanctity or holiness must be in the hearts of the men, and not in the place, which is not capable of any sanctity; and therefore, it is rather our superstition, than Gods injunction, to require and command men to come to such Material Churches, as to the more sanctified places, rather than to such private houses, where these Saints do publicly meet to serve God.

Sol.

To make a full Answer to this their Objection, you must understand, that the word ἅγιος, holy, is derived from the privative particle, α and ἅ, which signifieth the Earth, as if to be holy, were nothing else, but to be pure and clean, and separated from all earthly touch: And it is taken two wayes.

Holiness taken
two wayes.
1. Way.

Esay 6. 3.

Apoc. 4. 8.

2. Way.

1. ἁλός. Simply.

2. ἅγιος ἡ In some respects: And,

1. Way: God only is Holy, and the Author of all Holiness; and as the Blessed Virgin saith, *Holy is his Name*: And therefore those Seraphims, which Esaias saw, and those wonderful creatures which S. John saw, did cry, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts*, three times together, which we do not read of any other Attribute of God. And the Lord himself, in that golden Plate, that was to be on Aarons forehead, caused these words to be ingraven, ὁ ἅγιος κυρίου, Holiness is of the Lord, as Tremellius reads it; or, *Sanctum Domino*, Holiness belongeth to the Lord; as the Vulgar hath it.

2. Way: Many other things are stiled holy, by communication of holiness, and receiving their holiness from this Fountain of Holiness: And so,

<p>1. The Man Christ Jesus, 2. The faithful Members of Christ, 3. The Outward Professors of the Christian Religion, 4. All things Dedicated, and that have relation to Gods Service; as Times, Persons, Places, and Things,</p>	}	<p>are termed holy, sanctitate relativa.</p>
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1. The Man Christ is perfectly, and singularly Holy, as Beda saith; And that,

1. By reason of his Hypostatical union with the Godhead.

2. By reason of the most perfect quality of Holiness impressed by the Holy Ghost into his Humanity.

2. The true Members of Christ are truly stiled holy, by reason of that holiness which the Holy Spirit of God worketh in them, and they practise in their lives and conversations.

3. All those that do outwardly profess the holy Religion of Jesus Christ, are called Saints by the holy Apostles: and so they are in respect of all others, that either do prophane, abuse, or neglect the same.

4. All the things, that are Consecrated by the prayers of the Bishop for the Service of God, and those things that are Dedicated and given for the furtherance, and maintenance of God's Worship, as Lands, Houses, and the like, are by a relative sanctity, rightly termed holy things; because, they are separated and set apart, as S. Paul saith of himself, (ἀπεραιωμένος ὡς ἵνα γέλοιον ᾖ.) for holy uses, to bring men to holiness, to honour, serve, and worship God that is Holiness it self.

And in this respect, we say, that the very ground, walls, windows, and timber, of the Material Church, that are set forth, Dedicated, and Consecrated

Rom. 1.

erated for God's Service, are *holy things*; not by any *inherent* reall sanctity infused into them; but by a *relative holiness* ascribed and appropriated unto them, by their *Dedication* and *Consecration* for God's *Worship*, which makes them *more holy*, and so to be deemed, than all other *earthly things* whatsoever.

And though I will not lose my *time*, and waste my *paper*, to shew the *folly* and *vanity* of that *ridiculous* deduction of the Confuter of *Will. Apollonius*, in the 29. page of his *Gralla*, against secondary or dependent holiness; yet I will justify the *holiness*, and religious reverence, that we owe, and should render, unto all the *Material Churches*, that are Consecrated for *Divine Service*, against all prophaners of them, Independents, and Fanaticks, whatsoever. And for the satisfaction of every good and sober man, that is not drunk with a *prejudicate* conceit against God's House, I shall desire him to look into 2 Chron. 3. 1. and chap. 6. where he may find the *Consecration* of God's House, and the *prayer* that *Solomon* made at the Consecration of it, and the benefits, the manifold benefits, that they should reap which served God in that House: And if he reads over that Chapter at his leisure, and read it often, and then seriously consider it, and withal remember, that of *this House*, and the like Consecrated places, that are Dedicated for God's Worship, the Lord himself saith, *My House shall be called the House of prayer for all people*: and our Saviour Christ confirmeth the same, that the Church, which is the *Publick place*, or place of *Publick Prayers*, is rightly called, the *House of God*, and the House, which is called by his Name; and of which he saith, *This shall be my rest for ever, here will I dwell*, for I have a *delight* therein; Will he not confess; that *Gods House*, and the Place where he dwelleth is *Holy*? The Confuter of *Apollonius* confesseth, That so long as a Prince is, and remaineth in his house, because of his *Majesty* and *pompe*, there is *nothing* in the house, which derives not thence some *dignitie* and *splendor*; and will you deny that *priviledge* to Gods House, which you will yield to the *Palace* of an earthly Prince? No, certainly it is an *holy place*.

Gralla pag. 23.

Esay 56. 7.
Matth. 21. 13.
Jerem. 7. 10.
Psal. 132. 15.

Gralla pag. 26.

Vide the Great
Antichrist Re-
vealed. l. 2. c. 32
pag. 88.

Therefore, as God will be served in the time that he appointeth, and by the persons that he chuseth, and after the manner that himself prescribeth; so he will be worshipped, not where every one pleaseth, but in the place, which is Consecrated and Sanctified for our Holy God to come and to be present with us: as you may see in *Levit. 17. 8. Exod. 23. 19. and chap. 25. 8.* where the Lord chargeth his people, to make him a *Sanctuarie*, or a *Tabernacle*, that is, an *holy House* or *Temple*; that he might dwell among them.

Exod. 25. 8.

And therefore the Prophet *David* desired, that he might dwell in Gods *Tabernacle*, and was glad, when the people said, *We will go into the House of the Lord*. And Christ saith, *I ever taught in the Synagogue, and in the Temple*, that is, for the most part, and ordinarily, and alwayes when he came to the Temple, and opportunitie offered him occasion so to do. And *S. Matibew* saith, *The blind and the lame came unto him in the Temple, and he healed them*. And so must we come unto him into his Temple, if we desire to be healed of our infirmities. And so the Apostles and Disciples of Christ, after his Ascension into Heaven, met and worshipped God in the Temple. And when the Christians began to be multiplied, they presently erected *Oratories* and *Churches*, and consecrated them, as *Solomon* did the Temple, for God's Service; as you may see in 1 Cor. 11. 23. and from the 14. Chapter of the said Epistle, where the Apostle bids the women to be silent in the Church; for that must not be understood of any other private house or meetings of men, where the women may as lawfully speak as men; or the Apostle had laid too great a burden upon them, and such as they neither could, nor would have borne; but his meaning is, that the women should

Psal. 172. 4.
Psal. 132. 1.
Joh. 18. 20.

Matth. 11. 14.

should be silent in the Congregation, that publickly meeteth in Gods House for the service of God.

2 Chron. 6.

Math 18.10.

And because That material house was erected and set a part from all Prophan uses, for to pray to God, to Preach unto the people, and to do all other exercises of Religion, as, Administring the Sacraments, Catechising the Youtbs, Collecting the Alms for the Poor, and the like services of the Lord, and was hallowed and Sanctified by the prayers and Consecration of the Bishop, to be used only for that end, and that God hath promised his more speciall presence for our help and assistance, in a most speciall manner in that House, more and rather then in any other place, as you may see by Solomons prayer, and by the words of Christ; therefore the true Saints and servants of God, that understood the difference betwixt Holy and Prophan things, did ever Honor and shew a great deal of respect and Reverence to this very place, of Gods Worship; more then to any Chamber of presence of the greatest Monarch of the World: And why not? For if we must be Bare-headed in the Kings Chamber, or the Lord Lieftenants Chamber of Presence, why should not Gods Chamber of Presence have the like Reverence? Surely none, but prophane Atheists, wicked Hereticks, and the members of the beast, that is, the Great Anti-Christ; that are worse then the worst of worldlings, have ever denied it, or abused, prophaned, or blasphemed these, or any of these, material Churches, whereof the Prophet saith, Holiness becometh thy House for ever. For,

Isa. 93. 6.

In what sense
all things are
alike Holy.

Though, as I said before, originally and in respect of their own nature, there is no inherent or innate Sanctity in one place more then in another, but all places are alike Holy, and so are all daies, and all meats, and all other things, that are ejusdem speciei, of the same kind; they are all alike Holy, and there is no difference, nor any more Sanctity in any one than in the other, they being all alike created Holily by God, who beheld All the things that he made, and behold, they were all exceeding good:

Gen. 1. 31.

In what sense
some things
are more Holy
then other
things.

Yet, if we consider Gods designation of any of these things, and the Sanctification of the same, by Gods own appointment, for such and such ends and uses in the service of God; then you shall find a great deal of difference betwixt the one and the other, and a great deal of a relative and accidental Holiness in and belonging to the one more then to the other: otherwise, what difference will you make betwixt the common bread that we eat of the finest Wheat-flower, and the most Holy and blessed bread of the Holy Eucharist, or the Lords Supper? But the Sanctifying of this bread by our prayers to this end, and for this use, to be the body and blood of Christ, makes all the difference; so that now after the words of Consecration of it, which are the words of Christ, Hoc est corpus meum, this is my body; we cannot, without prophaneness and a mighty offence, give the same to dogs, or unbelieving Jews, or to any other, whom we do know to be altogether unworthy of it, as we can give the other bread, that is made of the same lump to either of these, without any fault or offence at all. Or what difference is there betwixt one day and another? but because the Lord hath designed the seventh day to be set apart for his service, and ballowed it for that end; therefore it is more Holy then the other six daies: and so are the daies and feasts, that are appointed by the Church to Honor God in them, as the commemoration of Christs Nativity, Circumcision, Resurrection, Ascension and other daies of Thanks-giving for some speciall blessings and extraordinary favours, which, as on those daies, we have received from God; which daies none will prophane, but the neglecters of Gods Honor, and the prophaners of his service. So what difference, or what holiness is there naturally in one man more then in another? none, or little at all: but when the Lord calleth and chooseth one man before another, to be his servant and to be sent, and his Embassador, to Preach his Word, to Administer his Sa-

And for the
further clear-
ing of this
point, you may
look into Mr.
Medes learned
discourse De
Sanctitate rela-
tius; and his
answer to Dr.
Twisse; p. 660.
and in Levit.
19. 30.

craments,

craments, and causeth him to be *Consecrated* by prayers, and imposition of hands for that purpose, as he called *Simon Peter*, before *Simon Magus*; then there is a great deal of *difference* betwixt them; and much *relative* and additionall *Holiness* in the one more then in the other, insomuch that our Saviour saith of these men, which he saith not of all other men, *He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me,* and the Lord saith of them, which he saith not of all other men, *He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye.* Luk. 10. 16. Zach. 1. 8.

And you may see this difference in the Embassadors, and other Officers of Kings, Princes, and Potentates, whom we Honor and Reverence more then others; because, they are deputed and Authorized to be our Judges, Sheriffes, or other Officers of the Kingdom, where they are designed so to be.

And so likewise, what difference, or what Holiness is there in one place more then in another? In a Stone-Church ground, more than in a Thatch-barn-floor? Surely, not any at all originally, in respect of themselves, simply considered; but, when such a piece of ground is designed, and dedicated for the Worship of God, and Consecrated by prayers for that purpose, and God promiseth his presence, and favour, to be more especially shewed there for our Instruction and Consolation, than in any other ordinary place whatsoever; Then certainly there is a great deal of difference, and a great deal of Holiness in that place, and much more Reverence ought to be shewed to it, and in it, than in any other place or common ground; though it were the Kings Pallace. And I say this is but a sign and a point of true Religion and no branch of Superstition.

Therefore Jacob, that was no waies Superstitious, said of that place, where God shewed his presence to him, *This is Gods House and the gate of Heaven;* Gen. 28. 17. and the Lord said unto Moses, *Put off thy shoes from thy feet, for the place where thou standest is Holy ground;* and why was that ground more Holy than any other ground? Not in respect of any innate holiness, but because the Lord revealed himself there to Moses, more visibly and more graciously than in any other place. Exod. 3. 5.

And I pray you look what the Spirit of God adviseth, and enjoyneth us to do, when we come into the House of God; *To keep thy foot, and much more thy heart, and thy head, as thou oughtest to do; decently and Reverently, when thou goest to the House of God; and therefore much more Reverently, when thou art and standest in Gods House; And be more ready to hear, then to give the Sacrifice of Fools;* which they do, that despise this House of God, which none but fools will do; for if we make no difference of these things, but that every man that will, may intrude himself to do the service, which God requireth to be done by another, and he may do that service any where, in any one place as well as in another, in a common barn, as well as in an Holy Church; then surely we need not observe any time, when any one day is as good, and as Holy as another, the Munday as well as the Lords day; and so confounding persons, times, and places, we shall confound all Religion, and we shall suddenly bring Atheism, and all Prophaneness among the people.

For this phrase is a Synecdoche of the part for the whole, of the foot for all the members of the body which in the Church of God ought to be framed to a Religious decency, as to bend the knees; lift up our eyes, uncover the head, and the like.

CHAP. XI.

The answer to another Objection, that our Fanatick-Sectaries do make against the Beauty, and Glorious Adorning of our Churches; which we say should be done with such decent Ornaments, and Implements, as are besitting the House and Service of God; The reasons why, we should Honor God with our goods: and how liberal, and bountiful both the Fathers of the Old Testament, and the Christians of the New Testament, were to the Church of God.

3. Obj.
Against the
beautifying of
our Churches.

Psal. 50. 10.

Mich. 6. 7.

Deut. 10. 12.

THirdly, There be another sort of close-handed, and covetous-hearted Fanatick Sectaries; that are much offended at our Beautifying, and Adorning our Churches, so as is fitting and meet for the Houses of God; And they do Object, that God is a Spirit, and will be served in spirit and in truth; and therefore he requireth not our goods, our gold, and our silver, which he hath noneed of, or our Cattle, when as all the beasts of the Forrest are his, and so are the Cattle upon a 1000. hills, and he delighteth not in burnt offering: and so the Prophet sheweth, when he demandeth, *Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of Rams; or with ten thousands of Rivers of Oyl?* No, no, the Lord careth for no such things, we may keep them all to our selves: for he hath Shewed thee, O man, what is good, and what the Lord doth require of thee, and that is, *To do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God.* And therefore the Lord saith not, Give me your gold, to make me Palaces; or your silver, to adorn my house, wherein I dwell not; but give me your hearts, wherein I delight to dwell, if they be pure and clean, and void of the filthiness of sin and corruption, *Quia delicia mee cum filiis hominum;* because, my delights are, to be with the sons of men: and I desire no more of them, but, *To fear the Lord their God, to walk in all his waies, and to love him, and to serve the Lord their God with all their heart, and with all their soul.*

And from these and the like premises our Fanaticks do conclude, that as God was never better served, then when his Churches and Oratories were no better then poor mens Cottages; and when the Christians answered their persecuters, in the time of Julian; who said, their service was not so Solemn, nor their Temples answerable to the Majesty of God, that the best Temples which they could dedicate unto God, wer their Sanctified souls, and clean hearts; so they would have our times to be the like, and our Churches to be no fairer, nor any otherwise beautified then they were in those times of poverty and persecution.

Sol.

In the time of
necessity God
accepteth our
service any
where,

To this I answer and confess, that God delighteth more in the Holiness of the hearts of them that serve him, then in the honor and beauty of the place where he is served. But, though Moses in the mountain, Job on the dunghill, Jeremy in the mire, Daniel in the Lions den, Ezeckias in his bed, and the Apostles in the stocks, called upon the name of the Lord and he heard them, and so Christ preached on the Mount, and in the Valley, on the Sea-shore, and in the Ships; and Saint Paul did the like in an upper Chamber, and the people heard them, as well then as in the Temple, and God accepted of their service.

Yet, as Saint Paul demands of the Corinthians, whether they thought it seemly, that a woman should be bare-headed in the Church; so I demand of

of these men, as the Prophet Haggai demandeth of the Jews, *Is it fit that you should dwell in sieled houses, and let the House of God lye waste? or, is it meet and Religious that the Church of Christ should be no better beautified then a husband-mans barn?* And I may ask of any rational man, if the Sanctity, and Celebrity of the place where God is usually and publickly served, doth not animate the devotion, and stir up pious thoughts in all good Christians, when they come there to Worship their Saviour in that beauty of Holiness, as the Prophet speaketh.

Therefore the good and godly King David, when he intended to build God an House, saith, That because the Palace was not for man, but for the Lord God; I prepared with all my might for the House of my God, the Gold for the things that were to be made of Gold, the Silver for things of Silver, and the Brass for things of Brass, the Iron for things of Iron, and Wood for things of Wood, Onyx stones, and stones to be set, glittering stones and of divers colours, and all manner of Pretious-stones, and Marble-stones in abundance; moreover, because I have set my affection to the House of my God, I have of mine own proper goods, of Gold and Silver which I have given to the House of my God, over and above all that I have prepared for the holy House, even three thousand Talents of Gold, of the Gold of Ophir, and seven thousand Talents of refined Silver, to over-lay the walls of the house withall; The Gold for things of Gold, and the Silver for things of Silver, and for all manner of work to be made by the hands of the Artificers. And so the chief of the Fathers and Princes of the tribes, and Captains also offered most willingly and gave for the service, the building and beautifying of the House of God, of Gold five thousand Talents, and ten thousand drams, and of Silver ten thousand Talents, and of Brass eighteen thousand Talents, and one hundred Talents of Iron.

1 Chron. 29.
1, 2, 3.

How liberally King David gave to build and beautify Gods House.

1 Chron. 39 7:

And not only this good Kings heart, and his people, were thus enlarged so freely to offer their goods for the building, beautifying, and adorning of Gods House; but also all other faithfull servants of God, that were zealous of Gods Worship, both afore and after Davids time did the like: for, if you consider the building of the Tabernacle, and the furniture that belong'd unto it, in the time of Moses; you shall find, that, although the people were but wanderers in the wilderness, and therefore could not be very wealthy, nor have any more riches, but only what they brought out of Egypt; yet this was the free and voluntary dedication of the Altar (in the day when it was anointed) by the Princes of Israel: Twelve Chargers of silver, twelve silver Boulds, twelve Spoons of Gold; each Charger of silver weighing one hundred and thirty shekels; each Bould seventy cicles, or shekels: all the silver vessels weighed two thousand and four hundred shekels, after the shekel of the Sanctuary; the golden Spoons were twelve, full of incense, weighing ten shekels a piece, after the shekel of the Sanctuary; All the Gold of the Spoons was one hundred and twenty shekels: every shekel weighing half an ounce. Whereby you may perceive, what care they took in that infancy of the Church, to have all the appurtenances of the House of God so fair and so specious as they could possibly make it, even to the uttermost of their abilities.

The Fathers before Davids time did the like.

Numbr. 84;
85, 85.

And so after Davids time, besides the foresaid moneys, that David left for the use of Gods House, (which came to the rate of eight thousand Talents of Gold; and of Silver, seventeen thousand chikars: and every chikar containing one thousand and eight hundred cicles, and weighing nine hundred ounces,) King Solomon was so bountifull, and his donation so exceeding large, that it can very hardly be valued; for, besides the stuffs that he laid in of Timber, Marble, Stone, Brass, Iron, Copes, and Pretious stones, he overlayed the greater House, which he sieled with Fir-trees, with fine Gold; and the garnishing of the House with Pretious-stones for beauty, and the Gold was the Gold of Parvaim; and he overlayed the House,

the beams, the posts, and the walls thereof, and the doors thereof with Gold, and graved Cherubims on the walls; and he over-laid the most holy House with fine Gold, amounting to six hundred Talents, and the weight of the nailes was fifty Shekels of Gold; and he over-laid the upper Chambers with Gold, and the two Cherubims he over-laid with Gold; and he made ten Candlesticks of Gold, and a hundred Basins of Gold; and the Flowers, and the Lamps, and the Tongs, made he of Gold, and that perfect Gold; and the Snuffers, and the Censers of pure Gold; and the Entry of the House, the Inner-doors, and the doors of the House of the Temple, were of Gold.

2 Chron. 3. &
4.

And when all these unvaluable Treasures and Furnitures of this House of God were ransacked and carried away by Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon; and Cyrus, after their 70. years Captivity, gave the Jews leave to Return, and gave them power and licence, to re-edifie and to build the House of God again; these captive Jews, newly returned out of bondage, beyond their ability, were most bountiful in their contributions for the setting up of another Temple: which though for Beauty and Majesty it was not correspondent to the former Temple, yet was it very glorious, and finished most readily, and the free Donations of the people were so large, that when all the work was finished, the surplusage of their Gifts, that remained to beautifie the same and provide ornaments for it, and to defray other future reckonings, amounted to 650. Chichars of Silver, and a 100. Chichars of Gold. And to this Nehemias the Tyrshatha gave to the Treasure a thousand drams of Gold, fifty Basins, and five hundred and thirty Priests Garments. And so likewise some of the chief of the Fathers and Heads of houses were not behind, to build and beautifie this House of God, but gave to the Treasure of the work twentie thousand drams of Gold, and two thousand and two hundred pound of Silver; and that which the rest of the people gave, was twentie thousand drams of Gold, and two thousand pound of Silver, and sixty seven Priests Garments.

Nehem. 7. 70.

Vers 71. 72.

Thus you see how the Jews, both in the time of David, and before David, and after David, and both in their prosperitie and in their adversitie; when they were full, in the dayes of Solomon, and when they were empty and weak, after their return from Captivity; were most zealously affected to build and beautifie the House of God, and to spare neither Gold nor Silver to adorne the same, as it ought to be.

And what dowe? Surely change the case, instead of giving to build and beautifie the Church, and the maintenance of the Service of God's House, we take away the slates and timber, and all the Furniture of the Church, and, as the Psalmist prophesied of our times, all the carved works thereof; and the goodly Monuments of our pious forefathers, we break down with axes and hammers: and instead of providing the Priests Vestures for the Church-service, we are more ready to take their garments from their backs, and their bread out of their mouths.

Obj.

But you will say, they were Jews, which so adorned their Temple, as you shewed before, and their Religion consisted in outward pomp, and carnal Service, whereas we are Christians; and the Kings Daughter, which is the Church of Christ, is all glorious within; and her service to God consisteth not, either in carnal Ceremonies; or external Glory, but, as Christ saith, in spirit and in truth.

Sol.

I answer, That I confesse the chiefest Glory of the Kings Daughter, is within, in a pure heart, and a sanctified soul; but her clothing is of wrought Gold; and her outward rayment is of needle-work, and her vesture is of pure Gold, wrought about with divers colours, very fair and glorious to behold. So our Religion and our zeal to God's Worship, must not only rest and reside in the heart; but it must bud forth, and appear in all our outward actions;

actions; and God will be served, not only inwardly with our hearts, but also outwardly with all the other parts of our bodies, *Quia per exteriora cognoscuntur interiora*, and our zeal to Gods Honour must shew it self by our zeal to God's House; for so King David said, and so Christ said, *The zeal of thine House hath eaten me up.*

Psal. 69. 9.
John 2. 17.

And therefore, not only the Jews, but the Christians also, were most liberal and bountiful in their gifts and contributions for the erecting of Oratories, and the adorning of Gods Church; And although, that while they were under the Sword of persecuting Tyrants, their state and condition permitted them not to have stately Churches, yet when their persecution ceased, and they became into a better case, and had rest, their Churches became sumptuous, and no cost was spared to make them both fair and beautiful.

And we find, that before the time of Constantine, in the reign of Severus, Gordian, Philip, and Galienus, there were many goodly and spacious Churches builded, which Dioclesian by a publick Proclamation caused to be thrown down; but Maximinus hypocritically permitteth them to be re-edified, and made up in a greater heighth, and more beautiful than they were before, as they were indeed exceedingly bettered; immediately after the death of Maximinus, as it appeareth by that Solemn Sermon, that was made in praise of the building of Churches, and expressly directed to Paulinus Bishop of Tyru. And Theodoret saith, That the Emperours Constantine, and his son Constantius, bestowed many rich and precious vessels upon the Church. And when S. Basil had converted Valens to become a Christian, he bestowed certain lands and possessions unto the Church. And Nicephorus saith, That Theodosius and his Wife Eudocia, sent monies very bountifully to the Bishop and Church of Rome. And Valentinian and Gratian, are exceedingly praised in the Chronicles of the Church, for their care, and the provision that they made for the Churches of Christ. And Sozomen relates, how Constantius bestowed upon the holy Church, great summes of monies that did arise to him, out of the Images that were molten, and otherwise by way of Taxes and Tributes; And divers of the Christian Emperours provided, that the lands, houses, and possessions of the Church, and the goods of other Christians that had been taken from them, in the times of persecution, should be restored and re-delivered unto the Bishops and Church again. And I hope our most gracious and religious King, will do the like, that, as he is not inferior to them in piety, so he will be no lesse in the Rules of Equity, and as, blessed be God for it, he hath most graciously restored very much, and more than any other hath done, already.

Euseb. l. 8. c.
1. c. 2.
Idem. l. 9. c. 1.

Idem. l. 10. c. 4.

And what shall I say more? It is most apparant to any one, that will read Eusebius, Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen, and other Ecclesiastical Writers, how the first and best Christians, as they grew in strength, wealth, and power, so they studied and strived to exceed both Jews and Gentiles, in their care and zeal to promote the Honour of God, and to manifest the same unto the World by all the possible wayes they could devise; And because that, as nature teacheth us, to provide good things, so wisdom and policy sheweth how we should do our best to procure the permanent state and perpetuity of those good things. And so Religion likewise teacheth us, to follow the same course, to perpetuate the Service and the Honour we yield unto our God: and the Saints and servants of God conceiving no Donation of honour to be more permanent and lasting than Churches and Temples, magnificently erected, and sumptuously maintained; therefore, they were no niggards, and spared no cost to build their Oratories and Churches, that the Worship and Honour of God, might be perpetually continued.

Reasons to
prove that we
shall honour
God with our
riches.

1. Reason.

And very many *Reasons* might be produced to shew, that they should, to the uttermost of their power, honour God with their riches, and to make the *benefits* they bestow for his Honour, to be permanent and durable: For,

1. Where any true Religion resteth in the *heart*, it requireth the uttermost extent that unfeigned love and affections can afford and shew towards God; And, as *S. Gregory* saith, *Probatio dilectionis exhibitio est operis*, Our inward love and affections are to be opened and manifested by the outward effects: And therefore, wheresoever the true Religion swayeth in the hearts of men, as it ought, the outward devotion and zeal towards God's Church, and the Service of God in his Church, will be shewed, so far forth as they are enabled to do.

2. Reason.

2. As Religion requireth, so *Nature* teacheth us to honour God with our goods: which is, not only honestly and inoffensively to use them; but also to alienate, separate, and set apart some portion of them from our own occasions, to the use and service of God, not as gifts or supplies of his wants, that is the Lord of all things, but as the signs of our thankfulness and acknowledgement, that he is the Donor and Giver of them all to us, and as the means to set up, and to shew forth his Honour, by the erecting and beautifying his Churches, and the maintenance of his Worship and Ministry in those Churches: For why should any man think, that God hath given us such variety of all good things, as Gold, Silver, Cattell, Wine, Oil, and abundance of most excellent beauty, to be employed only upon our selves, and for our pleasures, and, it may be, in meer vanities, without any regard or reservation of any of them to be bestowed, for the upholding of his Honour, and the Duties of his Service? When as *Solomon* saith, That he will be served with the chief of thine increase: And the Lord himself bids thee to bring all the Tythes, or Tythes of all kinds into his House: And therefore *Origen*, the greatest Clerk that lived in his dayes, saith, *Qui colit Deum, debet donis & oblationibus agnoscere eum esse Deum omnium*, He that worshippeth God, must by his gifts and oblations unto God, acknowledge him to be the God and Giver of all things.

*Quia offerimus
Deo bona nostra
ut signa grati-
tudinis pro illis
donis qua à Deo
recepimus.*
*Irenæus. l. 4.
c. 34.*

*Prov. 3. 9.
Malach. 3. 10.*

*Origen. in
Numb. c. 18.
Hom. 11.*

3. Reason.
Prov. 3. 9.

3. Seeing God requireth to be honoured with thy substance, and with the first fruites of all thine increase, and to testify thine inward love, by thine outward gifts and oblations to him; you know then, that the greatness and goodness of our gifts doth set forth and shew the greatness of our love, and the sincerity of our affection towards God: For, *juxta mensuram honoris erit mensura donationis*, According to the quality and condition of the person, whom we honour, so should our gifts and our presents that we offer him be; as the greater they are, whom we honour, the greater regard we should make of the gifts and oblations that we offer unto him: As it is unseemly, and a shame for us, to present unto our Kings and Princes, or any other person of Honour, any poor, mean, base, or paltry present; So it is, if we do the like to God: And therefore the Prophet *Malachy* demandeth, *If you offer unto God the blind for Sacrifice, is it not evil? and if you offer the lame and the sick, is it not evil? Offer it now unto thy Governour, will he be pleased with thee?* saith the Lord of Hosts. So, the Lord was no wayes pleased with *Cain's* offering, because, that having enough, and all good things from God, he kept the best for himself, and gave a little of the meanest and worst unto God: And you know what God saith, *Cursed be the deceiver, which hath in his flock a male, and voweth and sacrificeth unto the Lord a corrupt thing*, and so, like unto *Cain*, keepeth the best for himself; for I am a Great King, saith the Lord of Hosts, and my Name is dreadful among the Heathen, and therefore you should not offer unto me the poorest and the basest things you have, but the best and the greatest of all your substance.

Malach. 1. 8.

Verse 14.

There-

Therefore the *Gentiles*, by the light of *nature*, and the *Jews*, by the example of *Moses*, *David*, *Solomon*, and the rest of Gods Prophets, that were inspired by Gods Spirit, and all the godly and zealous Christians, that were illuminated by the light of truth, considering the greatness and the glorious Majesty of our Great God, that is *Optimus Maximus*, The Best and the Greatest of all the things that you can imagine, and is most wonderful in all his Works, conceived it fitting to erect and build such great, magnificent, and most glorious Temples, and Churches, as might seem fitting, and, so far as they were able, to make them correspondent to the Greatness, and the Glorious Majesty of that Great God, for whose Honour, Worship, and Service, they erected and dedicated the same. And such were the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, of *Ambiarans*, and *Jupiter Olympus*, and the Temple of *Solomon* in *Hierusalem*, and the Churches of *S. Paul* in *London*, and *S. Peter* in *Westminster*, and abundance more, which you may see in these Kingdoms, that our most zealous, religious, and godly forefathers built, and spared no cost nor charges to adorn and beautifie them most gloriously with all necessary Furnitures, for the Honour and Worship of their God, and the Service of *Jesus Christ*.

And shall we throw down these Houses, and lay waste these Temples of God, or think much to bestow a little of our wealth, that God hath so liberally bestowed upon us, to keep them up, and to have them competently trimmed and beautified? God forbid, that our love to God's Honour, and our thankfulness to *Jesus Christ*, should be so little, as to do so.

How that the Heathens, Jews & Christians, erected great and glorious Houses for the Great & Glorious God. And *Plutarch* sceth down what an infinite charge it cost *Tarquinius Sylla*, *Vespasian* and *Domitian*, to build the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* in *Rome*. *Plutarch* in the Life of *Publiola*. pag. 107. & 108.

CHAP. XII.

The Answer to another Objection, that our brain-sick Sectaries do make for the utter overthrow of our Cathedrals and Churches, as being so fowly stained and prophaned with popish Superstitions; and therefore being no better than the Temples of Baal, they should rather be quite demolished, than any wayes adorned and beautified.

Fourthly, we have some other Sectaries more brain-sick than the former; and these, under the pretence of zeal to the purity of Religion, do hotly plead for the destruction of our Churches, and cry out in the language of the *Edomites*, Down with them, down with them, even to the very ground; for they have been defiled and prophaned by the Idolatries and Superstitions of the Popish Bishops, and their Mals-Priests: and therefore as the Lord, by a flat Precept, commanded the *Israelites*, saying, *You shall utterly destroy all the places, wherein the Nations, which ye shall possess, served their gods, upon the high Mountains, and upon the Hills, and under every green Tree; and you shall overthrow their Altars, and break their Pillars, and burn their Groves with fire; and you shall bew down the graven Images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of the place: And as Jehosaphat, according to this Precept, took away the High-places, and Groves out of Judah; and Hezekias also, removed the High-places, and brake the Images, and cut down the Groves, and brake in pieces the brazen Serpent that Moses had made, because the children of Israel did burn incense to it: So should we subvert, and throw down all the Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition, and all the places where the true Religion, and the Service of God have been abused: And accordingly, these frantick Zelots have, wheresoever they came, and could*

4. Objection against the being of our Churches. *Psal.* 137. 7.

Deut. 12. 2, 3.
2 Chron. 17. 6.
2 Reg. 18. 4.

could do it, thrown down many of our Churches, and brake in pieces the Founts wherein they were Baptized, and threw down the Tombs and Monuments of their Fore-fathers, and made such havock of Gods Houses, and destroyed all Holy places so, as is lamentable to consider it: And they tell us most impudently, that to hold up such places to serve God therein is nothing else but with King Saul, to reserve the execrable and accursed things for Gods Worship, which is abominable in the sight of God.

Sol. 1.

The discreet
answer of A-
lexander Se-
verus.

To this I Answer, 1. That it is better to serve God in those places that have been superstitiously abused, (as formerly all places were Idolatrously defiled by the Heathens) than not to serve him in any place; for as when certain Christians found a vacant and a void place in the City of Rome, where they thought they might conveniently build a Church, and certain loose companions, that were Victuallers, made claim, and pretended a Title unto it, and told Alexander Severus, it was not so fit, to make a House to serve God in, as it was for them to sell and vent their commodities; the Emperour, led by the light of nature, being no Christian, answered most Christian-like, that he thought it better, God should be Worshipped any way, and in any place, rather then that they should have their way, to make it a place for their shambles: so say I, that it is a great deal fitter, to serve God in these Houses, that were so Zealously erected and so Religiously Consecrated for Gods service, howsoever they were afterwards soyled with some vanities, and perhaps defiled with some Idolatries, then that they should be thrown down, or be made a Stable for their Horses, or a Kitchen to dress meat for their tables, as some of these Sectaries have made these Houses of God to be.

2. I say that there is no more affinity or likeness between those times of the Israelites and our times, and betwixt that people, who were Jews, and us, that are Christians, then is betwixt Simon Peter, and Simon Magus, or Philip the Apostle, and Philip King of Macedon; for we are not commanded, to do against Idolaters, as they were commanded to do against the Canaanites: as, they were forbidden to make Covenants of peace, or to have any commerce with the inhabitants of that place, and they were commanded to root out and to destroy all that people, and we have no such injunction, to prohibite us to trade and traffick, either with Papists, Jews, or Gentiles; neither may the Reformed Churches and Protestants put others their neighbours to the sword, only because they are Idolaters, or of a contrary Religion, but they are rather to labour for their Conversion, as St. Paul did the Idolaters of Athens, and not to work their destruction.

3. I say, that the examples of Jehosaphat and Hezekias, are no commanding precepts, and have not the force of laws, and you know that *Vivitur preceptis non exemplis*, men are to live by laws, and not by examples, whereof we have more bad then good; but were they never so good and so godly, yet are they no Commanders but Councillors, and no laws to injoyne us, but lessons to direct us, and that in the like cases; for where the proportion and the equality, betwixt the example and the following of it, faileth, there we must likewise fail to follow it; and we find a great deal of disproportion and inequality betwixt the groves and high places of the Jews, and our Cathedrals and Churches, that were the Papists; because their groves and high places were very dangerous to be left, for the just fear of a secret access and coming unto them, by the superstitious Jews, that were always so apt and so ready to fall into Idolatry; and our Cathedrals and Churches are freed from this fear, when as they are thoroughly cleansed and purged from all the former superstitions by the pure Preaching of the Word of God, and no Idolatrous Papist comes unto them, nor any other,

oiber, but only those that professe themselves to be of the pure Religion.

And therefore learned Zanchius saith, that *Ubique locorum in omnibus serè Regnis & Provinciis, quæ amplexa sunt evangelium, Tempia ipsa in quibus Idolatria admissa fuit, tot annos retenta sunt;* In every place, and in all Kingdoms and Provinces wel-nigh, which have imbraced the Gospel, the Churches themselves, where Idolatry hath been committed, have been retained so many years together.

Hieron. Zanch. de operibus redemptionis. l. 1. c. 12.

And why should they not be still used? For what evil have the Churches committed, that they, which were dedicated to such an Holy use, as is the true service of God; should be now so severely handled, as to be either quite demolished, or diverted and turned to any other purpose? For the senseless creatures cannot be said to be sinful and so not to be censured; and therefore the Leprous mans house was rather to be purged then to be pulled down; and where the malady is uncurable, there, as the Poet saith,

—immedicabile vulnus
Ense recidendum, ne pars sincera trabatur.

The part only infected and putrified, is to be cut off, and not to cast away the wholes; and so the wiser Divines threw down the Altars of those Churches, where Idolatry and superstition were most used; but they thought good to keep the Churches still to their former uses.

And so, when the two hundred and fifty men offered incense unto the Lord, in the Rebellion of Korah; God himself bade Eleazar the High Priest, not to throw away those brazen Censers, which those men offered, but to imploy them for his service, and to make of them Broad plates for a covering of the Altar. And when Jericho was taken by the Israelites, Joshua caused the Gold, Silver, Brasse, and Iron that were execrable goods, not to be thrown away, but to be brought into the House of the Lord, and put into the Treasury of Gods House. And it is very well worth your observation, to consider what the Lord himself commandeth Geddon to do; namely, to take his Fathers young Bullock, even the second Bullock of seven years old, (that was fed to be offered unto Baal) and throw down the Altar of Baal, and cut down the grove that is by it, and Build an Altar unto the Lord thy God, upon the top of this rock: and Take the second Bullock, and offer a burnt Sacrifice, with the wood of the grove, which thou shalt cut down.

Numb. 16. 38.

Josh. 6. 16.

Judg. 6. 16.

And according to these Presidents the Law provided, that the houses wherein the Hereticks did meet, and broached their damnable Divinity, should be adjudged to be united to the Orthodoxal Churches, as were also the houses and habitations of the Celicoles that were Hereticks so called: and in Saint Augustines time, the Churches that the Donatists possessed, were not destroyed but they were taken from them, (as we took ours from the Roman-Priests) and were given to the Catholick Bishops.

Cod. l. i. tit. 8. Valent. Mar. tit. 12. leg. 11. Honor.

And therefore, why should not we use those Churches, that were Religiously dedicated, and Holy Consecrated for Gods service, and could not themselves commit any offence, nor be so Prophaned, as the accursed things of Jericho, or the Bullock and groves of Baal, or the Churches of the Arians and Donatists, to be the Temples and Sanctified Houses, wherein our people should meet to hear Gods Word, to pray unto him, and to receive his Holy Sacrament?

But I remember Plutarch, and Titus Livius tell us how that the Romans after they had expelled Tarquinius Superbus, when his son Sextus Tarquinius had most shamefully ravished Lucretia, they all took a Solemn oath, they would never suffer any King to Reign over them; and because this was not sufficient to free them from the fear of a Regal Government, the

Plutarch. in vit. Publicola. pag. 113. & Tit. Livius. l. 2. pag. 57.

Consul *Bentus*, in the behalf of the people, makes a solemn Oration to his fellow Consul *Tarquinius Collatinus*, to give over his Consulship, and to depart the City, to free the people from that fear; because that, although he was a *very honest man*, and was a *principal actor*, in expelling *Tarquinius Superbus*, and they could lay nothing to his charge, that ever he did or said against the liberty of the people, or for the Government of Kings; yet seeing his name was *Tarquinius*, the freedom of the City could not be fully secured, nor the men free from the fear of Tyranny so long as a person of that name, how just and innocent so ever he were, continued within the City: So I believe, it is not for any evil, that these men can, or could ever espy in our Churches, they cry so much, and yell like *Wolves* against them; but only for the name, that they are said to be built by *Roman Catholics*, and that *Papish Priests* have served in them: but it is nothing to us, who built them, or who served in them, so we serve God aright in them; this is all that we are to look unto.

Joseph. Antiq.
l. 15. c. 14.

Matth 21. 13.

Socrat. Eccles.
Hist. l. 2. c. 33.

For so we find, that our Saviour Christ and his Apostles, in their time frequented the Temple, not that which *Solomon* built, nor that which *Zerobabel* erected; but that which *Herod*, that sought our Saviours life, builded and beautified; and that which the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* had, as much as in them lay, defiled with their false-glasses, and the other *Jews* had made it a den of Thieves: and though *Castor* and *Pollux* were become Idols, and worshipped as gods among the Heathens; yet Saint Paul refused not to sail in a Ship, whose badge was *Castor* and *Pollux*; and Saint Luke is not afraid to set down those Titles of the *Paganish* Idols.

And therefore, as *Eunomius* was most foolish for refusing to enter into the Temples of the Martyrs, lest he should be thought to worship the dead; and *Eustathius* was most fantastical, for detesting all publick Churches, and leading his Schollers to private Conventicles in ordinary houses, for fear they should be defiled with the memorial of the Saints, that were mentioned in the Churches; so these our brethren of the Separation are most simple, for disclaiming our Churches, Prayers, and Ministry; and, like the Elder brother in the Parable, hearing afar off, the melody of our prayers, and understanding of our intertainment into our Fathers House, are very angry, and will not come into Gods House for fear of infection, but will convene in private houses, and run abroad into the fields like *Esau*, to hunt there for the blessing, which with *Jacob*, they might get nearer home, in their Fathers House; and when we would, according to our injunction, seek to compel them to come, out of the High-ways and Hedges, to the marriage of the Kings son, they will waste their wealth, leave their mansions, and, like *Heliodorus* the fool of Athens, sail beyond the Straights of *Gibraltar*, and make Ship-rack before the Tempest; rather then they will come into Gods House, whereby they might sit still, under their own Vines, injoy the food of their Fathers House, the safe-gard of their wealth, and the safety of their soules: which they do hazard, by their own simplicity, in being like the *Jews*, zealous, but not according to knowledge.

CHAP. XIII.

That it is a part of the Office and Duty of Pious Kings and Princes, as they are God's Substitutes to have a care of his Church, to see, that, when such Cathedralls and Churches, are built and beautified as is fitting for his service, there be Able, Religious, and Honest, painful and faithful Bishops placed in those Cathedrals, that should likewise see able and Religious Ministers placed in all Parochiall Churches; and all negligent, unworthy, and dissolute men, Bishops or Priests reprov'd, corrected, and amended; or removed and excluded from their places and dignities if they amend not.

IT is well and truly observed, as the holy Scripture sheweth; That although the wise God hath most mercifully decreed, and accordingly exhibited and gave a Saviour, in himself altogether sufficient, for the saving of all Man-kind, and all the lost sons of Adam; and he hath most wisely and graciously taken a course, on his own part, and in it self also, fully sufficient; and appointed a course and order on mans part, that, being duly observed, might make the same sufficiently effectuell unto all: yet, it so falls out, that very many men attain not to that end, for which God did send his Son, to save them, but are seized on by Gods Justice, and cast to eternal condemnation. And that chiefly by mans own default, and, partly in some respects, through the default of his Rulers and Teachers; yet so, that he dies and suffers only for his own sins.

Mens destruction.

1. Through their own default, when Kings and Princes, whom God hath appointed and set to be their Governors and Rulers, do by their under-Magistrates, and their just laws prohibite them from all evil and wickedness; and require them to imbrace all virtues and godliness of life, and to this end, do appoint their substitutes, the Bishops and other Teachers to guide them, and to instruct them, to let them know what is good and what is evil; and so what they ought to believe, and what not: and these do faithfully discharge these Offices, as Moses and Aaron, David and Nathan, and many other godly Kings and Bishops did; yet, men will not obey their Governors, but Rebel like Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, and, as of late, we have done; they will not hearken to the voyce of their Teachers, but say to the Prophets, Prophecy not unto us, and say to God himself, Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy Laws: or they relye upon their own wisdom, and account the Preaching of the Gospel of the cross of Christ foolishness; or they follow the ill examples of their Fathers, and do worse than their Fathers; or they do addict themselves to the pleasures and vanities of this World, that do choke the seed of Gods Word in them; or when crosses, afflictions, and persecution come, they are offended, and start aside like a broken bow.

1. By their own fault.

Jer. 11. 17.

Joh. 11. 14.

1 Cor. 1. 18.

Jer. 18. 12.

2. Cor. 13. 14.

Matth. 13. 12.

Then, God seeing these courses that they take, contrary to the course, that he had set down for their Salvation; he complaineth of them, that His people would not bear his voyce, and Israel would not obey him, therefore He gave them up unto their own hearts lusts, and let them follow their own imaginations.

Ps. 81. 12. 13.

2. Mens destruction much furthered, by the default of their Governours.

Ezech. 33. 8.

2. Though all wicked men do thus chiefly work their own destruction, yet many times, their fall and ruine is much furthered by the default and apostasie of their Prime-Governours, or at least through their neglect, and the neglect of their subordinate Magistrates and Ministers, the Bishops and Preachers that are under the Kings and Princes, the Governours of God's Church. For God, having set these Rulers, the Supreme and subordinate, to be the Watchmen and Shepherds over his people, to govern them, and teach them, how to live justly and holily, that they might attain to eternal life: if by their default, their misleading of them out of the way, or neglect to shew them the right way, the people do miscarry, the men, so misguided, and not instructed, shall die in their iniquity, and God will require their blood as the Shepherds and Watchmens bands.

And yet Cain, a principal Ruler of, and over his Posterity, misleading, and not teaching them the right Worship of God, perished himself, and brought all them that followed him, and his wayes, to the like perdition. And so Nimrod, Esau, and Ismael, falling away from God, and Jeroboam setting up his golden gods, and many other Kings and Princes, neglecting their duties, apostatizing from God, and misleading their people, brought them in like manner to their utter ruine;

Scilicet in vulgus manant exemplaregentum, utque ducum lituos, sic mores castra sequuntur. Claud. 1. Stilic.

And as many times the people are brought to their ruine, by the evil example, and wicked Government of their Prime-Leaders, when as the Poet saith,

Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.

Esay 1. 23.
Zephani 3. 3.

And the Souldiers would imitate Alexander in his sloppings, and in his vices, as well, and sooner, than in his vertues; So many times, and oftner too, they are brought to the same pass, the same pathes of perdition, through the lewd examples and neglect of the subordinate Magistrates of the Commonwealth, and the Governours and Ministers of the Church of God: As, when the Princes, or Nobility, are rebellious, and companions of Thieves, or, as Zephany saith, like Lions, and the Judges are evening-Wolves, that judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widdow come unto them: And when the Prophets are leight and treacherous persons, and the Priests have polluted the Sanctuary, and have done violence to the Law, either by corrupting it, with their false glosses, or locking it up in prison, and not publishing the same unto the people; for, where there is no vision, the people perish, saith the Wise-man. And so by their false teaching, or no teaching, they thrust forward the poor people into perdition.

Prov. 29. 18.

Exod. 18. 21.

What manner of Judges and Bishops, Kings ought to chuse

Bernard ad Abbat. Cluniaten.

And therefore, Kings and Princes, to whom God, in the first place, hath committed the Sovereignty and Charge, both of Church and Commonwealth, ought, not only to chuse such Judges and Magistrates, as Jethro described unto Moses, Able men, fearing God, men of truth, and bating covetousness: But, when the Cathedral and Parochial-Churches are built and beautified for God's Worship, and for the people of God to meet in them, to serve God, as they ought to be, they should also take care and see, that such Bishops and Priests, as S. Paul describeth, in 1 Tim. 3. 2, &c. be settled in those Churches, to worship God, and to bring the people to do their duties, that they may attain to eternal life: Lest that which S. Hierom complained of in his time, should be true in our time, That the Altars shined with Gold and pretious Stones, Sed ministrorum nulla erat electio, There was no good choice made of good Ministers; whereby it was said, That they had golden Chalices, but wooden Priests, as S. Bernard saith, it was, not much better in his dayes; there was not such care taken for good Ministers as they should do. For as in Nature, we see every thing for its Creation requires a Divine hand, and a Miraculous power to produce it; but

but the same being *once* produced, God's hand is not so conspicuous, but he leaves it to the *soyl*, as it were, to stand and grow by the *innate* vertue planted in it; so it seems to fare with *Religion* it self, which is such a *superstructure* above Nature, that although it be *planted* by God, as both the *Jewish* and *Christian* Religion were, with signs and wonders, and a strong *miraculous* hand, yet men must now conserve it by those *ordinary* means, that God appointed: the *Church* of Christ, being like the *Garden* of God in *Eden*, which the Lord made, and then set it to our Parents, to keep it, and to dress it.

And, though this *Religion*, which at first is thus *powerfully* planted by God, and is the *principal* Pillar that upholdeth *States*, and makes all Kingdoms happy; yet, after the *inward* vertue of the Doctrine of Christ, the *Bishops* and *Priests*, are the *main* props, and the *ordinary* means, that God hath appointed to uphold his Religion, and to continue his Service in his Church; because, Religion can neither plant it self, nor sustain it self alone, and what support soever it hath from the *Prince* or the *Laws* of any Nation; yet the *Bishops* and *Priests* are, as it were, the *soul* of that power, in the execution thereof, when as all the substance, circumstance and ceremonies, have their life from them; and our consent and belief in their holy Calling, is that, which doth, and should keep us, from the singularity of our own *misguided* imaginations.

And therefore that *Prince*, that is truly religious, and hath a special care of God's Service, must likewise with King David, (and as good King Charles ever had) have a special care to see that godly and learned *Bishops* and *Priests*, be appointed in God's Church to instruct his people. Kings ought to have a special care to chuse good Bishops.

And you know what *S. Paul* saith, That a *Bishop* must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach, not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre, but patient, not a brawler, not covetous, one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity, not a novice, (or a young new Divine) lest being lifted up with pride (as young men commonly are) he fall into the condemnation of the Devil: Moreover, he must have a good report of them that are without, lest he fall into reproach, and the snare of the Devil. All which large description of those parts and vertues, that every Bishop, and faithful Minister of God's Church ought to have, may for order and method sake, be reduced into these two Heads, which are the *Urim* and the *Thummim*, that *Moses* put upon the Breast-plate of *Aaron*; and for which he did so earnestly pray that God would grant them unto all the Tribe of *Levi*, saying, Let thine *Urim* and thy *Thummim* be with thy holy one, or with the man of thy mercy: And they signifie, 1 Tim 2. 1. 2. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7.

1. The uprightness of his life and conversation.
2. The sincerity of his doctrine & teaching of his people.

For so *Moses* sheweth, that *Levi* did; as every Bishop and Priest should do. The two special vertues that ought to be in every Bishop and Priest.

1. Carry himself most dutifully and obedient in his life; and all his actions towards God, as, when God proved him at *Massa*, and strove with him at the waters of *Meriba*, he said unto his father and to his mother, I have not seen him, neither did he acknowledge his brethren, nor knew his own children; but he observed Gods word, and kept his Covenant, and preferred the keeping of God's Laws, and walking dutifully according to his will, before father or mother, wife or children, which every Christian, and especially every Christian Bishop, and true Levite, ought to do. 1. Vertue. Verse 9.

2. To teach *Jacob* the judgements of God, and *Israel* his Laws, to put incense before the Lord, and whole burnt-Sacrifices upon his Altar; which is the second duty of every Bishop, and every faithful Minister of Christ, to teach the people of God, and to administer his holy Sacraments: For his 2. Vertue. Verse 10.

1 Tim. 3. 2.

first care and chiefest duty should be to look to himself, ἀρεσκοντες ἑαυτοῖς, to be blameless; And his second care is διδασκαλὸς ἵκανός, to be apt and able to teach the people: And so S. Paul tells, and advieth all the Clergy of Ephesus, that they should first look and take heed unto themselves, and then to all the flock, whereof the Holy Ghost hath made them Overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood; And therefore,

Acts 20. 28.

1. How blameless Bishops and Ministers should be.
Luke 1. 6.

Hierom. in E.
pist. 43.

The mischief that the evil examples of Bishops and Ministers do produce.

1. A Bishop, and a Minister of Christ, must have a special care to carry, and behave himself so, as that his life and conversation may seem blameless in the World, like unto Zacharias, the father of John Baptist, that walked in all the Commandments of God without reproof. And S. Hierom saith, That talis, & tanta, debet esse conversatio & eruditio Pontificis, ut omnes motus & egressus, & universa ejus opera notabilia sint, veritatem mente concipiat, & eam toto habitu resonet & ornatu; ut, quicquid agit, quicquid loquitur, doctrina sit populorum: The life and conversation of a Bishop, and so likewise of every Minister of the Gospel, should be such, so grave, and so holy, that all his motions, and progressions, and all other his works, should be notable and worthy to be observed; he should conceive the truth in his mind, and sound out the same by his habit and ornament, that whatsoever he doth, and whatsoever he saith, may be a lesson of instruction unto the people, who do look more unto the examples that we give them, and the actions that we do, than to the Precepts that we preach, or the Doctrine that we declare unto them. And another Father saith, that, Nemo plus in Ecclesia nocet, quam qui perversè agens, nomen vel ordinem sanctitatis habet: delinquentem namq; hunc redarguere nullus presumit; & in exemplum vehementer culpa extenditur, cum pro reverentia ordinis peccator honoratur: No man doth, or indeed can do, more hurt in the Church of God, than he that doth wickedly, and lives dissolutely, and hath the name or order of holiness, that is, holy Orders; because no man presumeth, or dares to reprove such an one, when he offendeth, and his fault exceedingly reacheth to the example of others to do the like, when, for the reverence of his Order, they see such a wicked man so honoured;

And therefore, I may say to such a one, as Claudian saith to Honorius, changing only but one word,

Claudian: de 4.
Consolat. Hono-
rii.

Hoc te præterea crebro sermone monebo,
Ut te totius medio telluris in orbe
Vivere cognoscas; cunctis tua gentibus esse,
Fatis palam, nec posse dari præsulibus unquam
Secretum vitii; nam lux altissima fati
Occultum nil esse finit, latebraq; per omnes
Intrat, & abstrusos implorat fama recessus.

For such men are like a City that is set upon a Hill, and all mens eyes are upon them: and therefore, their lives and their actions, cannot be concealed; but their doings are more conspicuous, and their danger far greater, than any other men: And that, as Aquinas saith, in a threefold respect.

First because, the Dispensers of the holy Sacraments and the holy Word of God, which ought not to be handled but by holy men, in which respect a holy Father saith, Mallem sustinere panam Caipha, Pilati, & Herodis, quam Sacerdotis indignè celebrantis, That he would rather chuse to suffer the punishment of Caiphas, and of Pilate, and of Herod, than of a wicked Bishop, or Priest, that doth unworthily administer the Blessed Sacrament.

Secondly, because these men are to render their account more strictly, being looked into more narrowly than other men; because, as S. Bernard saith,

faith, Those faults and transgressions, *quæ in aliis nuga sunt, in Sacerdotibus sunt blasphemie*; And those sins that in others seem to be but *slips*, and trifles, & *venia digna*, and may easily be pardoned; yet in *Bishops*, and the Ministers of God's word, they are *heinous* offences, and worthy to be punished heavily, with many stripes, seeing they knew their Masters will, and did it not.

Ejus vita descriptur rectas ut ejus predicatio contemnatur.
Gregor. super Evangel. l. 1. Hom. 6.

And thirdly, because that by their Places, and Offices, they are to teach other men, not to offend; and to answer for their sins, if through their neglect they do offend: and yet by their *ill lives* and examples, they teach them to offend.

2. As they are, in these respects, to have a special care of their own *lives* and conversations, to live *justly* and *holily*, as the servants of Christ ought to do; so they are likewise obliged to be *sedulous* and diligent in the instruction and tuition of the people committed under their charge; for they are made the *Watchmen* and *Shepherds* over God's people, to teach them and instruct them, what they should do, and what they should believe; even as our Saviour faith unto his Apostles, *Go ye and teach all Nations, baptizing them, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*, and teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. And therefore S. Paul chargeth Bishop Timothy before God, and before Jesus Christ, that he preach the word, and be instant in season, and out of season, reprove, rebuke, and exhort, with all long suffering and doctrine: and he faith, *Wo is me if I preach not the Gospel*. And S. Gregory faith, *Ortet ut predicatorum sint sortes in preceptis, compatiens infirmis, terribiles in minis, in exhortationibus blandi, in ostendendo magisterio humiles, in rerum temporalium contemptu dominantes, & in tolerandis adversitatibus rigidi*: It behoves, that Preachers should be strong and strict in their precepts, compassionate and pitiful to the weak, terrible in their threatenings to the impenitent, smooth and gentle in their exhortations; in shewing their power and authority, *humble*; in despising the world, and all worldly things, *stout* and domineering; and in suffering and bearing adversities *firm* and constant; And the same S. Gregory faith also, that *Non debet predicator infirmis insinuare cuncta que sentit, nec debet predicare rudibus quanta cognoscit*; which is a very good lesson.

2. How careful the Bishops & Priests ought to be to teach the people.
Ezech. 3. 17. & c. 33. 7.

Marth. ult. 19. 20.

2 Tim. 4. 1, 2. 1 Cor. 9. 16.

Greg. in Mor. 30. super Job 39.

Idem. Moral. 1. 17.

And so you see partly, what the Bishops and Ministers of Christ ought to do, and how to behave themselves in the Church of God.

Yet I must confesse, we and our Predecessors, the Bishops of God's Church, have sinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled, even by departing from God's Precepts, and neglecting the performance of our duties; for whereas,

Dan 9. 5.

Exemplar vite populus est vita regentis.

And as S. Gregory faith, *Lux gregis est flamma doctoris*, The light whereby the flock walketh, is the shining flame of the Shepherds life; Yet many of our Predecessors, I am sure, and I pray God that none of our present Prelates may do the like, have given very *evil examples* unto the people, if the example of covetousness, injustice, and the obstructing and neglect of Gods Service, and the furtherance of mens salvation be *evil examples*; for, letting passe what we find written of Pope Sixtus the Fourth, of whom this Epitaph was made:

*Sixte, jaces tandem, fidei contemptor & equi,
Pacis ut hostis eras, pace peremptus obis.*

And

And of *Alexander* the sixth, that made a league with the Devil, as *Balaam* saith, to obtain his *Papacy*, and of whom it was said, as I shewed before.

*Vendit Alexander, cruces, altaria, Christum;
Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest.*

And of *Boniface* the eighth, and divers others wicked *Popes*, that pretended to be the *Bishops* and *Vicars* of *Christ*, but were indeed the limbs of *Anti-Christ*: We find nearer home that what pious men and good *Christians* had formerly most zealously bestowed upon the *Church* and *Churchmen* for the *Honor* of *God*, the relieving of the *poor*, and the promoting of the *Christian faith*, many of our own *Bishops* most wickedly and *Sacrilegiously*, either through *Covetousness* for some *fine*, or for *love* and *affection* to their *Children*, friends or servants, have alienated and made away the same from their *Successors*, in *Fee-farm*, or long leases, some for one thousand, some for one hundred years; and some for other longer term, reserving only some small rent for the succeeding *Bishops*, as in my *Diocess* of *Ossory*, that *Lordship* was set for ten pound yearly, that is well-nigh worth two hundred pound; and that was set for four pound, which is better worth then fifty pound, with many others in the like sort; whereby we that come after them, and they that shall come after us, are neither able to keep *Hospitality*, nor to feed the *poor*, nor scarce our selves; and our own families; nor indeed to do any other work of *Piety* and service of *God*, which the *Scripture* requireth us to do.

And if these things be not wickedness and a high degree of *abominable Sacrilege*; mine understanding fails me; and this, being *Sacrilege*, I know not what *laws* can make it good. Let them have what *Laws* and what *Acts* of *Parliament* soever they please to justify their doings, I know not how those *Laws* and *Acts* of *Parliament* will or can justify them, before the *Throne* of the just *God*.

And therefore, not to do my self, what I blame in others, lest *God* should condemn me out of mine own mouth: as my good *God* hath hitherto preserved me, and kept my hands clean from all *Corruption*, and from taking any the least bribe or gift from any man, or any service, but what I paid for, even in my poorest state, and meanest condition, when I had not for many years together twenty pound per annum to maintain me; so I have resolved, and do pray to *God* continually to give his grace to perform it, and do hope that *God* will grant it me, that I will never take either bribe for any thing, or gift from any man, or fine for any *House*, *Land*, or *Lordship*, that belongs either to my *Deanery*, or *Bishoprick*, while I live, if, I should live a thousand years: but, what shall be for the repaire of the *Church*.

And besides all this, and many other faults in their own lives, of less moment, I have often bemoaned one offence of some of my brethren above all the rest, when I considered how they, not following the Counsel of *St. Paul* in the Ordination of *Priests* and *Deacons*, To lay hands on no man rashly; but to see that the persons that are to be admitted to holy Orders, should be no novices, that is, no young Divines, because as *Saint Gregory* saith, *Nequaquam debent homines in etate infirma predicare*, Men ought not to Preach in their young and tender years; *Quia juxta rationis usum, sermo doctrinae non suppetit, nisi in perfecta etate*, because that according to the use of Reason, Learning, and Wisdom, is not attained unto, but in perfect ages; *Et Redemptor noster, cum Caeli firconditor & Angelorum Doctor, ante tricennale tempus, in terra magister noluit fieri hominum; ut videlicet precipitatus vim saluberrimi timoris infunderet, cum ipse etiam qui labi non posset, perfecta vita gratiam, non nisi perfecta etate predicaret*: And our Redeemer, that is the

Creator

Creator of the Heavens and Teacher of Angels, would not be made the Teacher of men here on Earth before he was thirty years of age; that so he might powre forth the force and fruit of wholesome ~~for~~ to them that are fallen, when as he also, that could not fall, did not preach the grace and waies of a perfect life, but in a perfect age; and to see likewise that they should be no waies unworthy of so high a calling, but every way qualified, both for life and doctrine, so, as the Word of God doth require: have notwithstanding, either by the solicitation of friends; or for some other respects, and perhaps worse Corruption, many times made young novices, illiterate men; and, which is far worse, men of corrupt minds, and of bad lives, of loose dissolute carriage, the Priests of the most High God, to wait at his Altar, that were not worthy to wait on our Table. And therefore, as those Bishops that did thus, did herein falsify their Faith to God, and betrayed his service to these unworthy men; So, the just God hath most justly suffered these perfidious men, to betray their makers, to spit in their Fathers faces, and to combine themselves with the enemies of Christ, to destroy the Bishops of Gods Church, and so, as the Poet saith in another kind,

Ignavum fucos pecus à præsepibus arcent.

This wicked brood that we our selves begat and made, would drive their Sires from their hives, and from our offices.

And I know not by what fatality, unless it be by the just wrath of God, to intail the wickedness of the Fathers, like the Leprosy of Gebezi, unto the Children, for the sins and injustice of the Fathers that are so well known, and ingraven in the consciences of the Children; yet, so it is most generally found, that the Children of the precedent Bishops, that have most wronged the Church and their Successors, are in all things most contrariant and opposites, I will not say spiteful, or envious to the succeeding Bishops: because, as I conceive, their hearts tell them, what injuries their Fathers did them, for their sakes, and themselves continue therein; and therefore do conceive, that the present Bishops cannot think well nor love them, that have so much wronged, both them and the Church of God, and to requite them, according to their own thoughts, with hate for hate, they are of all others most spiteful crossing and prejudiciall unto them: or else, because they do imagine, that the present and succeeding Bishops, will be as wicked and as unjust, as their Fathers, and their predecessors were, and therefore deserve neither love nor favour from them; And I heard many Parliament men say that in the Long Anti-Christian Parliament, none were more violent against the Bishops, then the sons and posterity of Precedent Bishops: I found it so.

And I have espied another fault in some of our former Bishops, not a little prejudiciall to the Honor of God, and the good of the Church of Christ; and that is, not only to give Orders to unworthy men, but also to bestow livings, upon unworthy Priests; for, as the old saying was,

Rector eris præsto, de sanguine præsulis esto;

Or, as another saith,

Quatuor ecclesiis portis intratur in omnes:

Prima patet magnis, nummatis altera, tertia charis,

Sed paucis solet quarta patere Dei.

So it was their practice to bestow Livings, Rectories, Prebends, and other Preferments,

Why the sons of Bishops are most spiteful unto the succeeding Bishops.

As Alexander the Copper-smith withstood S. Paul; So the last Bishops son withstood me, to recover the rights of the Church,

And so to the
lessor and to
the lessee of
the Church-
Lands, to the
prejudice of
the Church,
the like curse
and Anathe-
ma is due.

Habeatur v. g.
1. Can. Quicun-
que.

Preferments, not on them that best deserved them; but, either upon their Children, friends, or servants, or on them that could, as the story goeth, tell them, who was *Melchisedecks* Father, that is, to say *St. Peters* lesson, *Aurum & argentum non est mihi*, in the affirmative way; which is a fault worthy to be punished by the Judges. For as it is most truly said, *Quicunque sacra vel sacros ordines vendunt aut emunt, sacerdotes esse non possunt*, whosoever do buy or sell holy orders, or any holy things, cannot be Priests, *Unde scriptum est Anathema danti, Anathema accipienti*, whence it is written, Let Gods curse be to the buyer, and the curse of God to the receiver; because this buying and selling of Holy things, and things dedicated for the service of God, is the *Simoniackal* Heresie, or Heresie of *Simon Magus*; *Quomodo ergo, si Anathematizati sunt, & sancti non sunt, sanctificare alios possunt?* How then, if they be accursed and no Saints, can they make others Saints, or sanctify them? *Et, cum in corpore Christi non sint, quomodo Christi corpus tradere vel accipere possunt? Et qui maledictus est, benedicere quomodo potest?* And seeing such men are not in the body of Christ, how can they deliver or receive the body of Christ? and how can he that is accursed himself, bless any other?

And therefore, seeing the Word of God requireth, the Bishops and Ministers of Christ should be so Holy in their lives, and so qualified, with knowledge and learning, for the instruction of the people, as I shewed to you before, and is typified by those *Golden Bels*, and the *Pomegranats*, that were to be set in the skirts of *Aarons* robes round about, the *Bels* signifying the teaching of the people; and the *Pomegranats* the sweet smelling fruits of a good and godly life; It behoves the Kings and Princes, to whom God hath given the prime Sovereignty, and commandeth them to have a care of his Honor and the service of his Church, to see, so far as they can, that the Bishops and Prelates, which they place over Gods people, be so qualified, as God requireth, and to injoyn these, their prime Substitutes, to look that those Priests and Deacons, which they make, and place in the Church, be likewise such, as I have fore-shewed; for this, God requireth at their hands; and this, *David*, *Jehosaphat*, *Ezechias*, *Josias*, and all the good and godly Kings of *Israel*, and *Juda*, and all the pious Christian Kings and Emperors did; and I do know, how zealously and carefully our late most gracious King *Charles* the I. was, to place Able, Religious, and Godly Bishops over Gods Church; which is a special duty of every King.

And because also the Prelates and Bishops are not all, or may not all be, no more then the Apostles were all, such as they should be, but some of them may be such, as I have shewed to you before, either like *Simon Magus* selling what they should freely give; or like *Demas* imbracing this present World, or like *Baalam*, loving the wages of unrighteousness, or perhaps doing worse then those, Apostatizing like *Julian*, and starting aside like *Eccolius*, or devising wicked Heresies, like *Arius*, or renting the unity of the Church like *Donatus*, then, as *Solomon* deposed *Abiathar*, and divers of the good Emperours deposed wicked Popes, and the godly Kings have pull'd down ungodly Bishops, as our late Queen *Elizabeth* did degrade Bishop *Bonner*, and divers other Popish Prelates; so should all good and godly Kings reprove and correct, and if they amend not, expel and remove all scandalous and ungodly Bishops; and the Bishops do the like to all deboyst and dissolute Ministers: that so the old and sowre leaven may be purged out of Gods Church, and the builders of Gods Tabernacle be like *Bezaliel*, and *Aboliab*, such as can and will do the work of the Lord carefully and Religiously.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the maintenance due to the Bishops and Ministers of Gods Church, how large and liberal it ought to be.

THirdly, When the Kings and Princes, which are the *Supreme Magistrates*, and, as *Tertullian* saith, *Homines à Deo secundi, & solo Deo minores*, are the men, that are next to God in power and Authority, and therefore ought to have the prime and chiefest care of Gods Honour, and his worship in the Church of Christ; have, as I have formerly shewed, with King *David* and *Solomon*, provided that Temples and Churches be erected and beautified, as fit houses of God, for his people and servants to convene and meet in them to Worship God, and have likewise taken care, in the next place, to see that good men and godly Bishops be appointed over those Churches as their substitutes, to Rule, Govern, and Teach the people of God; how to live and to believe as they ought to do, and to require the Bishops and Prelates also to see, that all the inferior Clergy do the like: then, that they may be enabled, with joy and comfort, to discharge their duties, and to perform Gods service aright; they should do their best endeavour to see, that there should be large and liberal maintenance provided, and set out sufficiently for them, to sustain and keep themselves and their families; to keep Hospitality, to relieve the poor, and to do all the other works of piety and charity, which they are enjoined to do, and which, without such means and maintenance, they are no waies able, possibly, to discharge. For if such liberal maintenance be not provided for them, the want thereof will make the whole company of the Clergy men to be contemptible, their names in obloquy, and their unworthy and poor condition will fright away the better sort of men from imbracing this calling, that in it self is so Honourable a function, as to be the Embassadors of Jesus Christ: for though the name of a Bishop, and the Priest or Minister of Jesus Christ, be great, and of great account in Gods book, and with the Saints of God; yet men are but flesh and blood, whose nature is to be inticed and toled on with rewards, as the best Solicitors and mediators, to spur them forward to undertake any profession; and they are most apt and ready, to undertake that, which they see most profitable, and makes them best able to live in the world.

3. To provide sufficient means for the Church-men.

Colimus imperatorem ut hominem à Deo secundum & solo Deo minorem, Tertul. ad Scapulam.

And *Juvenal* saith, *Quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam, Præmia si tollas?* *Juvenal. l. 4. Satyr. 10.*

And therefore *Cicero*, the best of the Orators, said, *Honos alit artes*, That Reward and Honor is the nourisher of Arts and Sciences, and makes the Schollars to fall to their Study; and *Aristotle*, the chiefest of all the Philosophers, confirmeth what the Orator said, and addeth, that, *Honos est premium Virtutis*, Virtue and learning ought to be honored and rewarded; and when it is rewarded it will flourish and be increased; and *Martial* the best Epigrammatist justifieth, what the others affirmed, saying,

*Sint Mecænes, non deerunt, Flacce, Maroness;
Virgiliumque tibi vel tua rura dabunt.*

Which I may (with leave) thus Translate,

Where Patrons well present their Clerks, there Preachers will abound,
In every Town and Village then, good Prophets shall be found.

Joth. 15. 16.
1 Sam. 17. 25.
2 Sam. 5. 8.

And therefore the wisest men, have alwayes promised great Rewards to all that would attempt any great Service ; as Caleb said, He that smiteth Kiriath-sepher, and taketh it, to him will I give my daughter Achsa to wife. And Saul promised to do the like, to him that vanquished Goliath : And so King David promised no small Reward to him, that got up to the gutter, and smote the Jebuzites in the siege of Hierusalem ; because the wages and reward, that men expect for their labour, are as the spurs that drive and prick them forward, to every profession, and to every work and great Exploit.

Judg. 17. 10.

And on the other side, when the World seeth the Ministers of the Gospel rewarded none otherwise now, when we have a gracious King, than the Levite in the old Testament was, when there was no King in Israel, with bare meat and drink, and a single simple suite of apparel, and ten Shekels of Silver, which was his yearly pension, for all his pains, then, as Juvenal saith,

Quis, quis virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
Præmia si tollas ?

Who will be willing to enter into the Ministry, and to imbrace this high Calling ? especially when they do thoroughly perceive, how this inexcusable covetousness, & the irresistible power of the men of War, doth still increase more and more, to eat up, and, like a canker, to waste and consume the possessions of the Church, and the maintenance of God's Ministers ; whereby the Honour of God is blemished, his Worship obstructed, the people deprived of the spiritual food of their souls, and the poor of their relief and food of their bodies ; which the Bishops and Ministers of Christ, if they were made able, are bound to bestow upon them, as the men that best know the duty of charity, how acceptable it is in the sight of God.

Why there
were no Physicians
in Athens.

* For they are
the men that
hold our lands
and seek to
take our houses
from us.

For, as, when it was demanded, Why there were no Professors of Physick in the City of Athens, whereby the whole Art and Profession was decayed ; the answer was made, It was because there was no Reward or Stipend set out and allotted for the Teachers of that Science : So when the reward and maintenance of the Bishops and Ministers, is purloyned and taken away by Souldiers, * or any others, then certainly, the Ministry of the Gospel of Jesus Christ will insensibly decay : And how the Church-robbers will answer this to God, or defend themselves with their swords before him, let them look unto it ; I would not be in their case, for all the lands and houses that they have.

For, as when Antigonius asked the Philosopher Cleantes, that was Zeno's Scholler, and had learnedly written of the Sun and Moon and Stars, and other points of Astronomy, Why he carried water in the night, and did grinde at the Quern or Mill ? Cleantes answered, He was inforced to be thus occupied, to get his living, when he had no other means to maintain himself. So, when God shall demand of the Bishops and Ministers, Why they do not study to teach his people, and bestow alms on his poor creatures, but look after their busbandry, and follow after the affairs of the world, and to do, as many times my self have been inforced to do, many base and servile works, for want of means to hire other labourers, and we shall answer as Cleantes did, This strange indignity is done unto us, that we have no money to buy Books to study, and to relieve the poor, and to repair thy ruinous House, nor scarce meanes to maintain our selves, but by these unworthy wayes to get some small means of subsistence, lest otherwise we should be forced, with the Levite and his wife, to lodge in the streets. And when God shall reply again, and demand, How cometh this to passe ? when as the Kings, Princes, and other Noble men of the World, the more excellent,

lent, powerful, and illustrious they are, the more excellent and beneficial are the Places and Offices of their servants; from whence it became a Proverb, That no fishing to the Sea, and no service to the Court. And I, that am the Great and Almighty God of Heaven, and the King of all Kings, that do take pleasure in the prosperity of my servants, and have promised riches and honour to them that serve me, and accordingly have allowed and commanded my Tythes and Oblations, and the free gifts and will-offerings of my people, to be inviolably set out, and preserved for them that serve at mine Altar; and yet, notwithstanding all this, that my Servants and Ambassadors, that are legati à latere, should be in a poorer and a sadder condition, than the servants of many mean Gentlemen? and we shall answer; It is true, O Lord, that thou art the Best Master in the World, thy service is the most Honourable, and the allowance that thou hast appointed for them, is very ample and large, and a most plentiful Royal Reward, and we know, that they which will faithfully serve thee shall want no manner of thing that is good. Psal. 35. 27.
Prov. 3. 16. &
C. 22. 4.
Psal. 34. 10.

But the sons of Belial, the off-spring of Baalam, that loved the wages of unrighteousnesse, have violated the covenant of Levi, and rose up against him, and being too strong for him, have taken away the Tythes and Oblations, the lands and the houses of thee our God, into their possession; and left the Church of Christ bare and naked, to cry out, *Pellis & ossa sum miser*; and that is the reason, why we do not, and cannot, perform and do the service that thou requirest, and we desire to do.

And then, let the sacrilegious persons, and the violaters of holy things, the goods and lands of the Church, see, what the Prophet saith of Levi, and of his enemies; for of Levi he saith, *Blesse, O Lord, his substance, and accept the work of his hands*: And of his enemies, he saith, *Smite thorough the loynes of them that rise up against him, and of them that hate him, smite them thorough and thorow, that they rise not again*. And I do wonder, that this prayer of Moses doth not make the hearts of all Church-robbers to shake and tremble when they do consider it. The Souldiers
that take away.
Deut. 33. 11.

But the enemies of God's Church, that care not how much they pill and pluck from the Patrimony thereof, and would have the Ministers and Bishops, that are like fixed Stars in God's right hand, to be like the Planets in the Zodiack, that have no settled place; but are carried about by an erratical and uncertain motion: Yet cannot they endure to be termed sacrilegious; but they cry out, and say, No, and God forbid, that they should take away any thing from the Church, that belongs unto the Church; So, like the Jews, that cried, *Templum Domini, Templum Domini*, when they prophaned the same most of all; their words are smoother than oil, when in very deed, they are very swords; and will not be kept back, from piercing us, and Christ himself through our sides.

Therefore I will endeavour to shew unto them the truth, and the equity of that large and liberal maintenance, that God alloweth, and is therefore due, and not to be denied, to the Bishops and the Ministers of the Gospel: and this truth the Holy Scripture confirmeth many wayes: As, The equity of
the large and
liberal main-
tenance of the
Clergy.

1. That they should have maintenance, it is manifest, and few but mad men will deny it; because the labourer is worthy of his hire; and the Apostle demandeth, *Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? or, Who feedeth a flock, and doth not taste of the milk thereof?* And no man can deny, but the Bishops and Ministers of God's Word are the Husbandmen, and the Dressers of God's Vineyard, and the Shepherds of his Flock. And the same Apostle saith, That they which minister about holy things live of the things of the Temple, and they which wait at the Altar, are partakers with the Altar: Even so, hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel: And the other reasons, that this our Apostle produceth, are, Luke 10. 7:
1 Cor. 5. 7.
1 Cor. 9. 13. 14.

1. *A minor*, the mouth of the Oxe, that treadeth out the corn, is not to be muzzled.

2. *A major*, the Preachers of God's Word do minister unto the people spiritual graces; therefore the people should not muzzle the mouths of their Preachers, and keep back their carnal things from them. They are so plain and so pregnant to prove, that Ministers should have maintenance, that our very adversaries cannot contradict it.

Obj.

Yet for all this, some fanatick spirits, void of all reason do object, That as *Nehemiah*, because he feared God, spared the people from those exactions of money and corn and wine, which other Governours had taken from them, and prayed the Nobility, that they should exact no such things from their brethren, and called the Priests also, and took an oath of them, that they should do accordingly. So, the Bishops and Ministers of Christ should much rather spare their people, and not exact such parts and portions from them, as they do.

Nehem. 5. 15,
16. & v. 10, 12.

Sol.

To this I answer, That *Nehemiah* was a potent and a powerful man, that was able to maintain at his Table an hundred and fifty of the Jews and Rulers, besides those that came unto him from among the Heathen round about him: and the people, newly returned from their Captivity, were very poor and miserable, and the exactions that were taken from them were too heavy, and very unjust; therefore this godly Governour took pity upon them, and in piety forgave it them.

Verse 17.

Verse 3, 4, 5.

But this particular example, is no Precept for us to obey, or Rule to follow it; especially considering the disparity betwixt us, and *Nehemiah*, and betwixt our people now, and the Jews at that time; and the great difference that is betwixt their taking of most unjust taxations, and our requiring the just reward and wages of them that are far better able to pay it, than we to forbear it, for our just and great pains: Yet,

Obj.

2. They do object the example of the Apostles, and especially of *S. Paul*, who made the labour of his hands, the porter that brought in his living; and protested before the Bishops and Clergy, that he coveted no mans Silver, or Gold, or Apparel, but his hands ministered to his necessities: and tells the *Corinthians*, That in all things he kept himself from being burdensome unto them.

Act. 18. 33. 34.

2 Cor. 11. 9.

Sol. 1.

It is answered. 1. That our Ministers cannot possibly do as the Apostles did, unless they had the same spirit, the same grace, and the same extraordinary gifts of inspiration, and in the same measure as the Apostles had; for they were immediately and extraordinarily inspired with abilities, to preach, and to answer, whatsoever should be demanded of them in illa hora; even in an instant, and to do miracles, when need required: But we cannot attain to any learning or knowledge, without industry and study; and great pains-taking: And therefore we cannot be Preachers of Gods Word, if we be forced to be Traders in the World, to work with our hands, and to live by our works.

2.

2. *S. Paul* doth not say, That he never took wages of any Church; but that he coveted no mans Silver, and forbore to charge the Churches, when he found it was meet and best to do so, for the Churches edification, which he spared; otherwise he tells the *Corinthians*, That he robbed other Churches, taking wages of them, to do the *Corinthians* service.

2 Cor. 11. 8.

And to shew, that their maintenance should not be sparing and niggardly, but large, bountiful, and honourable; *S. Paul* saith, Let the Elders, that is, the Bishops, and Ministers of Christ, that rule well, be counted worthy of double honour, especially they which labour in the word and doctrine: By which double honour, *S. Chrysostom* understandeth. 1. A respect and reverence unto their persons: And 2ly a liberal maintenance for their livelihood, because honour signifieth all necessary provision, needful for the person that

1 Tim. 5. 7.

that is to be honoured: As where the Lord saith, *Honour thy father and thy mother, and Honour the King*: And where the Apostle saith, *Honour widows that are widows indeed*; that is, have such a care of them, that a sufficient, and a liberal maintenance be provided for them. And so should they do for the *Bishops and Ministers*, answerable to their *Dignity, Places, and Calling*. 1 Pet. 3. 7.

But all this while, we walk about the bush, and are in generals, *Et in universalibus latet error*: And so, though it should be granted, that our maintenance should be very large and liberal; yet it is not agreed, how far it should extend, and what the same should be: But, as the enemies of the Church, and the haters of the Bishops, do think any thing that they have, too much; and would have them, as *S. Bernard* saith, *adibus & sedibus effugari*, to be chased out of house and home, and have their lands sowed with salt, that they might never bring forth fruits to them, or their successors, while the world lasteth: So the best friends of our *Presbyterians* do think, some standing Salary or stipend, which their people conceive to be competent for them, is to be understood by this double honour, and by all that is required in the new Testament to be given unto them.

To this I say, That for the provision and proportion that is to be given to the Rulers and Teachers of the people, we yield not, that it should be arbitrated and set out by the covetous hearts and shallow heads of them, that would rob the Church, and denude the Spouse of Christ of her precious Garment; and with *Dionysius*, give her a base woollen coat, instead of her golden Vesture: But we refer the decision of this case to the heavenly Oracle of God himself, who best knoweth what is fit for his servants to have, and what is the maintenance, that he alloweth them, and admits not other Masters, to set down the wages of his servants, which is not usual nor tolerable among men: And therefore,

God is the best Judge to determine what wages is fit for his servants to have.

1. Let us consider what maintenance he thought meet to be sufficient for the Levites, and the Ministers of the Law; and by that, you may guess what is fit for the Ministers of the Gospel: And you shall find,

1. That they had 48. Cities to dwell in, out of all the other 11. Tribes of Israel; as you may see how many they had from every Tribe in *Josh. 21. per totum*. And the children of Israel were commanded to set out for the Church, to every City by measure from without the wall of it on the East side, 2000. cubits; and so on every side round about, and the suburbs of their Cities should be for their cattle, for their goods, and for all their beasts, which in a Kingdom, not so big as Great Britain, being not above 300. miles in length from Dan to Beersheba, as *S. Hierom* saith, was a very great proportion. What wages God appointed for the Ministers of the Law. Numb. 35. 4. 5.

2. They were to have the Tythes, that is, the tenth part of all profits of all their yearly increase, either of cattle, fruits of trees, or lands, of all which they were to pay their Tythes, even to Mint, Anise, and Cummin, which, as *Christ* saith, they ought not to leave undone; And the Husbandman paid two sorts of Tythes: For, Vide Godwin. l. 6. c. 3. Math. 23. 23.

1. When the Harvest was ended, he laid aside his great Tberum, called the first fruits of his threshing-floor; and this was of, 1. Wheat. 2. Barley. 3. Grapes. 4. Figs. 5. Pomegranates. 6. Olives. 7. Dates: which the Talmudists called Biccurim: And then under the same head of the first fruits of the threshing-floor, was paid the Tythe of Corn, Wine, Oil, and the Fleece, yea, and of all things else, that the earth brought forth for mans food. Numb. 18. 10. Deut. 18. 4. Numb. 18. 2.

And when the first fruits of the threshing-floor was paid them; 1. Out of the remainder, he paid a tenth part unto the Levites; and this they termed, the first Tythe, and this was always paid in kind, and, as it seemeth, not brought to Hierusalem by the Husbandman, but paid unto the Levites in the several Cities of tillage. Tob. 1. 7. Nchem. 10. 37.

2. When

Moses Kotsen-
in tractatu de
decima secun-
da. Fol. 199.

2. When this *first tythe* was paid, the Husbandman paid out of that which remained a *second tythe*, which he might either pay *in kind*, or by commutation *in money*, and which for two years he was to make a *Love-feast* at *Jerusalem* with it, and every third year still at *home*; but in *each place* to invite the *Levite*, the *Fatherless*, the *Widow*, and the *Poor*, unto it. *Deut. 14. 18.*

Levit 27. 32.

They paid likewise the *tythes of their Cattel*, their *Bullocks*, *Sheep*; and of *all that passed under the Rod*, the *tenth was Holy unto the Lord*.

And that our *Husbandmen* may see what the *Jews* paid out of the *Fruits of the Earth*; this *Synopsis*, taken out of *Scaliger*, as *Goodwin* saith; will declare unto them, *Videlicet*

The Husband-
man had grow-
ing

- 6000. Bushels of Corn in *one year*, whereof
- 100. Bushels was the least that could be paid by the Husbandman to the *Priests* for the *first-fruits of the threshing floor*. So
- 5900. Bushels remained to the Husbandman; whereof he paid two *tythes*. First
- 590. Bushels were the *first tythes* that he paid to the *Levites*; whereof, they paid 59. Bushels to the *Priests*; which was called, *decima decimarum*, the *tythe of tythes*. So
- 5310. Bushels remained to the Husbandman, whereof
- 531. Bushels, were paid for his *second Tythe*, to the *Levite*, *Fatherless*, *Widow*, and other poor men. So
- 4770. Bushels remained to the Husbandman, as his *own* when he had paid all that was upon him to be paid; and so
- 1121. Bushels are the sum of *both tythes*, joyned together; which is above a *sixth part* of the whole, and no less then 19. out of a *hundred*, which the Husbandman hath paid.

And what would our men say if they were injoyned to pay so much? And yet, besides *all the tythes*, that the *Priests*, and *Levites* were to have, without any diminution, you may

Exod. 13.

Num. 18. 15,
16.

3. Note, that the *Priests* and *Levites* were to have a *special share* of all the *first fruits*, of their *Cattel* of all kinds, as of *Bullocks*, *Sheep*, *Goats*, and the *Fruits of their Trees*, and of their *Corn*, both the *Therumoth*, and *Thenuphoth*, their *Heave-offering*, and *Wave-offering*; and the *firstlings* or *first-born* of every man, the *Lord* challenged as his *own*; and they were to be redeemed, for *five silver shekels* of the *Sanctuary*, which were to be paid unto the *Priests* for each of them.

And so you see, how God would be *Honored*, and how *great* was the portion of the *Priests*, which received Gods part by the *firstlings* of men, and of *Cattel*, and by the *first fruits* of the *Trees*, and of the *Earth*, in the *Sheafe*, in the *Threshing-floor*, in the *Dough*, and in the *Loaves*: which should teach us, to Consecrate the *prime* of our years, and of *all* that is good unto the *service* of the *Lord*.

3. The divers
kinds of Sacri-
fices and Ob-
lations of the
Jews, whereof
the Priests had
their part.

3. Besides all this, you must observe that the *Jews* had divers kinds of *Sacrifices*, and *Ceremoniall oblations*, instituted by God, and administered by the *Priests*, which were either

1. *ἱλαστικόν;*

1. ἱλαστικόν, *Pr pitiatory and Piacular, that was also two fold.*
- 1. Ἀλλυδαιτικόν, *Reconciling, which the Grecians called Holocaust, because it was wholly burnt.*
 - 2. Ἀπολυτρωτικόν, *Redeeming,*
 - 1. *Pro peccato*
 - 2. *Pro delicto.*
- { The 1. A sin-offering.
 { The 2. A trespass offering.
2. Εὐχαριστικόν, *Gratulatory, for the manifold benefits that they had received from God: and this their thankfulness they attested three manner of waies.*
- 1. *By their Peace-offering.*
 - 2. *By their Oblations.*
 - 3. *By their Sacrifice of praise.*

And out of all these things, and whatsoever things were devoted to God, in any waies, by *Oblations or Vowes*, for their sin-offering, or trespass-offering, and all the gifts of the Children of Israel, which were *beaved, waved* or shaken, and the *Shew-bread*, and all that was *sacred* and sequestred from the *Common use*, the portion of the *Priests* must indispensably be laid out for them; Because God had given it unto them by a *Covenant of Salt* for ever; and so out of every *Eucharistical Sacrifice*, the *breast* and the *right shoulder*, were the *Levites fees*; and from every *Holocaust*, or whole-burnt Sacrifice they had the *skin*.

Numb. 18. 9;
10, 11, 12.

Ezech. 44. 29.
& 30.

Levit. 24. 9.

And whensoever they detained any of these, either in whole or in part, the Lord required them to make a *plenary satisfaction*, and to offer up a *Ram* for that detention.

Levit. 7. 8.
Levit. 5. 13.

Out of all which, it is most evident, that the maintenance of these *Ministers* of the law was both *liberal* and honorable; and so much the better, because it was *perpetual* and entailed to their posterity: whereas our means is *transient*; and dieth from our children when we die.

Yet you know how Saint Paul reasoneth, if the *Ministration of death*, written and ingraven in *stones*, was *glorious*, so that the children of Israel could not steadfastly behold the face of *Moses*, for the *glory* of his countenance; which *glory* was to be done away: How shall not the *Ministration of the Spirit* be rather *glorious*? For if the *Ministration of Condemnation* be glory, much more doth the *Ministration of Righteousness* exceed in glory; So, if their *Ministry*, which was the *Ministration of the Law*, and of *Death*, had such *glorious allowance* for their service, I wonder how our *Ministry*, which is the *Ministration of the Gospel* should be so *meanly* rewarded; and our maintenance so far short of theirs; when, in respect of our more *glorious service*, and far more *beneficial* unto our people, it should exceed theirs in all glory.

2 Cor. 3. 7.

CHAP. XV.

That the payment of Tythes unto the Church, is not a case of custom but of Conscience; When as the tenth by a Divine right is the Teacher's tribute, and the very first part of the wages that God appointed to be paid unto his Work-men; and therefore, that it is as haynous a sin, and as foul an offence, to defraud the Minister of this due; as it is to detain the meat, or money, of the Labouring-man, which is one of the four crying sins.

HAVING seen, that it is a part of the duty and charge of all *Christian Kings and Princes*, to have a special care to uphold Gods service and the true Religion; and to that end,

1. To cause Churches to be built and *Beautified*, for the people to meet in them, to serve God. And

2. To appoint *Worthy men*, Bishops and Priests, to supply those Churches, and to instruct the people. And then

3. To see that those servants of God should have that allowance and wages, which God himself hath appointed and commanded to be paid unto them, for their pains and service of his Church.

We are now to examine what their means and maintenance should be, that God appointed for their wages: And I say that he is a most bountiful Master, that takes pleasure in the prosperity of his servants, as King David speaketh; and therefore gives them a very large reward, which doth chiefly consist in these two things.

The two special portions of the Clergy.

1. Tythes.
2. Donations.

1. The Tythes, or tenth part, of his peoples goods.

2. The Free-will-offerings, Oblations, and Donations of the people.

The 1. He commandeth to be paid them.

And the 2. He alloweth to be given them; and being given, he requireth that they should not be alienated and taken from them; no, not by the givers themselves; therefore much less by any other.

1. That tythes are due to our Ministers.

1. That Tythes, or the tenth part of our goods and substance are due to them, that discharge the service of God, by the instruction of his people, to Worship God, as well under the *New Testament* as the *Old*; it may be manifested by these Reasons.

1. Reason.

Ante legem datam, sacrificiorum impensis & rebus aliis ad externum Dei cultum conservandum pertinentibus, decima applicabatur. Fran. Sylvius.

1. Whatsoever nature and Humane Reason teacheth to be justly due to any man or society of men, the same doth the Scripture, both the *Law* and *Gospel*, teach to be due, and ought to be paid unto them; Nam, sicut Deus est Scriptura, ita Deus est Nature, for as God is the Author of the Scripture, so he is the God of nature; and whatsoever is true in nature, I speak not of defiled nature, but of pure nature, the same is true in Scripture; And therefore Saint Augustine saith, that as, *Contra Scripturas nemo Christianus*, & *contra Ecclesiam nemo Catholicus*, No Christian will speak against the Scripture, and no Catholick will gain-say the Church; so *Contra rationem nemo sobrius*, No sober man will deny, what Reason avoucheth.

But the law of Nature and Reason teacheth, that no pension which is indifferent and tolerable ought to be denied and detained from the Common use

use and the good of publick weales; for so Plato, and Cicero, and many more, that knew no more, but what the light of nature shewed them, do say, We are born on that condition, not only to provide for our selves, and our offsprings; but also for our private friends, and especially for the publick good of our Countrey; which is the common parent of us all, and the examples of Theseus the Athenian, Demaratus the Lacedemonian, Epaminondas the Theban; Curtius, Decius, and Coriolanus the Romans; and among the Jews, Moses, Aaron, Gideon, Sampson, David, Zerobabel, and abundance more in all Nations, that underwent all charge, and exposed themselves to endure all adventures, for the furtherance of the common good; do sufficiently confirm this truth unto us.

That every man is to do his best for the publick good.

But the tenth part or portion, that we have from the Fruits and commodities that we receive from the earth, is of the most indifferent condition, competent for the receiver, and tolerable for the giver, as being of a middle size, neither too little for the one to take, nor too much for the other to pay, for the publick service of God. The tenth the most indifferent part.

And this will easily be confirmed, if we compare this tenth part with the taxes and impositions, that are of other nature, and are required and payable in very many Nations; for the men of Cholchi, beside their subsidy of money, were forced to deliver abundance male Children, and as many maidens, by way of task or tribute, unto their Princes; And Herodotus writeth of very strange distributions that do arise from the waters of Nilus, to the proper use of the Inhabitants about that River; and of the mighty subsidies, that do grow from thence unto the Kings. And the Egyptians have been forced to pay the fifth part of their estate unto their Kings: and Diodorus Siculus saith, that a certain King of Egypt gave the yearly custome of the fishes, which were taken out of the pooles of his subjects, to find rayment and other Ornaments for his Queen, and that the same amounted to a Talent of silver, for every day in the year. And Dion, in the life of Augustus, relateth how he levied the twentieth part of every mans estate, and of such Donations, Legacies, and Gifts, as were bequeathed at the time of their death, and said, that he found some Records of that custome, formerly used in the Registers of Caesar, and it is written that the Thuringi exceeded this payment, in the taxes that were imposed upon them: For they were forced to pay yearly to the Kings of Hungary, not only the tenth part of their goods, but also the tenth number of their children; and yet they that are under the Tyranny of the Turks must indure a heavier yoke, and a far greater slavery; for they pay the fourth part of all their fruits and increase of the earth, and of their labours in their several trades; and they pay toll-money for every servant that they keep: the which, if their estates be not able to do, yet must they make it good, or sell themselves for slaves to do it.

The tenth compared with the taxes imposed upon the people, in divers Nations,

And now judge you, what rational man comparing the tythes, with these tributes and the taxes of other Nations, will not conclude that the tenth part is the most equal, just, and indifferent portion, that can be allotted, and adjudged fit, to be given and paid, for such a publick good, as is the service of God, and the Ministry of the Gospel, without pressing too heavy upon the giver, or paying too slight a portion, to the receiver.

2. Whatsoever things have their foundation, and introduction, in the Law of Nature, the same things ought still to be observed and continued; but natural Reason suggesteth and telleth every man, that is not voyd of Reason;

2. Reason. What natural Reason sheweth.

1. That, as they which serve the Common-wealth, Kings, Magistrates, and Governours; should live upon the taxes and Contributions of the Common-wealth; so they that serve the Church of God as Bishops and

1. That publick Ministers should be by the publick State maintained.

Judg. 17. 5.

Priests, should be maintained by the Church: and the Histories of the Gentiles do bear witness, that all the Nations of the World have alwayes fully and sufficiently provided maintenance for their Priests. For so Micba, having set up his Temple, and made an Ephod, and his Teraphim, *consecravit ministerium unius de filiis suis*, he made one of his sons to be his Priest, and *implevit manum ejus*, which [*consecravit ministerium*] signifieth, saith Tremellius, in his notes upon that place, that is, to give him an estate, and the maintenance of a Priest: and so he did to the Levite, that succeeded him, *consecravit ministerium ejus, id est, implevit manum ejus*, He filled his hand, and satisfied him with certainty of maintenance. And Pharaob, and the rest of the Egyptians allowed lands and possessions, and other sufficient maintenance unto their Priests and Magicians. And the Babylonians were very bountifull to their Wise-men, and the Professors of the Mysteries of their religion. And so was Jexabel also to the Priests of Baal, making them to sit at her own Table.

2. That the Tythes are the fittest part to maintain these publick Ministers, and were so given by Jews and Gentiles before Moses time.

Veteres ex unaquaque re decimam offerre diis solebant. Fran. Sylvius Insul. And Plautus saith, ut decimam solveret Herculi.

Socrates Scholast. 1. 7. c. 25. Titus Livius. 1. 5. pag. 159.

2. That the Tythes or tenth part of our goods and fruits of the earth is the fittest part, and the most indifferent proportion, that we can assign and lay out for the maintenance and allowance of the Priests and Ministers of Religion: for not only Moses, by the instinct and inspiration of God's Spirit, appointed and commanded the tenth part to be paid unto the Priests; but also, many good and godly men, before Moses time, were by the secret instigation of the same Spirit, and the innate light of their natural reason, directed, before God commanded the same, to give the Tythes of their whole Estate unto God, and to deliver it into the hands of his Receivers, the Priests: As among the people of God, Abraham, and Jacob, paid Tythes of all, and that long before Moses time. And among the Gentiles, Plutarch recordeth, that when Hercules had vanquished Geryon, King of Spain, and by a strong hand, had taken away his Oxen from him, he made an oblation of every tenth Bullock unto God. And it is said, that Carbalus was sent by the Carthaginians unto Tyrus, to offer unto Hercules the tenth part of the spoils, that he had gotten in the Isle of Sicily. And the Histories do relate further, That the Tythes of the prey, that was taken in the Platean Wars, were dedicated, and offered up unto the gods, And Socrates, in his Ecclesiastical Histories, saith, That the Famous Writer Xenophon, both in the sixth Book of Cyrus his Expedition, and in the first Book of the Acts of the Grecians, maketh mention of a Town called Chysophle; which Alcibiades walled about, and assigned a place therein for the payment of Tythes and Tribute; and so, all that loose out of the main Sea, and sail from Pontus, and do arrive at that place, did use there to pay their Tythes, saith mine Author. And Titus Livius writeth, That when the rich City of the Veii, was besieged by Furius Camillus, he spake these words, and said, By thy conduct, and the instinct of thy divine power, O Pythius Apollo, I set forward to the winning of the Town of Veii, and now to thee I vow, the tenth part of the spoils thereof; and after the Veii were captivated, and peace concluded with the Volscians, and the spoils of the City brought to Rome, Camillus said, There was one thing, that his conscience would not suffer him to hold his peace, That out of that booty only, which was of moveable things, the tenth part was appointed to be levied; but as for the City and ground, that was won, which also was comprised within the vow, there were no words at all made of them: whereupon, the debating of this matter, (which to the Senate seemed doubtful and hard) was put over to the Priests, and Prelates; and their Colledge, calling to them Camillus, thought good that whatsoever the Veientians had before the vow was made, and whatsoever, after the vow was made, came into the hands of the people of Rome, the tenth part thereof should be consecrated to Apollo; and so, both the City, and the lands were valued,

lued, and money taken out of the *City-Chamber*, for the payment of this tenth; and because there was not *store enough* to do it, the *Dames* of the *City* consulted *thereabouts*, and by a common Decree made promise unto the *Tribunes Military*, to supply their want; and to that end they brought into the *Exchequer* their own *Gold*, and all the *Ornaments* and *Jewels* that they had, for the payment of this tenth unto the god *Apollo*; And this was as acceptable a thing, and as well taken of the *Senate*, as ever any thing had been, saith *Titus Livius*. And it is reported by *Plinius*, That the *A-* *rabians* worshipped a god, whom they firnamed *Sabio*, and that they used to pay the *Tythes* of all their goods unto that *imaginary* god.

Plinius. l. 12. c. 14.

And what is the cause, that these *Heathens*, which knew not the *True God*, did these things? but that the light of *reason*, which the *God of Nature*, imprinted in their minds, informed them, that the tenth part of their *fruits* and increase, should appertain to the provision of those *Priests* that served their god: And the reason, why they conceived the tenth part to be more properly due to their gods, rather than the *eighth*, *ninth*, *eleventh*, *twelfth*, or *thirteenth*, or any other number more or less, was because the tenth number is the *perfectest*, and the *greatest* number that is, beyond which, there is no other number, but by the *addition* and *re-iteration* of the same former numbers thereunto, which you may observe in all *Languages*; and in the *Arithmetical* explanation thereof, you have no *figures*, as *Aquinas* well observeth, that reach any further than 9. to which you add the *cypher* 0 to make up 10. and that *cypher* 0, being *circular* and *round*, is the *Hieroglyphic* expressing the *Eternal God*, which, like unto this *cypher* 0, hath neither *beginning* nor *ending*, and doth therefore challenge this number, that is like himself, unto himself. And the highest reach of mans *natural* reason, could not any better way acknowledge the *Power* and *Eternity* of the *God of Nature*, than by assigning that quantity of their goods which they offered to him, by this number 10. which is the highest, and the most perfect number that is, and containeth all other numbers within it; when as after 9. you have no more *figures*, but adding this *cypher* 0. And the re-iteration of the same *figures* from 1. to 9. with the *cybers* unto them, it makes up all numbers from 10. to 10. thousand thousands.

Why the 10th is the most proper number that belongeth to God.

And therefore this payment of the *Tythes* unto the *Priests*, being a truth which *Nature* teacheth, and which I believe was the proportion of the offering and oblation that *Cain* and *Abel* brought to God, it must needs be the truth of God, that the *Tythes* are due unto the *Priests* by a *Natural* and *Divine Right*, and so never to be altered nor repealed.

3. That the *Priests* of God, which serve at his *Altar*, and the *Ministers* of the *Gospel*, that publish the glad tidings of *Salvation* unto the people, none will seem so unjust, as to deny but that they ought to have their *Reward*, and be sufficiently maintained: The *Scripture* is plain enough for that, the labourer is worthy of his hire. But the question is, What that hire should be. And I say,

3. Reason. Of what thing is the hire of the Priests should be paid.

1. That the fittest course, the most agreeable to reason, and the most acceptable to God is, that his hire and pension should be paid him, of that which is justly and honestly gotten, and with the least stain of unlawful procurement; for, as the Lord saith, Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore, or the price of a dog, into the House of the Lord thy God; and the reason is, because, these are an abomination unto him; And the son of Sirach saith, Whoso bringeth an offering of unrighteous goods, or of the goods of the poor, doth, as one that sacrificeth the son before the fathers eyes: So he that out of his monies gotten by *usury*, extortion, or any fraudulent wayes, would pay for God's Service, must needs be an abomination to the Lord; because that, as the very *Heathens* were wont to say, Nothing ought to be given and consecrated for the Service and Worship of God, quod prophanum, quod non

1. Answer.

Deut 32. 18. Eccl. 34. 18. 21.

purum, aut quod non suum est, which is not pure and honest, and which is not justly his own that gives it:

But the *fruits* and increase of the earth, that ariseth to the honest Husbandman, that tills his ground, fenceth his fields, and dresseth his Vineyard, and looks for Gods blessing upon his labours, for all his pains; are free from those corruptions, and therefore fittest to be given to God, and for the Service of God.

2. Answer.

2. I say, That because the value and prices of all other commodities, do vary and change, either according as they are esteemed, or as they are plentiful or rare; but the increase and fruits of the earth, being alwayes of the same nature, the portion of the Priest, given out of that increase, will be correspondent to the portion of the Husbandman, more or lesse, as the Corn in his Barn, and the abundance or penury of his Wine-presse and fruits shall be; and according to Gods blessing upon the earth, so shall the Priest and the Husbandman be both alike partakers of Gods blessings, that both might be alike thankful unto God: Whereas, if the Priest receives a portion alwayes alike in money, when the fruits and increase of the earth are plentiful the Priest hath more than his due, and when scarce, then less: then is due, according to the proportion of Gods blessing.

And therefore it is apparant, that the most even and equallest way continually to pay the Minister his hire, and the most acceptable unto God, is, to give it out of Gods blessing of the increase and fruits of the earth. And,

3. Answer.

3. I say, that out of the increase and fruits of the earth, the tenth part thereof, is, not only by the dictate of Nature, and the light of Reason, as I have already shewed, but also by the Law of Moses, and by the Rules of Christ, and the Gospel, the right and due proportion, that should be set forth and paid, for the hire and maintenance of the Priest and Minister of the Gospel: For,

That Tythes are due under the Gospel.

1. The Tythes are due to Christ as he is a Priest.

1. The Priesthood of Christ, is an everlasting Priesthood, both, *ex parte ante*, and *ex parte post*, before his incarnation, and after his incarnation: and Christ, as he was Priest, did alwayes receive Tythes before his incarnation; therefore as he is Priest, he is alwayes to receive the Tythes after his incarnation.

That the Priesthood of Christ, is an everlasting Priesthood, as well *ex parte ante*, as *ex parte post*, the Scripture is plain enough to prove it; for the Prophet David prophesying of Christ, saith, *The Lord sware, and will not repent, thou art a Priest for ever after the Order of Melchisedec*. And the Apostle commenting upon this oath and promise of God concerning Christ, proveth these two things that I speak of:

2. Points proved.

1. That he was a Priest continually, as well before, as after his Incarnation.
2. That he received the Tythes alwayes, as he was this Eternal Priest.

1. That Christ was a Priest before his incarnation, and after his incarnation.

The 1. Point he proveth; First because, that *Melchisedec*, which received the Tythes from *Abraham*, is said to be, *without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of dayes, nor end of life, but abiding a Priest continually*.

2. That Christ was the *Melchisedec* which received Tythes from *Abraham*.

And 2ly, Because, that *Melchisedec*, which is there spoken of, and received those Tythes from the Patriarch *Abraham*, was none other person, than Christ himself, in an assumed shape and manhood for a season, though not hypostatically united to the Divine Nature, so to remain for ever: which may easily be proved.

1. Reason to prove it.

1. Because the Apostle saith, That he was greater than the Patriarch *Abraham*, who is termed, the friend of God, and the father of the faithful; which *Epistete*, with the words, *χρῆς ἢ πάρος ἀπλοῦς, τὸ ἐλάττω καὶ τοῦ κρείτ-*

ὡς ἡ ἀρχὴ. Without all contradiction, the less is blessed of the better, or of the greater, as the Geneva Translator reads it, doth sufficiently shew Him to be *Divinioris cujusdam nature*, of a far more excellent, and Divine nature than Abraham was.

Heb. 7. 7.

2. Because the Apostle, going about to speak of this *Melchisedec*, and to let them understand, *who he was*, saith, *καὶ ἔτι ἔτι πολλὰ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ οὐ δύναμαι νῦν*, concerning whom, we have many things to say, and hard to be uttered, or explained: which certainly, so great an Apostle, and so expert in all the Jewish Rites, would never have said, had he not understood this *Melchisedec* to be *ὡς ἡ ἀρχὴ*, some excellent and ineffable Person; because he doth never say *thus*, when he speaks, either of the Angels, or of any other of the Types and Figures of *Jesus Christ*. Which you shoud mark.

2. Reason.

Heb. 9. 11.

3. Because the Apostle doth not say of this *Melchisedec* [*Whose death is not set down or mentioned by Moses*]; for so he might be dead; though his death were not spoken of; but he saith, *καὶ ἔτι μαρτυροῦμαι ὅτι*, that *David* testifieth or witnesseth, *that he liveth*; to shew the difference betwixt this Priest that alwayes liveth, and those *Levitical Priests*, that ever died; and therefore, comparing the Priesthood of *Aaron*, and of the *Levites*, and the Priesthood of *Christ* together, he saith, *καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ δαυὶδ ἀνθρῶπος λαμβάνουσιν, καὶ ἔτι μαρτυροῦμαι ὅτι*. And here, that is, among the *Levitical Priests*, *men that die receive Tythes*; but *there he*, that is, *Melchisedec*, or *Christ*, *receiveth tythes of whom it is witnessed, that he liveth*: Wherein I would have you diligently to observe, that the Apostle would have us to understand,

3. Reason.

1. That *Aaron* and the *Levites* were *ἀνθρώποι*, men.

2. That they were *ἀνθρώποι*, mortal men, that died: But this Priest, by the *Antithesis*, must be neither man, that is, simply a man, and no more but a man; nor mortal after the manner of other men, because the Prophet testifieth *ὅτι*, that he liveth; and therefore going to prove the necessity of the change of the Law, he saith, it is evident, because our Lord sprang out of *Judah*, of which Tribe *Moses* spake nothing concerning the Priesthood: And he addeth, that it is yet far more evident, because that after the similitude of *Melchisedec*, there ariseth another Priest who is made, *ὡς ἡ ἀρχὴ νόμου ἐντολῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ γύνορ*, not after the Law, of a carnal commandment, *ἀλλὰ κατὰ δύναμιν ζωῆς ἀκατάλυτης*; but after the power of an endlesse life: and, Who hath the power of an endlesse life, but *Jesus Christ*? Therefore this *Melchisedec* can be none other than *Jesus Christ*, because the Apostle saith, he was of an endlesse life; or otherwise the similitude doth not hold, that *Christ* was of an endlesse life, *κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα Μελχισεδεκ*, after the likeness of *Melchisedec*, if his life was none otherwise endlesse, than what is, or may be, collected out of *Moses*, touching the endlesse life of *Melchisedec*; but the Apostle proveth *Christ* to be so, of an endlesse life, not by what *Moses* said, or said not, of *Melchisedec*; but by the testimony of the Prophet *David*, which saith, The Lord sware, that He (*i. e.*) *Christ*, is a Priest for ever, and so is of an endlesse life, which cannot be said of that *Melchisedec*, spoken of by *Moses*, unless that *Melchisedec* be *Jesus Christ*: Because, that if he was not *Jesus Christ*, we are sure that he died; and therefore could not be of an endlesse life.

Verse 14.

4. Because the Apostle (to answer and prevent an Objection that might be made, because, he had said, that *Melchisedec*, *ἀπομοιωθεὶς τῷ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ*, was made like unto the Son of God) means no otherwise by this *ἀπομοιωθεὶς*, made like unto the Son of God, but that he was indeed the Son of God. Even as *Nebuchadnezzar* saith, The fourth man, that walked with the three children in the fiery-Furnace, was like unto the Son of God; whereby he meant, that he was none other than the Son of God, that came there to preserve his servants: So here the Apostle, in saying that he was

4. Reason.

Heb. 7. 3.

Dan. 3. 19.

ἐφ' ὅσον τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, made like unto the Son of God; meaneth (without question) that this Melchisedec, or, this Christ, that met Abraham, assumed now a body of the same likeness, habit, and countenance, as afterward he meant to unite personally unto himself: for that it is an *unusual* thing in Scripture, to say, that he, which is, is like unto himself; as that Saint Paul is like Saint Paul: as where the Apostle saith, that Christ *Was found in shape or fashion, as a man, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men:* that is, he was made indeed, a true, perfect, and a natural man.

Phil. 2. 7, 8.

5. Reason.

5. Because Abraham did give unto this Melchisedec, the Tythe of all that was taken from four Kings, a great booty, as perceiving under that visible shape and form of man, an invisible deity to subsist; to whom, the tythe of all things, is only due, and everlastingly due to him, and to none but to him (as the Lord saith himself, *All the tythe of the land is the Lords, that is the Lord Christ's*) because he is the everlasting Priest, which Melchisedec, if he was a mortal man and not Christ, could not be.

Levit. 27. 30.

6. Reason.

6. Because Saint Paul, confirmeth the perpetuity and eternity of Christ his Priest-hood, with the testimony of the Prophet David, who, speaking of Christ, saith, *Thou art a Priest forever, ἡνὰ τὰ ἔθνη*, according to the order of Melchisedec saith the Greek copy; but, *Sicut vel quemadmodum Melchisedecus*, even as, or in like manner, as Melchisedec is a Priest forever, saith the Hebrew text, as Aben Ezra doth expound it; and so makes it clear that that Melchisedec was Jesus Christ.

Petrus Cunnus
de Repub Heb.
l. 3. c. 3. pag.
402.

7. Reason.

7. And lastly, Because all they, which do affirm this Melchisedec, to be either Sber, the son of Noab, or any other King of Salem, and a Mortal man, *Fateri coguntur ea omnia, quæ de illo Apostolus dixit, etiam M. sic convenire*, saith Cunnus, are compell'd to confels, that all those things which the Apostle speaks of Melchisedec, do very well and literally agree with Christ, but cannot agree with any other mortal man, without admitting many mystical and figurative interpretations thereof.

And therefore I do say, that this Melchisedec, which received these tythes was no mortal man, but the immortal son of God, to whom all tythes are due; and he, assuming a visible shape, did appear unto Abraham, after his great victory, which he had over his enemies; and is the first victory that we read of in the Holy Scripture: and may typifie the spiritual Conquest of our enemies by our Saviour Christ, who offered unto Abraham, bread and wine, as the type of our blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper; and it is probable, that our Saviour had respect hereunto, when he said unto the Jews, that Abraham saw his day and rejoyced, that is, not only with the eyes of faith, (as all the rest of the Patriarchs, and Prophets did see him) but also in a visible shape, which he assumed; like unto that, whereunto he was afterward to be united, and which many Prophets and just men desired to see, and have not seen; God yielding not such a special favour unto them, as herein he did unto faithful Abraham.

Joh. 8. 14.

This point is more fully handled in my book of The best Religion in the Treatise of the Incarnation of Christ.

2. Point, that Christ received tythes as he was Priest.

And so you see the first point sufficiently cleared, that Christ was alwaies and continually an eternal Priest, as well before as after his Incarnation. And

2. For the other point, that he alwaies received the Tythes, as he was this eternal Priest, the Scriptures make it plain; for here you see, this Melchisedec, which is Christ, receiveth the tythes of Abraham; and Saint Paul saith, that he, whose descent is not counted from them, that is from the posterity of Aaron, that is Christ, received tythes of Abraham; and all the Levitical Priests, that were as then in the loyns of Abraham paid tythes to Him, to whom only all tythes are due; and the Levites to whom Moses, under the law, commanded the tythes to be paid, were but his substitutes and Tythe-gatherers, and receiving what is due to him, unto themselves, for his service.

And

And seeing Christ himself received tythes, as due to him before the law, and received them, by his servants, the Levites under the law, Why should he now be deprived of them, and not receive them also by his Ministers under the Gospel? Especially considering he hath now accomplished, fulfilled, and wholly discharged, the Office of his Priest-hood, which was to offer that propitiatory Sacrifice unto God; which should fully satisfy and appease his wrath for the sins of the people, which at then he had but only promised, and shadowed out the same, in types and figures, unto the fathers: More reason to pay Tythes now to Christ, then in the time of the Law, proved at large.

Or, is it possible to imagin that they which paid him their tythes under the law, were more obliged to him for those shadows, and the expectation of accomplishing his promises, than we should be, for having already obtained the real substance? Or, shall we believe the whole generation of men to be such, as will promise any thing, and do any thing, that they can, to obtain what they desire, and when they have obtained their desires, will do and perform just nothing. So while Christ was desired and expected to come, men duely paid their tythes unto him; but now being come, and having done his work, and discharged his Priestly Office, they will pay him no tythes at all; which is the propertie of ill natures, To promise any thing, while they seek, and to do nothing, when they obtain their desires.

But the consideration of the persons, that paid their tythes to Christ, before his Incarnation, is an unanswerable argument to prove, that all Christians should much rather now pay their Tythes to Him after his Incarnation; for if they, that had all things more imperfect then we have them, and but in shadows under a vail and curtains, that were drawn over them, did then so fully and so readily pay their Tythes to Christ, and to his servants that gathered them; How can we now, when the night is past, and the Curtains of those Types are drawn aside, and the substance of those their shadows are perfectly shewed unto us, be any waies excused, if we refuse and deny to pay our Tythes to him, and to his Ministers, that gather them? Because it is an uncontrollable Maxim, To whom much is given, of them much shall be required: And God having given us far better, and far more perfect things, then he gave unto the Jews; he looks that we should be more thankful, and more ready to pay our Tythes, and to do him service, then they were; and therefore Christ saith, That except our righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, we shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. March 4.

And yet you know what they did, fast twice every week, and pay Tythes of all that they had even of the smallest things, mint, and annise, and the least herbs they had; and How doth our righteousness exceed their righteousness, if we deny our Tythes to Gods Ministers? I would we were as righteous as they were.

And as the Consideration of the Persons paying their Tythes, so the consideration of the Persons, to whom they were paid, as to the substitutes of Christ, as well before as after the coming of Christ, doth sufficiently prove; that we Christians have more reason to pay our Tythes now under the Gospel, then the Jews had to pay them under the law; for, if the Tythes were payable, and to be given to those servants of Christ, that were of the lower degree, and did the meaner offices, and brought least benefit unto the people of Christ; then certainly they should be much rather payable to those Ministers of Christ, that are of a far higher degree, and do the more honorable offices, and bring the rarest and the greatest benefits unto the people; but the Ministers of the Gospel, in all the foresaid respects, do far exceed and excel the Priest-hood of the law; because, as Saint Paul sheweth, the Levitical Priests were but Lecturers of the letter, which killeth; but the Ministers of the Gospel, are the Interpreters of the Spirit, which giveth life; 2 Cor. 3, 6, 7, 8; they expounded the shadows, these the substance of Religion; and they had 9, 10, 11.

committed unto them the Ministration of *Condemnation*, and these have the Ministration of *Righteousness* and *Glorification* delivered unto their charge.

Therefore, seeing the *Ministers* of the Gospel, do thus far and in these respects excel the *Priests* of the Law, there is no reason their *hire* and maintenance should be less than the *hire* and maintenance of the *Levitical Priests* but that the *Tythes* should be as well paid to these as the other.

S. i. de decimis.
Siquisquis est portio una ex decem.
Extra de decimis. Cum non sit.
Augustinus de doctrina Christiana.

The dammage of detayning our Tythes.

And the *Civilians* tell you, that, *Decima est omnium bonorum mobilium licite quaestorum, pars decima; Deo data, & Divina constitutione debita*: The *Tythe* is the tenth part of all moveable goods, lawfully gotten, given unto God, and due to be paid unto the *Priests* by the Ordinance of God. And *Innocentius* saith, that God by a special title hath reserved the *Tythes* unto himself, in token of his *Universal Dominion, Power, and Right* that he hath over all. And therefore *Saint Augustine* saith, that the *Tythes*, being thus due to God, *li qui dare nolunt, alienas res invadunt*, They that will not pay their *Tythes* do take away others right, and hold that which is none of their own. And therefore *Cum decimas dando, caelestia & terrena possis promereri, pro avaritia tua denegando, duplici benedictione fraudaris*: When by paying thy *Tythes* to Gods *Ministers*, thou mayst gain both *Celestial* and *Terrestrial* blessings, according as the Prophet sheweth; thou by thy *Covetousness* in denying thy *Tythes*, dost deprive thy self of this double benefit: because this is the most usual proceeding of the just God, That, *Qui decimam non dederit, ad decimam reducetur*; that many times, the man that will not pay his *Tythes*, shall be reduced unto the *Tythe* when either the *fire*, or *canker-worm* and *Caterpillar*, shall consume thy store, or the wicked *Souldier* will *Plunder*, and take from thee, what thou wouldst not give to Gods *Minister*.

Therefore it is apparant, that no wise man, which loveth his own good, will deny the payment of his *Tythes* unto the *Ministers* of *Jesus Christ*: and that you may rightly understand this case concerning *Tythes*, you must observe that they are of three sorts.

That all tythes are of three sorts.

1. *Predial*.
2. *Personal*.
3. *Neutral*.

1. They are called *Predial*, which do naturally arise out of the fruits and increase of the Earth.

2. They are styled *Personal*, which do accrew out of the fruits, gain, and labour of the person, that getteth them, either by *Traffick, Warfare, Hunting*, or any other exercise of his hands.

3. They are termed *Neutral*, that are not simply of either of the two former kinds, but do partly accrew from the increase and fruits of the Earth, or the Cattle that are increased, by their feeding thereon; or otherwise are brought up under the care of mens hands.

And all these are the *Tythes* that are due, and properly due to our High Priest *Jesus Christ*, and ought to be justly paid to the *Ministers* of Christ for the *Worship* and *Service* of God.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The Answer to the choicest, and chiefest Objection that the Schoole of Anabaptists have made, and do urge against the payment of Tythes now, in the time of the Gospel.

BUT, though the truth of this point, that all Tythes, as well in the time of the Gospel, as under the Law, and before the law, are continually due to Christ, our eternal Priest; and so at all times payable, and to be given to his Substitutes and under-Priests, is as clear as the Sun: yet, such hath been and is the malice of Satan against Christ and his Church, that he hath raised up, and stirred a whole Army of Sectaries, Anabaptists, and Worldlings, that with might and main do fight against this Truth, and labour with all their wits, to suppress the same, and to drive it quite out of the World: And to that end, they do Object.

1. If all Tythes be thus due, as you say, by the Law of God, then they are every where due, and all they do sin, and grievously offend that do detain them.

Obj. 1:

But many Countreys, and some Christian Common-wealths, no doubt, pay no Tythes at all, and are not acquainted with this fashion of paying Tythes, and yet do sufficiently and honorably maintain their Ministers for the service of God.

Therefore, questionless, the payment of Tythes is not due by the Divine Law.

To this Objection, I conceive Dr. Gardiner doth reasonably well answer, though, I think, not fully sufficient to take away the strength of this Argument, in his large and rational discourse, which he makes in answer to this their Objection; for he saith, and that truly,

Sa:

That many things are of such Nature, (though I think Tythes are not so) as will not be fitting to every place, or all places, alike; but may, in some places, be well performed, and in some other places be prohibited; because, as Cicero saith, the different state of Cities inforceth a necessity of different Laws; for, as all meats are not alike pleasant to all Palates, and every air agreeth not with all Constitutions; so all manners belong not to all men: but some Laws are suitable to some people; and some other Laws are more convenient for some other; and all, or the same, are not expedient for all.

Answer:

Cicero in Oratio pro Balbo.

And as every shoe will not be drawn on every foot, and one kind of Medicine, is not to be Administred to every Stomack, but that Physick, which may fit the younger age, may be unkind for the same disease when old age hath seized upon us: So one discipline may be fitting for a City, which may not be so fitting, either for another City, or especially for a Kingdom; and one Ceremony may sort with the Church, in times of peace and prosperity, which holdeth no correspondency with the seasons of War and Persecution.

We may alter the Ceremonies of the Church, as the times and state of the Church do require.

Neither should we look, that the same uniform regiment is to be observed, in ecclesia Constituta, as in Ecclesia Constituenda, as well in an infant Church, as in a Church of riper age; or in a Church persecuted, when she flyeth with the woman into the Wilderness, or is faine to lie desolate in the caves of the earth, and a Church in peace when she sitteth as a Queen in her

It is hard to
make a fit coat
for the Moon.

her Throne; or in a Church under *Heathen Emperours*, and a Church under *Christian Governours*, when she sojourneth as a captive in *Babylon*, and when she dwelleth at liberty in *Jerusalem*; for as no one garment can fit the Moon, which is subject by nature to an often-change, and is sometimes in the *Full*, and afterward in the *Wayn*, and never continuing in one stay; So the Church of Christ, being like the *Moon*, sometimes *high*, and sometime *low*, often in the *Full*, and as often in the *Wayn*; it cannot be, that the same *uniform Government* should fit the Church in *all places*, and at *all times*. And therefore, the Prophet speaking of the Kings Daughter, that signifieth the Church of Christ, saith, That although her chiefest glory is within, yet her outward Attire is likewise glorious, and it is of *divers colours*; and so are the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, of *divers sorts*, as the times and places do admit them. And Musculus to the same purpose, saith, *Si illorum temporum mores revocas, tum conditiones & statum quoque illorum temporum primum revoca*: If thou wilt call back again, the manners, customs, and practise of those times, wherein the Apostles and primitive Christians lived; then first call back again the *state* and conditions of those times; that both the *times* and the *manners* may agree; when, as I told you before, many things may serve at one time, that will not serve at another time; *Ut musica in lucum est importuna narratio*, As Musick is unreasonable in the time of mourning, saith the Wise-man.

Tertull. in L.
De veland. Vir-
gin.

And indeed, what Tertullian saith, is beyond all contradiction, *Regula fidei immobilis & irreformabilis est*, The Rule and Canon of our Faith is, and must alwayes be, *unmoveable*, and *unreformable*, not to be altered; at *cetera disciplina & conversationis novitatem correctionis admittunt*; but all other things, that appertain to discipline, and government, and conversation, may admit the newness and change of a Reformation: And so the Eucharist, the holy Communion, being to succeed for our Sacrament, in the room of the Passover, it was most convenient, that it should be celebrated by Christ at Supper-time, in the evening, because the Passover was commanded by the Law, to be eaten between the two evenings: And yet the Church thought it more convenient to alter that fashion, and to take it in the morning. Solikewise, Christ was baptized in Jordan, and the Apostles baptized men in Rivers, and Fountains of waters; and would you have us to imitate their example, to forsake the Christian Assembly in the holy Church, and to carry our Infants, with the fanatick Anabaptists, to be baptized in the Rivers?

The first Christians did many things that we are not bound to do; and we do many good things that they did not.

But seeing that in the Apostles time, the good Christians sold their lands and possessions, and laid down the prices and monies, that they received for them, at the Apostles feet; I demand, Why do not our Anabaptists, that would have all things reduced to the Primitive time, imitate them in this their Devotion, and lay the prices of their lands at their Preachers feet? I know they will answer, That this extraordinary Devotion, is not of necessity to be drawn into imitation: and I confess it;

could you say
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ed to craft
obstand
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But in the Apostles time, there were no Universities, no Schools of Learning, no Hospitals, nor Alms-houses, no Book of the Holy Scriptures divided into Chapters, nor Chapters into Verses, no distinction of Parishes, and many other good things were not then in being; And shall we now cast them all away, because the Apostles and the first Christians had them not? Or will not the giddy-heads understand, that, as the Sun in the firmament, goeth higher and higher, unto the noon and perfect day; so the truth, and knowledge of the Sun of Righteousness, and the perfection of his Service, groweth more and more unto the fulness of the knowledge of Christ: and even as Christ himself increased in wisdom and knowledge, and in favour with God and men; so doth the Church of Christ.

Luke, 2. 52.

And so to return, and to apply our selves to the case of Tythes, though some places,

places, as it may be in the Low-Countries, and the Reformed Churches in France, have their immunities by themselves, and are not charged with the payment of Tythes, (their state and condition not admitting it) yet in lieu of their Tythes, their Ministers are maintained with as sufficient supplies: and necessity excuseth even in greater matters, as in not praying, and not receiving the Sacraments, as well as in not paying Tythes, when the case cannot be otherwise. As S. Paul, for some special exigency, took no stipend of some Churches for his labours, in the preaching of the Gospel; Yet, he tells them, that by right he might have claimed it; and therefore inferreth, that what he did for some special causes, should not be drawn into an example, to prejudice and defraud others of that which was their due.

So we say, That in those Churches, which pay not their Tythes in kind, there is an allowance, equivalent to the Tythes, given to those Ministers that have no Tythes. And as the Kings of Persia imposed no Tribute upon those subjects, that brought in their voluntary contributions, that increased their Exchequer more than their Tribute; So their Preachers have no cause to complain, for not receiving their Tythes, when they have as much, or more, than their Tythes are worth: And the example of these, that live by their set and certain stipend, ought not to be alledged and pleaded, to the hurt and prejudice of them, that are sustained by their Tythes.

The Ministers of the Reformed Churches in the other Country have no cause to complain.

And though all this that I have said be very true; yet, because, as I conceive, it taketh not away the strength of the foresaid Argument, which is, That if it be a Moral Precept, that doth oblige us to observe it, *semper et ubi semper*, then it obligeth all men, and in all places, to pay their Tythes, and they sin, that pay them not, though they do pay some other stipend, be it more or less in lieu of them; because it lieth not in man to alter or change the Commandment of God, but to do what he commandeth them; Therefore,

1. I say, and yield, That the Precept of paying Tythes for the Service of God, being a Moral, perpetual, and universal Precept, it obligeth all men, in all places, and at all times, as well, before the Law, as after the Law, and as well after the incarnation of Christ, as before his incarnation, to observe and to obey the same, and that they sinned which did it not: for as God hath imprinted it in the heart of man, and the light of nature teacheth him, that God must be served; and a set time must be appointed for that Service; and a standing proportion of our goods allotted for them; that do him service, and teach others so to do: and God hath shewed unto us, that the set time for his Service should be every seventh day, which we should sanctify, and keep Holy for that end; and the standing quantity and proportion of our goods, that we ought to set forth for his Service, should be our Tythes: So accordingly, every man, among all the generations of men, ought to do; to sanctify the Seventh day, to serve God, and to pay their Tythes; for the performance and continuance of his Service.

2. Answer more fully.

What all the generations of men are bound to do.

And if man, by his transgression, hath obscured this light of nature, and obliterated that impression, which God had imprinted in his heart; and through his own negligence or forgetfulness remembreth neither the day that he should keep holy; nor that part that he should pay for his Service: Shall that make the Commandment of God of none effect, or acquit man, for the not performance of his duty? By no means; for you know, what the Prophet saith, of the children of Israel, when God had done his wonderful works for them in Egypt, and fearful things by the Red Sea; they soon forgot what he had done, and were not mindful of his Covenant: So did all the sons of Adam forget not only these, but also all other the Commandments of God, especially in many, if not the chief points thereof; and neither their negligence, nor forgetfulness, can excuse them herein from sin, in the breach of his Commandment.

Psal. 78. 11.
Psal. 105. 13.

eplication.

But you will say, This Commandment of keeping the *Seventh day*, and giving the tenth part of our goods for his Service, was never *directly*, and precisely, or expressly given in *terminis*, until *Moses* time; and where there is no *Law*, there is no *transgression*: therefore they did not *sin*, when they had no *Commandment*.

Respons.

Gen. 4. 3.
Chap. 4. 26.
Chap. 8. 20.

Else these Services had been but *idolastrum*, a Will-worship, and no wayes acceptable unto God.

I answer, That when *Cain* and *Abel* brought their *Oblation* unto the Lord, and when children were born unto *Seth*, and men began to call upon the Name of the Lord; and when *Noah* built an *Altar* unto the Lord, and offered *burnt-offerings* upon the *Altar*: And so likewise, when *Abraham* did the like, and called on the Name of the Lord, the everlasting God, we read of no *Command* in *terminis* that they had, to do these things; but God had written these *Commandments* in their hearts, with the Pen of Nature: And so, as the *Apostle* saith, *having no Law*, they were a law unto themselves, and having no *Commandment*, they were *commandments* unto themselves: and whosoever transgresse the same, transgresse the *Commandments* of God.

And therefore, these things being imprinted in mans heart by the Pen of Nature, I say, that what *Nation* soever, and what *Church* soever have not, or do not serve God, and pay their *Tythes* to Christ and his servants, for the Service of God, and the continuance of his Service, they do transgresse the *Commandment* of God.

But I do not say, it must be precisely the tenth part of our goods, and no more; for as we may keep holy some other day, besides the *Seventh day*, so we miss not to keep the *Seventh day*; So, we may give more than the tenth for the Service of God, if we please, so we neglect not to give the tenth. And as the Jews having a *Commandment*, that they should not punish any Offender with any more than 40. stripes, did not transgresse, when for fear of misreckoning, they never gave but 39; So when God commandeth us to give the tenth, we do not break his *Commandment*, when for fear of giving too little, we give more than the tenth: But,

Obj. 2.

2. They do object, That what neither *Christ*, nor his *Apostles* have commanded us to do, we are no wayes obliged to do; but neither *Christ* nor his *Apostles* have commanded us to pay *Tythes*: for *Christ* biddeth his *Apostles* to teach the *Nations* and people, to observe all things that be commanded them: And *S. Paul* saith, That he had shewed unto the people the whole counsel of God: and yet in all the *Sermons* of *Christ*, and in all the *Writings* of the *Apostles*, there is not any *Precept* given for the *Christians* to pay *Tythes*.

Matth 28. 20.
Act. 20. 27.

Therefore the *Christians* ought not to be compelled to pay *Tythes*.

Sol. 1.

Matth. 5. 17.

To this I answer. 1. That the payment of *Tythes*, is a Precept, imprinted in our hearts by the Law of Nature, and afterwards confirmed and explained unto us by the Law of *Moses*, and practised by many *Nations* of the *Gentiles*, as I shewd to you before. And our Saviour saith, Think not that I am come to destroy the Law or the Prophets, that is, to give liberty, and to free men from the obedience and performance of either of these Laws, that is, the Law of Nature, and the Moral Law, as the 19. and 20. verses do shew the same most plainly. And when *John Baptist* would have hindered him to be baptized, he telleth *John*, That it behoved them, not only himself, but *John* also, and so all others, as well as *John*, to fulfil all righteousness: And how shall we fulfil all righteousness, unless we render to *Cesar* what is *Cesar's*, and to God what is God's? And as *S. Paul* saith, To owe nothing to any man, but to yield Honour to whom Honour belongeth, Tribute to whom Tribute; and so *Tythes* to whom the *Tythes* do belong.

Sol. 2.

2. I say, That *Christ* and his *Apostles* do plainly enough enjoin us to pay our *Tythes*; for *Christ*, reproving the preciseness of the *Scribes* and *Phari-*

Pharisees in paying Tythes of Mint, Anise, and Cummin, and neglecting the greater matters of the Law, saith, *These things ye ought to have done, and not to leave the other undone*: And it you say, These words are to be restrained to that time, wherein the Ceremonial Law was in force, and not to the times of the Christians; I answer, Not so; but they are rather to be referred to the Christians, than to the Jews; for all Tythes being due to Christ, as he is our Eternal Priest, as I have fully proved to you before, Who should now have most right unto the Tythes, the Preachers that are followers of Christ, or the Scribes and Pharisees that rejected him? But now, when Christ and his Apostles preached, the Scribes and Pharisees had all the Tythes in their own hands, and would not suffer Christ and his Apostles to take them from them; and therefore, seeing they would neither believe and follow Christ, nor yield the Tythes, to them that preached the Gospel of Christ, it fell out by the just judgement of God, that when Nero sent Festus to be the Governour of Iury, the Priests were deprived of their Tythes, Josephus l. 20. c 13. and many of them perished with Famine, as Josephus witnesseth.

3. I say, That Christ by these words, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded, meaneth nor, that they should only observe what he commanded, and no more; but that they should likewise observe what Moses, and David, and the rest of the Prophets, yea, and what the Scribes and Pharisees commanded them to do, while they sat in Moses Chair, and whatsoever he commanded them to do, besides all, that was formerly commanded; because he commanded a great deal more, to make his people more perfect then ever was commanded before his time; for you heard it was said of old, *Thou shalt not commit Adultery*, but I say unto you, *Whoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed Adultery*: And you heard it was said of old, *Thou shalt not forswear thy self*; but I say unto you, *Swear not at all*: So you heard it was said of old, *Thou shalt not kill*, but I say unto you, *Whoever is angry with his brother without cause, shall be in danger of the judgement*: And you heard it was said of old, *Thou shalt not covet*, but I say unto you, *Whoever desireth to be rich, shall fall into temptation, and into the snare of the devil, and into many torments, and shall come into perdition*: And you heard it was said of old, *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thy self*, but I say unto you, *Love your enemies, and so forth*.

Sol. 3.
And it was he that commanded all that they commanded.

Matth. 5. 27: &c.

And therefore the meaning of Christ's words in the 28th of S. Matthew and the 20th verse, is as I said, That they should observe and do, not only what was commanded them before, but also whatsoever he, and his Apostles by his Spirit, commanded them besides; as, to believe in him, and to follow him, and so forth.

4. I say, That S. Paul in saying, that, as they which minister about holy things, live of the things of the Temple, and they that wait at the Altar, are partakers with the Altar, even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel; doth herein fully and plainly prove, that the Tythes should be as duty, and as justly paid to the Ministers of the Gospel, as they were to the Priests and Levites under the Law: For by the Altar, and they that wait at it, the Priesthood is understood, and by the fruits and profits of the Altar, the Tythes and Oblations are plainly meant; and then adding, *For as I have said, Even so, that is, in like manner, or by the like means, which now signifieth, the Lord hath ordained, that the Ministers of the Gospel, should have all the fruits, profits, and benefits of the Altar, which are the Tythes and Oblations, as well, and in like manner, as the Priests of the Law have had them.*

1 Cor. 9. 13; 14

3. They do object, if we compel the Christians to pay Tythes, we make their yokes more grievous, and their burden more intolerable than the burden of those Fathers, that lived before the Law was given; for that in the time of the first Patriarchs, the Tythes were never demanded as a duty, but Abraham freely, and not forcedly, gave them to Melchisedec: and Jacob conditionally, and not absolutely, made his vow to pay them unto God: but we ought not to make the yoke and burden of our people now in the

Obj. 3.

time

time of *grace*, more intolerable then they were in the time of *nature*: therefore *Tythes* ought not to be required as a duty.

Sol. 1. To this I answer, 1. That although, in those *Primitive* times, the *Tythes* were not demanded, nor by any *Positive Law*, commanded by God; and therefore not paid, until *Abraham* and *Jacob* had paid them: yet this proveth not, that it was not due because it was not paid; as it is no consequent, that because God commanded not *Cain* and *Abel* to offer *Sacrifice*, nor the sons of *Seth*, To call upon the name of the Lord; therefore it was not their duty to do it; for it is our duty, to do many things that we do not. And so I have proved, It was their duty to pay *Tythes*, though they paid them not.

Sol. 2. 2. I say, that before the Law was given, the *Fathers* of the first age, had many things in use, which were not answerable to that *Perfection*, which *Christ* requireth in his followers; and therefore he injoyed us to do many things that they did not; and so did the Law it self, both inhibit them to do some things; that they did amiss, and commanded many things to be observed, which they neglected: and therefore that first age of the World, being but the *Infancy* of Gods Church, and the daies of *Initiation*, they are not to be alleadged, as examples for our imitation: For, *when I was a Child, I did as a Child; but when I was a man, I put away childish things*: saith the Apostle.

Sol. 3. 3. I say, there was no such need nor reason, for the payment of *Tythes* then, though they were due, to maintain the *Priests* and *Ministers* of God, as afterwards, and especially, as now, in our times; because then the first born of every family was the *Priest*, and he, by the prerogative of his *Birth-right*, was to have a double part and portion of inheritance; and therefore,

Sol. 4. 4. And lastly I say, that if the *Patriarchs*, in those times, when there was no *Positive* commandment, to pay *Tythes*, did notwithstanding pay them even to those *Priests*, that had means enough of their own to live by it, and had no need of *Tythes* to sustain them: then much rather should we now pay them, to those *Ministers* of *Christ*, that have no other maintenance, and therefore can not labour in Gods *Vine-yard*, and discharge the duties of their calling without them, especially considering, how often, and how earnestly *Christ* and his Apostles do command us, and exhort us to do it, and with such promises of *Blessings*, if we do it; and *Cursings*, if we refuse it.

Obj. 4. 4. They do Object, That the Commandment for paying *Tythes* is not *Moral*, but either *Judicial* or *Ceremonial*: and we that are *Christians* are not obliged to observe either the *Ceremonial* or the *Judicial* Laws of the *Jews*; because all the *Ceremonial* Laws were but shadows, types, and predictions, shewing the coming, doings, and sufferings of *Jesus Christ*, and when the true light and substance of those shadows, the *Sun of Righteousness* was come, all those shadows were at an end, and vanished away; and the *Judicial* Laws of the *Jews* were only proper, and peculiar to that people, and do not oblige other Nations to observe them. And therefore the *Christians* are no wayes obliged to the payment of *Tythes*.

Sol. To this Objection, which some of our opposers think, to be invincible, I answer (and it may be contrary to the opinion of many Divines, of no mean or usual Learning) and I say for *Tythes*,

1. That they are due to *Christ*, as he is a *Priest* for ever, by a *Divine*, *Natural*, and *Moral* right, as I hope, I have sufficiently proved to you before.

And if they do Object and say, that if the precept of paying *Tythes* be of a *Natural* right, and a *Moral* precept, then the payment thereof is, or ought to be, commanded, within one of the ten Commandments of the *Moral*

Moral Law; because, all Moral precepts are comprehended within those ten Commandments: but the precept of paying *Tythes*, is not in any one of the ten Commandments of the Moral Law; and therefore it is no Moral precept.

I answer, That the payment of *Tythes* is commanded, in four special Commandments of the Moral Law, as, in the *first*, the *fourth*, the *sixth*, the *eighth*. For as the Prophet *David* saith, *Thy Commandments, O Lord, are exceeding broad*; and do comprehend abundance of things more then you see *prima facie*, in the outward letter of the Commandment; as when the Commandment sayeth, *Honor thy Father and thy Mother*, it enjoyneth thee, to feed him, and to maintain him, as *Joseph* did his Father *Jacob*, when he wants, and is not able to maintain himself; and when it saith, *Thou shalt do no murder*, it forbids us to hate, or to be angry with our neighbour; So when the Lord saith, *Thou shalt have none other gods but me*, he commands us to render unto God, what is God's; as well, to maintain his outward service, by *tythes* and offerings unto his Priests, and alms unto his poor members; as by serving him with our inward service of faith, hope, love, fear, and the like; So when he commands us *To keep Holy the Sabbath day*, he commands us, to do all things, that do further and do appertain to the Sanctifying of the Sabbath: and, Who can deny, but that the payment of our *Tythes* to the Preacher and Minister of Christ, is one of the most principal means to further and cause the Sanctifying of the Lords day? When, as the Artist cannot work without his tools; so the Minister cannot discharge his service, on the Sabbath, unless he is maintained all the week: And so when he bids us to *Honor our Father and Mother*, he means that we should as well, or rather in the first place, Reverence, and with our *Tythes* and Offerings relieve and maintain our spiritual Fathers, the Ministers of Christ, and the Church our Mother, as our natural Father and Mother: and so likewise, when he saith, *Thou shalt not steal*, he commands us, not to detain and keep back the *Tythes*, and Offerings from Gods Ministers: Whereby you may see, that this commandment of paying our *Tythes* is a Moral precept, and implicitly contained and comprehended in the Moral Law.

And if you say, The maintenance of the Ministers may be included in those Moral commandments, to be commanded, for the performance of Gods outward service, and to uphold and further the Sanctifying of his Sabbath; yet there is no proof, that, that maintenance, which is implied in those precepts, must be the Tenth part, rather then the eleventh, fifteenth, or the twentieth part of our goods.

I answer, That I have proved already, That the very *Tythe*, or tenth part is the continual due that belongs to Christ, as he is a continual Priest for ever; and all the precepts of Christ, and commandments of God, being *Brevia, levia & utilia*, very compendious and short, that they might not be forgotten; for which cause, the Ten Commandments are styled, *decem verba*, ten words: and these ten words are contracted, into one word, which is but one syllable, and all the Commandments of God are comprehended in that one syllable, Love: For love is the fulfilling of the Law: There is no reason, we should look, that all the inclusive particulars, contained in that one word, or in those few short precepts, should or could be particularly expressed therein. But they are alwaies left to be understood and explained by the Preachers and Commentators. As when he saith, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God*, the Sanctifying of the Sabbath, you must confess, is therein concluded; and yet, that the Sabbath shall be the seventh day, is not therein mentioned; So when he saith, *Thou shalt have none other gods but me*, the *Tythes*, that are a special means to uphold and further his outward service must of necessity be understood, to be therein comprehended, though in direct terms, the tenth part is not expressed. And

Many things are included that are not so clearly expressed in the ten Commandments.

Obj.

Sol.

The Commandments are very short that we should not forget them.

Further, I answer to their fourth Objection; That although a *Judicial* and a *Ceremonial* consideration may be rendred, for the payment of *Tythes* among the *Jews*; As, that equality might be preserved among the tribes of this people; that, because, in the *Division* of the Land of *Canaan*, the *Levites* had no part of the Land, *Moses* thought it fit, the *Tythes*, which were to be paid to God, should be given to them out of every tribe; and that would make their estate and maintenance proportionable to the other tribes; yet this *judicial* consideration of paying the *Tythes* unto the *Levites*: doth no waies *infringe* or *weaken* the equity and *morality* of this precept, for the perpetual payment of the *Tythes* to *Christ*; and his *Ministers*, to further and uphold the service of God.

Any Kingdom
may take laws
from other
Kingdoms,
when they are
seen good.

And, besides the equity and *morality* of this precept; seeing *Moses* was so just and so excellent a *Law-giver*, far beyond and much better then all the *Law-givers* of the *Gentiles*, *Greek* or *Latin*; there is no reason, why other Kingdoms, or *Nations* should not use the same *judicial Laws*, as were used among the *Jews*: for the *politick powers* of any Kingdom, may take *Laws* from any other Kingdom, where they see the best *Laws* made; as the *Romans* took their *Law* of the twelve *Tables* from the *Athenians*, and the *Cities* of *Germany* from the *Venetians*: and then, *Sicut leges quas Atheniæ Romani transfulerunt, cum ab ipsis comprobata & confirmata fuissent, eas nihilominus Jus Civile Romanorum nominarunt*: As the *Laws*, which the *Romans* took from *Athens*, when they were received and confirmed by the *Senate* of *Rome*, they were stiled, The *Civil Laws* of the *Romans*, saith the *Lord Cook*: so when any Kingdom or *Common-wealth* takes those *Laws* of the *Jews*, that were merely *Judicial*, and not any waies *Moral* precepts, or the like *politick Laws* of any other *Nation*, and confirm them for *Laws*, to be observed in their *Territories*; they have the force of *binding-Laws*, and may not, with a safe *Conscience*, of any of the *Subjects* of those *Dominions*, where they have their *Sanction*, be *violded* or *violated*.

Cook, de jure
Regis Eccle-
siæ.

CHAP. XVII.

What the ancient Fathers of the Church, and the Councils (collected of most Learned and pious Bishops) have left written concerning *Tythes*: And of the three-fold cause, that detains them from the Church.

What the Fa-
thers say of
Tythes, and
Oblations.

Iren. l. 4. c. 34.

Origen. in num.
Hom. 11.

Extra de de-
cim: c. Cum
non sit.

And now having seen, by the Testimony of the *Holy Scripture*, and by many Reasons, that the *Tythes* are by a *Divine right* due to *Christ*, and his *Ministers*; Let us hear, what the *Fathers*, and *Councils*, and the *Canons* of the Church have said of this point, concerning *Tythes*: and I do find that *Irenæus*, who was Scholler to *Polycarpus*, that was the disciple of *S. John* the *Evangelist*, saith, *Offerimus Deo bona nostra, ut signa gratitudinis pro illis donis que a Deo recepimus*: We offer to God our goods, that is, our *Tythes* and *Oblations* to God, as the signs and tokens of our thankfulness unto God, for those gifts, which we receive from God: And *Origen* saith, *Qui colit Deum, debet donis & oblationibus agnoscere cum Deum & datorem omnium*: He that *Worshippeth* God, must by his gifts and oblations, that is, his *Tythes* and *Offerings*, acknowledge God to be the Lord and giver of all things: And *Innocentius* saith, *Deus speciali titulo decimas sibi ipsi reservavit, in signum dominationis & jurisdictionis super omnia*, God hath, by a special title, reserved and kept unto himself the *Tythes* of all things, to shew

shew and put us in mind of that *Universal power*, right and Dominion, that he hath over all things, *Itaque Judæi decimas persolvendo testabantur, quod omnia sua, seque aded ipsos, Deo auctori & omnium bonorum largitori deberent*: And so the *Jews* by the payment of their *Tythes* testified, that they owed *all* that they had, and themselves also, to God, the Author and the giver of all good.

And what God hath reserved to himself, he hath resigned and given to his Ministers, that do serve at his Altar: because, the Lord requireth none other reward from us, but what tendeth to his *Worship*, to *Praise him* and *magnify him* for ever: And it is an argument of his *Infinite loving kindness*, that for all the fruits and profits, that he bestoweth upon us, he requireth, by way of precept, as a *Rent-charge*, to maintain his *publick Worship*, but the *tenth* part, to be restored back to him again; and that only to this end, that his people might not forget him, to be their God, and the giver of all the good that they have.

And in that respect S. Gregory saith, *Cum non ab hominibus sed à Deo ipso decima sunt instituta, quasi debitum exigi possunt*: Seeing the commandment of paying *Tythes* is not from men, but from God himself, they may be required by Gods Ministers, as *due debts*, that do belong unto them.

But to let pass, what I might collect from all the rest, Saint Augustine, that in my judgment is the most learned, and most judicious of all the Fathers, is most plain and plentiful in this point, saying, *Hæc est Domini justissima consuetudo, Si tu illi decimam non dederis, tu ad decimam revocaberis, id est, demonibus, quæ est decima pars angelorum, associaberis*. This is the just proceeding of the Righteous Lord, that if thou wilt not pay thy *Tythes* to him, thou shalt be reduced unto the *tenth*, and associated unto the *Devils*, which is the *tenth* part of the Angels, and in the interim, the mean while, *Dabis impio militi quod non vis dare Dei Sacerdoti*. What thou wilt not give to Gods Minister, thou shalt give to the wicked Souldier, or it shall be consumed some other way; but on the other side, *Si tu decimam dederis, non solum abundantiam fructuum recipies, sed etiam sanitatem animæ & corporis consequeris; sic decimas dando, & terrena & cælestia possis præmia promereri; quia Dominus qui dignatus est totum donare, decimas à nobis dignatus est recipere*. If thou dost willingly and justly pay thy *Tythes*, thou shalt not only reap and receive abundance of fruits, as the Lord hath promised, but thou shalt likewise obtain health of body, and forgiveness of thy sins, and eternal life, (as Rainerus observeth) and so by paying thy *Tythes*, thou dost procure unto thy self both *Earthly* and *Heavenly* blessings; because the Lord, which vouchsafeth, most bountifully, to bestow all upon us is most graciously pleased, to receive the *Tythes* from us; and that, *non sibi sed nobis proculdubio profuturus*, not for any benefit to himself, but altogether, without question, for thy profit, that thou mayest be instructed to serve God, and that his Priests may pray to God for thee, when thou dost work for them, that God may bless thee, and bless all, that thou takest in hand.

And what madness is it then in all covetous worldlings, to deny their *Tythes* unto their Ministers, when, as I said before, *Decimas dando, possint terrestria, & cælestia promereri, pro avaritia sua denegando, duplici benedictione fraudari*? By paying their *Tythes* they shall receive both *Earthly* and *Heavenly* blessings; and by denying them through their Covetousness, they shall deprive themselves of this double blessing; and as S. Jerome saith, make themselves lyable to many judgments; for, *Quia non reddidisti decimas, idcirco in penuria & fame maledicti estis*; because you have not paid your *Tythes*, you are accursed; and do often perish with hunger and want, *Quia dum parva subtrahitis, ubertatem possessionum vestrarum & totam abundantiam frugum perdidistis*; Because that while you detain this small

Decret. Greg.
l. 1. tit. 30.
c. 34.

Aug. de doctrina
Christiana.

Malach. 3.

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Hieron. in
Gloss. super
Malach. 3.

part, which is the tenth, you lose the plenty of your possessions, and all the abundance of your fruits : *Sciatis enim vos idē abundantiam perdidisse, quia fraudastis me parte mea* ; For you may understand, that you do therefore leese your plenty and abundance, because you have deceived and deprived me of my part : and therefore, if you desire that I should blesse your labours, *Moneo, ut reddatis mihi mea, & ego restituum vobis vestra* : I advise you, to render to me, mine, and I will blesse yours : which is a good counsel, for our own good.

What the
Councils and
Synods do say
concerning
Tythes.

Thus you see what the Fathers say, concerning the payment of Tythes to God's Ministers ; *Quo autem tempore, & à quibus consuetudo invaluerit, ut decime ad Christianas Ecclesias pervenerint, non satis certè liquet* : But, at what time, and by whom, the custom of paying Tythes, came to the Christian Churches, it is not certainlie enough known, saith *Fran. Sylvius*. And *Hermanus Gigas* saith, *Constantine the Great* was the first that, by his Imperial Decree, commanded, *Ut de rebus omnibus decima Ecclesiis solverentur*. That, out of all our goods, the Tythes should be paid unto the Churches. Yet, *ex Synodo Matifconensi* 11. which was held about the year 587. it seemeth to me, that they were usually paid by the Christians before *Constantines* time ; for in the 5th Canon of the said Synod, we find such a Decree, concerning Tythes, *Leges Divinae, consulentes Sacerdotibus ac Ministris Ecclesiarum, pro hereditaria portione, omni populo præceperunt, Decimas fructuum suorum locis sacris præstare* ; The Divine Laws counselling us, have commanded all people, to bring the Tythes of all their fruits unto the holy places, that is, the Churches, for the Priests and Ministers of those Churches, for their hereditary portion ; *ut nullo labore impediti, per res illegitimas, spiritualibus possint vacare ministeriis*, That, being no waies, or by no labour hindered, through unlawful affairs, they might wholly apply themselves to their spiritual Ministeries ; *Quas leges, Christianorum congeries, longis temporibus, custodivit intemeratas*, which Laws, the whole heap or multitude of Christians have of long times, (therefore no doubt but long before *Constantines* time) observed inviolable : *Unde statuimus, ut decimas Ecclesiasticas omnis populus inferat* ; quibus Sacerdotes, aut in usum pauperum, aut in captivorum redemptionem, prorogatis, suis orationibus pacem populo ac salutem impetrent ; & si quis contumax nostris statutis fuerit, à membris Ecclesie omni tempore separetur ; Therefore we do ordain, that all people shall, and do, bring their Ecclesiastical Tythes, whereby the Priests bestowing, what they can spare, either upon the poor, or for the redemption of those that are held captives, might by their payers, obtain at the hands of God, peace and health unto the people ; and if any man will be refractory, and not obey this our Decree, let him at all times be separated from the Members of God's Church.

συσπληνμα, a
heap or pile.

And so *Duricensis Synodus*, held under *Charles the Great*, about the year 779. ordained in the tenth Canon, *Ut decima solvantur ; & dare nolentes, non Ecclesiasticis excommunicationibus tantum, sed à Reipublice quoque ministeriis coerceantur*, That the Tythes should be paid, and they that would not do it, should not only be forced by the Ecclesiastical Excommunications, but also be compelled, by the Magistrates of the Common-wealth, to pay the same. And in the *Moguntius Synod*, held by the Command of the same *Charles the Great*, Anno 813. we find it thus written in the 38th Canon, *Admonemus, or, as it is in some Copies, Præcipimus, ut decima de omnibus dari non negligatur ; quia Deus ipse sibi dari constituit : & idē timendum est, ut quisquis Deo debitum suum abstrahit, ne forte Deus propter peccatum suum auferat ei necessaria sua* : We admonish or command, that none neglect to pay their Tythes, of all their goods ; because God himself hath commanded us to pay them to him : and therefore it may be feared, that as any man doth withhold his due from God, so God will, for his sins, withdraw

draw from that man, those things that are needful for him.

And the Council of *Aquisgrane* saith, *Attende, diligens lector, quod omnes primitiæ, & quicquid ad Sanctuarium oblatum est, Sacerdotis sint, & ad jus ejus granense. l. 1. c. 34.* Mark and attend, thou diligent Reader, that all the first-fruits, and whatsoever is presented and brought unto the *Sanctuario*, (as all the Tythes was wont to be) pertained unto the Priest, and doth by law, and of right, belong to him.

And so *Concilium Cavilionense*, cap. 18. saith, in one Canon, That *Qui- cunque decimas dare neglexerint, excommunicentur*; And *Concilium Ticinense*, that was held under *Ludovicus Pius*, hath ordained, *Ut non pro libitu suo, laici decimas clericis tribuerent*, That the lay-people should not pay their Tythes, as they listed, unto the Clergy: but, as the *Augustane Synod* saith, *Qui justas decimas non solvunt, ter moniti, eis neganda est Communio*: They that pay not their just Tythes, being three times admonished, let them be denied to receive the holy Communion.

And thus have these Councils and Synods determined concerning Tythes. *Et plurimæ aliæ extant de decimis Conciliorum Sanctiones*: And there are many other Sanctions and Decrees of Councils to the same purpose, saith *Francis Sylvius*; whereby you may see, that the Tythes are determined to be a debt due to God, and a duty of our obedience unto him; and therefore not to be detained from his Ministers, nor to be given to them, as alms or voluntary benevolence. Tythes a due debt, and nei- ther alms nor benevolence.

1. Because, God hath no need of alms, who is Lord of all things, and giveth all things unto us, and requireth nothing, but what is of right due unto him from us.

2. Because, alms do alwayes exceed the desert of him, that receiveth them, and they shew the benevolence and bounty of the Giver, and not any worth or merit in the Receiver: But the preaching of the Gospel, and the works that the Ministers of Christ do for the people, do exceed all Tythes, and excell all the temporal gifts and oblations, that the people can do for the Ministers: And therefore the Apostle demandeth, *If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter, if we reap your carnal things?* And therefore, seeing the Ministers gifts unto the people, are far better, and more excellent than the peoples gifts to them, whatsoever they give is of desert, and a due debt, and no alms or benevolence. 1 Cor. 9. 11.

3. Because, the Tythes are due to Christ, as he is our Priest, and so they are the portion of the Lord, as the Lord professeth, and he gives them over to his Ministers, that are his Embassadors, and teach his people, in his stead, as the Lord himself saith, *I am the inheritance of the Priests*. Therefore to deny the Priests of that portion, which God saith is his, and promisseth to give it them, for his Service, is to mock God, and to make a derision of his promises, as the Apostle sheweth, when he saith, *Let him that is taught in the word, make him that teacheth him, partaker of all his goods*, Gal. 6. 6, 7. and then immediately addeth, *Be not deceived, for God is not mocked*, and will not be mocked; intimating, that to deal otherwise with God's Ministers, is none other thing, than to mock God; because God had promised this part and portion to them, that stand in his stead, as the Apostle sheweth. 2 Cor. 13. 20.

And so you see, how the Scriptures, Fathers, and Councils, and all conclude, that the Tythes of all our goods, are due, and perpetually due to Christ, and by him given over, by an indispensable Law, unto his Substitutes, the Priests and Preachers of the Gospel.

But then I may demand with *Francis Sylvius*, *Quomodo factum sit ut decime, tot Imperatorum Christianorum donationibus, & decretis Synodorum Ecclesiis (in usus Canonicos, pios, legitimos, nempe Ministerii Sacri conserva- tione, Ministrorum Ecclesiasticorum honesto stipendio, pauperum varii generis alimonia;* Francisc. Syl. vius de decimis.

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alimonia, captivorum redemptione, & locorum Sacrorum reparatione & fabrica) destinata, ad laicorum, ut vocant, manus pervenerint? How comes it now to passe, that the *Tythes*, appointed and ordained by the Laws and Donations of so many *Christian Kings* and Emperours, and by the Decrees of so many *Councils* and Synods to be paid unto the Churches, for such regular, pious, and lawful uses, as to uphold and preserve the holy Ministry, and *publick Service* of God, the honest stipend and maintenance of the Church-Ministers, the relief of the poor of divers kinds, the redemption of captives, the reparation of Churches, and other sacred places, or the erecting and building of such places, and the like, should notwithstanding be now transferred and carried away by lay men?

Albertus Krantz-
zius Metropol.
l. 1. c. 2.

I answer and say, That, letting passe what *Albertus Krantzzius* relateth, I find three special authors and causes of this mischief.

3. Special causes why the Tythes are detained and alienated from the Church.
1. Cause.

1. The malice of the Devil.
2. The pride and arrogancy of the Pope.
3. The covetousnesse, and the injustice of the wicked worldlings.

1. *Satan* is the Grand enemy of all mankind, and therefore laboureth by all means to bring both the *Service*, and servants of God into contempt, and he knoweth, nothing makes them more contemptible than want and poverty, *quæ cogit ad turpia*, which makes them unable to discharge that *honourable Service*, which they owe to God, and forceth them to do many base and dishonourable actions; and because their Lord and Master *Christ*, which taketh pleasure in the prosperity of his servants, hath very bountifully allowed them his own portion of Tythes and Oblations, for their maintenance, whereby they might most honourably proceed in their Profession, and so enlarge the *Christian Religion*; this deadly enemy of all goodness, most cunningly and insensibly brought it so to passe, that almost the whole portion of *Christ* is alienated from the Church, and his Ministers are left like *Pharaohs* lean kine, poor and meager, whereby instead of the double honour that *S. Paul* saith is due unto them, their ears and their souls are filled with the scornful reproof of the wealthy, and the despitefulness of the proud.

And because this mischief could not so easily be done, if he had come to do it, like the prince of darkness; therefore he changeth himself into an angel of light; and as he perswaded *Judas*, the Treasurer of *Christ*, to betray *Christ* himself; so he got the Pope, the Vicar of *Christ's* Church, to betray and to undo the Church of *Christ*; and all under the shew and shadow of Religion, because he knew, that, as the Poet saith,

Tuta frequensque via est, sub amici fallere nomen.

Though, as the same Poet saith,

Tuta frequensque licet sit via, crimen habet:

but that was his desire: And therefore,

2. He perswaded the Pope, to become the first founder of all our impropriations, by alienating them from their proper use, and from the Churches of *Christ*, and conferring them on Monastries and Nunries, to maintain the Abbots, Monks, and Nuns, that were the first nursing fathers and mothers of this devouring Harpie: And as the Devil said to *Christ*, All the Kingdoms of the earth will I give thee, as if he had been Lord Paramount of all the World; So the Pope, in the pride of his heart conceiting, that, being *Christ's* Vicar, he might dispose of all that is *Christ's*, as pleased himself, destroyed the servants of *Christ* to make his own Parasites; so that he

appro-

appropriated 3845. of the fattest and largest Benefices in England, either to his out-landish and Italian Harpies, or others his creatures, of whom nothing could be expected, but that they would feed themselves, like Epicures, and never take care for the Church of Christ.

Church-lands
not to be sold,
pag. 31.

And though the godly Bishops of England that saw the mischief of that practise, by the neglect of God's Service in the Parish-Churches, and the abominable evils committed in those Abbies and Nunries, so plentifully set down by Cornelius Agrippa, and others, did in the time of Henry the third direct a suite to Alexander the fourth, for the restitution of those impropriations, to their proper uses, and primitive ordination; Yet, the Devil would not permit that Pope to do that service unto God, as to be obedient to the Ordinance of God.

Cornelius Agrippa
de vanitate
Scien. cap. 49.

And though it be against all reason, that the Tythes which are appointed for God's Service, should be transferred to any lay persons, because that where Tythes are paid, there must be a master of giving and receiving; as the Apostle sheweth, We give unto you spiritual things, and we receive your temporal things: but the laymen that have the impropriations do receive the Tythes, but can give no spiritual gift unto the people. And therefore Damasus demandeth, *Qua fronte, aut qua conscientia, decimas et oblationes vultis accipere, quum vix valeatis pro vobis ipsis, ne dum pro aliis, Deo preces offerre?* With what face, or conscience, can the lay persons demand the Tythes and Oblations, when they are scarce able to pray for themselves, much lesse to offer up prayers and supplications for others?

Damas. Decret.
Epist. ad de
pauca bna
cap. 1-1

Yea, though their own Canons and Orders speak against the impropriating of Benefices and Tythes to lay persons, as the Council of Lateran, held under Pope Alexander the 3d, decreed, That, *Qui decimas laico, in seculo manenti, concesserit, deponendus est*, The Priest which shall passe away the Tythes to any secular lay man, is to be deposed: And the Canon, *Si quis a modo Episcopus, &c.* saith, That if any Bishop hereafter do passe away the Tythes and Oblations to lay men, let them be numbred amongst the greatest Hereticks: And, the lay men that receive the Tythes, as to be their own proper inheritance, either from the Bishops or Kings, do run into the danger of their souls, saith another Canon.

C. cil. Lateran.
part 26. c. 8.
Causa 16. q. 7.
c. 3. Greg. 7.
Causa 19 q. 7.
c. 1. Periculum
animæ.

Yet, as if all these were but *tela aranea*, a Spider's web, nothing would avail with the Pope, to make him to desist his wicked practise, of making these impropriations to whom he pleased:

Therefore the wrath of God, being exceedingly kindled against the abominations of these wicked houses, that were thus maintained with the Revenues of the Church, and upheld in their wickedness by the usurped power of the Pope, the good God, that could bring light out of darkness, could likewise punish and destroy wickedness by wicked men: As he did prophane Saul by the uncircumcised Philistines; and Idolatrous Manassah by the idolatrous Babylonians: So now he stirreth up a King, bad enough, Henry the Eighth, to be, as Nebuchadnezzar was unto the Jews, the Rod of his fury, to whip and scourge these idle, loose and lewd wantons; for when the King began to be weary of the same dish, and, to satisfy his palate, desired licence of the Pope, to change meat, and to be divorced from his old Wife, and the Pope, rather for fear of offending the King of Spain, than any true fear of God, as some conceive, knew not how to yield to his unlawful lust; the King, to be revenged, deviseth to overthrow the Pope's former wickedness, by a greater wickedness; even as Physicians sometimes do, allay poison with a stronger poison.

And because wickedness can never want Counsellors and Abettors, the King had a Cromwell at his elbow, a name as fatal unto the Church, as Tarquin was to Rome; and many others, to please their Master, gave their Vote to the same purpose, That the only way to be thoroughly revenged was, not

to stand trifling about small matters that might soon have an end: but to give such a perpetual wound, as might not be cured; and that was utterly to destroy the delights of the Pope, by taking away and rooting out all the *Abbies, Monasteries, Nunries, and Religious houses*, within his Dominions, so far as he could possibly reach: and it is strange, *If the Lord himself had not been on our side*, that the *Cathedrals and Bishops had not been destroyed likewise.*

And, lest the Pope, by the *perswasions, flights, and eloquence* of his *Emissaries and Clergy*, should gain them to be reduced and restored, either to these Houses, or to the Church again; the only sure way, to keep out the Pope's fingers from them, is, to bestow both their *Lands* and all these *impropriations* upon his *Nobility and Gentry*; and so he shall not only perpetually be revenged upon the Pope, but he shall also most infinitely oblige his friends and his servants, who will be tenacious enough to detain them, and keep them, *ad Græcas valendas*, from returning unto their proper sphere any more: and this Counsel pleased the King and his Master: and though Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* did what ever he could, to get these *impropriations* restored unto the Church, by his manifold *perswasions* unto the King, and especially by a message purposely sent to Mr. *John Calvin*, by one Mr. *Nicholas*, to intreat Mr. *Calvin* likewise, most earnestly to write to King *Henry* the 8th. and to perswade him by all means to restore these *impropriations* unto the Church of God: And so Mr. *Bucer*, and all the godly Protestants of that time, did their best, to perswade him to restore them: yet all could not prevail, to have them restored. For that now

3. Covetousness, and the greedy desire of wealth, and love unto this present World, hath seized upon the hearts, and filled the souls of those Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, and the posterity of them likewise, which had taken bold of these *impropriations*, that they cannot endure to part with them any more; But as *Kites and Cormorants* do seize upon a *Carrion*, so do they engross unto themselves the portion of their God, and the inheritance of the Church of Christ; and such a sweet savour and pleasant taste of Tythes, and Church goods hath been taken, ever since the birth of this monstrous Sacrilege, as that now, many Noble men, and almost every Knight, and Gentleman of any note, hath got to themselves the Tythes, or some part of the Tythes of an impropriate Church, for the enlarging of their Larder-house. And that you need not doubt of this, I must here set down, what you may find in Mr. *Crashaw's* Epistle to Mr. *Perkins* second Treatise of the Duties of the Ministry, that in one County of the Kingdom of England, (the East riding of the County of York) there are contained one hundred and five Parishes; whereof, nigh an hundred, or the full number of an hundred, are of this hateful name, and bastardly title of *Impropriations*; and some of them are of yearly value of four hundred pounds, others worth three hundred pounds per annum, others two hundred pounds, and almost all worth one hundred pound a year; and yet the Minister's part is ten pound-stipend; yea some have but eight pounds, and some but six pounds, and some but four pounds to live upon, for the whole year; and out of the Great Benefice of four hundred pounds a year, the Minister had but eight pound per annum, until of late, with much labour, ten pounds yearly for a Preacher. And, saith mine Author, the most of the Churches, in the properest Market-Towns of this Kingdom, are thus held and retained by our Nobility and Gentry.

And so, I found it in my Diocese of *Ossory*, in the Kingdom of Ireland, that the *Impropriations* had so swallowed up the Tythes, and the Revenues of the Churches; that, as I shewed it in my Remonstrance to his Majesty, six or seven Vicaridges, united together, will scarce make twenty pound a year for the Preacher; Et durus est hic sermo, for hereby the people perish, and

The Holy
Table, name
and thing.
pag. 148.

Dr. Gardiner
in his Scourge
of Sacrilege.

as the Prophet saith, *The poor Children cry for Bread*; and, for want of means, to maintain the Ministers, there is none that is able to give it them.

I know, King Henry the 8th. that could cause his Parliaments, as I ever understood, from the old Parliament men of those times, to make what Laws and to conclude what Acts of Parliament he pleased, got many Laws to be made, and many Acts to pass, to justify, and to make good and Lawful, the Taking away, Leasing, Selling, and Alienating the Tythes, Lands, Houses, and Possessions of the Church; and of our High Priest Jesus Christ, from his Servants, to be inherited by lay persons, and many other Acts of Parliaments have been made, since that time, to the same purpose; which very thing, we conceive, as I have shewed, to be very High Sacriledge, and a robbing of Jesus Christ, and the obstructing of his service, and we fear, the cause of the perishing of many souls.

And therefore, how the Shield of the Pope's Authority, that was the first Foster-Father of this execrable and accursed title, of Impropriation; or the power of King Henry the 8th. that would expunge the Pope's Sacriledge with a greater Sacriledge, and be the second Patron of this Bastard brood, or all the pretences of the now detainers of the Tythes, and portion of Christ, and the Lands, Houses, and Possessions of the Church by these Humane Laws, can bear off the blow of Gods wrath, and turn aside the fierceness of his vengeance; when, in the day of his fury, he shall powre out the full vial of his indignation, upon the head of all Sacrilegious persons, and upon the children and posterity of them, that have devoured the Lords inheritance, and laid wast his dwelling place, I can no waies understand; neither do I know how to give them any comfort, or counsel, but to advise them, to a full and timely Restitution of that, which, otherwise, will be their utter destruction; *Quia non remittitur peccatum, donec restituantur oblatum, cum restitui potest*. The sin shall never be remitted, and blotted out of Gods book, until the Tythes and goods of Gods Church be restored, when men can restore them and will not do it.

August. ad
Maced. Epist.
54.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the second part of the Stipend, Wages, and Maintenance of the Ministers of the Gospel; which is, the Oblation, Donation, or Free-wil-offering of the people, for to uphold, and continue the true service of God, and to obtain the blessings of God, upon themselves, and upon their labours; which Donations ought not to be impropriated, and alienated from the Church, by any means.

YOU have heard of the first part of the Ministers maintenance; the second part consisteth in the voluntary Oblations, or Free-wil-offerings of the people, which the Lord requireth should be done, according as every one, in his own heart, thought good, to bestow upon the service of God: and what they did offer in this kind was most acceptable in the sight of God.

For this is a Principal Branch of that Honor, which we yield unto God, by and with our substance, which we are injoynd to do, *Prov. 3. 9*. Because, what we relieve the poor with, is not so much our alms, as their ex-

gences; which, as necessity exacts it, so it is soon passed, and as quickly perissheth; but those Donations, that were given for the service of God, as they savour of a more inward and deeper piety, so they are of a more lasting substance; and, besides the eternal Treasures, which men do thereby lay up for themselves, they do provide for the perpetuity of Religion, unto the after-ages of men, and may be justly said to Honour God, not only in themselves, but in all those likewise, which they gain, by their Donations, to Honour him.

Exod. 36. 5.
6. 7.

Neh 7. 70.
& c. 10. 33.

Platin. in
Urban.

Vide Flor. hist.
ad an. 186.
Marth. Westm.

Cap. L. i. titulo.
5. L. i.

And it is strange, and marvellous, to consider how liberal, and how free the people of old time, were in their Donations and Free-wil-offerings, to maintain the Worship of God, and to do any thing, that did any wayes appertain to his services; for if you look into the 36. Chap. of Exod. vers. 5. you shall find how Bezaleel and Aboliab spake unto Moses, saying, The people bring much more then enough, for the service of the work, which the Lord hath commanded to be made; and Moses gave commandment, and caused it to be Proclaimed through the Camp, that they should bring no more, for that they had already brought enough and too much: So they that returned out of Babylon were as ready and as willing, to offer up their gifts and free-wil-offerings for the service of the Temple, as their Forefathers were, for the erecting of the Tabernacle, as you may see it in the books of Ezra, and of Nehemiah.

But the Christians, of the Primitive Church, were so zealous herein that they exceeded all that went before them, in their Donations and Free-wil-offerings for the service of God, and the increase of the Christian Religion; for they sold their Lands and Possessions, and laid the prizes thereof at the Apostles feet; and had all things in common among themselves: And Pope Urban the I. instituted, *Ut ecclesias, predia, ac fundos, fidelibus oblatos episcopus reciperet, partireturque proventus clericis omnibus viris, nihilque cuiuspiam privatum esset, sed in commune bonum*; That the Bishops should receive the Churches Possessions, and grounds, offered to the Faithful; and that the profits thereof should be divided by the Clergy, man by man, and that nothing should be of private propriety to any one, but in common amongst them all; And Gratian tells us, that by a decretal Epistle unto all the Bishops, he decreed, that none should presume to alienate ought of the Church-Revenues, under the pain of Excommunication; And Pope Lucius the I. about twenty years after Urban, directed an Epistle to the Bishops of Spain and France to the same purpose.

And though the malice of Dr. Barges towards the Bishops, will not suffer him to yield, that King Lucius gave the Lands of the Idol-Priests unto the Christian Bishops; yet, is it clear enough, out of Antiquit. Brit. and Armachanus, that Lucius endowed the Christian Church with more Lands and Revenues then the Idol-Priests enjoyed.

And afterwards while it was permitted by the Imperial Laws, for every one to Collate upon the Church, whatsoever he would, without exception, their Donations were so great, that the Kings and Emperours conceived it fit, with Moses, to grant a prohibition that they should not offer any more, nor bestow any Lands or Goods upon the Church, without some special licence and toleration from the Civil Magistrates; for fear, that the Church, if this freedom of Donations should still continue, would have sucked out all the blood from the veins, and the marrow out of the bones of the politick body, and so leave the Common-Wealth deprived of their Lands, like Pharaohs lean and evil-favoured Cows, and the Church like those, that were fat and well-liked.

And therefore they enacted the Statute of Mortmain, that was a super-sedeas against these too-liberal contributions: and the Emperour Justinian enacted, that no Legacy, bequeathed unto the Church, exceeding the value

value of five hundred Crowns, should be good in Law, without a special licence from the Magistrate; and so, many other restrictions were made, as Rules, against such as could not otherwise well rule themselves and observe the just rules of Reason and moderation.

And thereupon the Church it self, and those godly Bishops that desired no mans wealth, but what made for the glory of God, and the furtherance of the Gospel of Christ, made Canons and cautions against such catching Covetousness, as would too greedily inroach upon their neighbours estates, and too unreasonably hedge it in unto the Church; as that Canon, which beginneth, *Ecclesia rapacitatis ardore*, The Church, with too much greediness, must not snatch, and pluck unto her self, the Lands and Possessions of her Children.

Decret. part. 2.
Caus. 12. q. 2.
Can. 49.

The Reason of
those Statutes,
and Canons
two fold.

And the Reason, of these Inhibitions, and Statute of Mortmain, and Canons of the Church, seems to be two fold.

1 Reason,

1. Because, as I said before, the zeal of those Christians was so fervent, and their desire to promote the service of God, was so eager and vehement, that they cared not how much they gave, but thought all that they gave too little, for that service. So great was the difference betwixt their mind, and the minds of our Souldiers and others, Gentlemen of no mean rank, and some generated and degenerated from the Church, whose Covetousness, and greedy hearts, desire nothing more, then to pull down our Cathedrals and other Churches, and, as it were, *Romana lege agraria*, by an Irrefragable Law, to pluck away their Lands and Possessions, until they be left as bare, as, in the day, wherein they were first brought forth into the World.

2. Because that, whatsoever Lands, Houses, or Possessions were once dedicated and offered unto God, and for Gods service, could not without committing the horrible sin of Sacriledge, be taken away by any man, or by any pretence, from God; or indeed, because the Lands, and Houses that were given unto the Church, were freed in those times of Popery, from all Taxes and Escheats; so that neither the King, nor Common-Wealth could have any help, or assistance from them, towards the defraying of the publick and most necessary charges of the State.

And therefore, Henry the third, and Edward the first, his son, and Richard the second, seeing how many men, not out of any love to Religion, or zeale to Gods service, but craftily, to couzen the King, and other chief Lords, and the Common-Wealth, did thus fraudulently convey their Lands unto the Church, and then took Leases of them again from the Church, meerly to be freed from the Publick Taxes; made those Statutes, against the giving of their Lands in Mortmain, or in a dead hand, that is, the Church; and it is enacted in the great Charter, that it should not be lawful to any man from thence forth, to give his Lands, to any Religious House, and then to take the same again from the same Use: the which thing, being a meer Collusion and an apparent wrong to the King, to the chief Lord of the Fee, and the Common-Wealth; no Bishop ever justified the same, or held it lawful for the Church to hold such Lands as were so given, contrary to those Acts of Parliament, and those Canons that were made against such deceitful dealings.

Cap 36.

But, for those Lands and Houses, that were truly, Religiously, and without any manner of deceit, or wrong to any man, given to the Church for the service of God, and to promote the Gospel of Jesus Christ, I think them so sacred, and so properly Gods right, that, as the Author, of the Church Lands not to be sold, hath Truly, Religiously, and most Learnedly proved; so I assure my self, that none but the Limbs of the Great Anti-Christ will think otherwise. For

Acts 3. 4.

Justinian lib.
2. tit. 1Capit. Car. 1. 6.
c. 28.
Magna Charta.
c. 1.Levit. 27. 21,
& 28.

Esay 66: 21.

Before these *holy men* have made the *Donations* of their *lands* or *houses* unto God, and to his Church, it was in their *own power*, and they might without offence, either *give them* unto the Lord, or *retain them* still unto themselves and their posterity: for so S. Peter tells *Ananias*, *Whiles it remained*, that is, un-sold, was it not thine own? And after it was sold, was it not in thine own power, that is, either to offer it and give it to God and his Service, or not to give it? But now, after thou hast sold it, and dedicated the whole price of thy land for Gods Service, To keep back some part of the price, which formerly thou hadst given to God's Church, is such a *Sacrilege*, and so transcendent a sin, as, to lye unto the Holy Ghost, and, to rob God of that, which now doth most properly belong to God, and is no wayes in thy power, to dispose of it: And so it is in any other mans case, Before thou givest thy land, house, or utensil unto the Church, and for the Service of God, it is thine own, and thou mayst lawfully do, what thou wilt with thine own, either give it unto God, or not give it: but, after thou hast once given it, and consecrated it for God's Service, it is none of thine, and neither thou, nor any man else, can make an *alienation* or *impropriation* thereof, without lying unto the Holy Ghost, and a robbing of God of his right: For so the Law saith, *Nullius sunt res Sacrae: nam quod Divini juris est, nullius in bonis est*, The Sacred and Dedicated things, that are of Divine property, are of no private mans right: but, God being the sole owner of them, none but such as are his servants and assignes, can have any thing to do with them. So Charles the Great, that was as good as he was great, saith, *Bona Ecclesiae Deo sacrata sunt*, Whatsoever we give unto the Church, we offer and dedicate unto the Lord our God. And so the style of all the *Graunts* in our *Magna Charta* runneth, *We have given* such and such lands or things unto God, both for us, and for our heires for ever. And again, the same *Magna Charta* saith, *Privilegium Ecclesiae debet esse immune*. And so the Law of God saith, *The field when it goeth out in the year of Jubile, shall be holy unto the Lord*, as a field devoted, the possession thereof shall be the Priests; because, as the Lord saith verse 28. *No devoted thing, that a man shall devote, or give unto the Lord of all that he hath, both of man and beast, and of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed*; because every devoted, dedicated, or consecrated thing, is most holy unto the Lord; and the Lord hath given the same unto the Priests, verse 21. And so the ancient Style of all Grants and Charters, for these matters, was, *Domino Deo nostro offerimus & dicamus, & cetera*, We give such and such things unto our Lord God. And under the Law, as God instituted the Tythes and lands of the Priests for his Service; so he takes the Gifts and Donations and Oblations of the people unto himself, saying, *Thou shalt give them me*, Exod. 22. 30. So he calls the Church his House, Matth. 21. 13. and the Tythes his Tythes, saying, *Will a man rob his God? yet you have robbed me, in Tythes and Offerings*. And for lands he saith, *You shall offer unto the Lord an holy portion*, Ezech. 45. 1. And the same Law, S. Paul presseth under the Gospel, as you may see in 1 Cor. 9. 13, 14. and 1 Tim. 5. 17, 18. For, though we have some differences in the manner of God's Worship, when as the Sacrifices and several Ceremonies are abolished; yet there is the same substance for the Guides in God's Worship, which is the reason of the Law; as the Prophet Esay, in the Name of the Lord, hath foretold us; when as, prophesying of the state of Christ his Church, and the Ministers thereof, he saith, *And I will also take of them for Priests and Levites*, saith the Lord; and not lay-men. And therefore these things may not be sold away, or alienated and impropriated from the Priests; because that now, God hath the best Interest therein: and, though before they were devoted & given to him, you might have sold them, alienated them, or put them to what use you would; yet now, being God's proper goods, even by your own Donation, you may not, with-

out

but God's consent, impropriate them, from God, and from his Service. For,

As in the case of *Marriage*; before the Marriage, both the man and the woman are free, to do what they please, to marry, or not to marry, & *consensus partium*, and both their consents, publicly attested by the Priest, makes up the Marriage: but, after they are Married, let them both consent as they will, and as often as they will, yet there desire and consent cannot dis-join them, and dissolve the Marriage; because, that now God had a hand in the Marriage, and whom God hath joyned together, neither they themselves, nor any man else, may put asunder: Even so it is in the case of devoted and consecrated things, lands, houses, or what you will, offered up, as a *Free-will-offering* unto God; Before you make your Oblation of them, you may do with them, what you please, give them, or not give them, as the man might marry this woman, or not marry her; but when once they are offered and given unto God, you must not make a mock of God, and alienate, or impropriate them from Him, and his Service: or if you do, Solomon will tell you, *It is destruction and a snare to the man, which devoureth that which is sanctified, or given to God, and after vows to make inquiry, and search for wayes to deprive God of them; as now, our men of War, and many others do.* Prov. 20. 25.

But if men gave 5 pound, or 10 pound, or other sum, unto the Church for the furtherance of God's Service; and, to secure the same, appointed lands worth 50 pound, or a 100 pound, to pay it unto the Bishop, or other Ministers of the Church; Will you have the lands, and not rather still accept of the money, that was to be paid out of those lands? and was the true meaning of the Donor?

Obj.

I answer, God forbid, that any man in such a case, should desire to have any more than what was given, and intended to be given; for God accepteth of no unjust acquisitions, and a just man requireth no unjust thing: But when the whole is given to God, no Bishop for love, either to his wife or children, or for any other gain, should lett and lease that for 5 pound, which is worth 50 pound, or the like, as I have shewed to you before.

Sol.

But I know what our sacrilegious persons, that take the Tythes of impropriations, and the lands, houses, and possessions of the Church, into their possessions, will further object, and say for themselves, and against me; That our Laws do allow them to do what they do, and our Bishops, that knew God's will, as well, or better than my self, have formerly lett out the lands and houses belonging to the Church in *fee-ferme*, and for a very small rent, unto their Tenants and Fee-fermers, and they do still lett out long leases of them unto their children and friends; and therefore they are not to be blamed: but if there be any fault herein, it is in our selves, and in our Predecessors.

Obj:

To which Objection I shall answer, but as I did before; That tyrannical, fierce, and wilful Kings and Princes, and wicked Governours, when they have once got power and authority into their hands: as was King Henry the Eighth, and the late Rebel and Usurper *Cromwell*, will make what laws, and force the people in their Parliament to give their consent, to what Acts and statutes soever they please: And do you think, that such Laws can excuse you, for the breach of the Law of God? And for our Bishops that do, or have done such things, to the prejudice of the Church, and the great dishonour of our God, I confess, *majus peccatum habent*, our sin is more than yours; for we are but God's Stewards, intrusted with the implements of his House, and the revenues of his Church, to be used and employed, not wastefully upon our selves, in pride; or upon our children, to make them Knights, or Lords and Ladies: but for the best advantage and furtherance of God's Service, and the honour of Jesus Christ; as he hath

Sol.

See what I say in the Grand Rebellion. c. 7.

commanded us, to dispose of them ; and you know, we must render an account of our Stewardship, and how soon I know not ; and if we waste our Masters goods, or take all, or more than is due unto our selves, when we should dispose of it to other uses, for the Service of our Master, I know not how we shall answer it.

But I know that our greater sin, in imbezelling and alienating our Masters goods, and the Revenues of his Church, will not quit and excuse you, for your lesser sin, in being copartners with us in this Sacriledge ; for, as the receiver of any stolen goods, is liable to the Law, as well as the stealer of his neighbours goods ; so is the lessee, as well as the lessor, the detainer as well as the maker away of these unlawful Fee-ferms and long Leases of the Church-Revenues, liable to the just judgement of God.

And therefore, in this respect, that the Donations and Free will-offerings of religious and holy men were given, not to men, but to God, and for the Honour and Service of God, and the good of his Church, the worthiest Bishops, and best Prelates, and Servants of Christ, would rather suffer the greatest indignities, and the heaviest wrath of the most powerful Commanders, than they would yield to satisfy their desires, that fought to take away or alienate the goods of God, that were dedicated to him for the service of his Church ; For, when at the instigation and evil advice of the Arrians, whom the Emperess Faustina did very much favour, the Emperor Valentinian, sent certain Officers unto S. Ambrose, to require him to yield up, and surrender his Church of Millane, and all the possessions thereof, into their hands ; the holy Bishop, in a letter that he sent to his Sister Marcelina, telleth her, what he did, saying, When we were commanded to deliver up the Church, and all the vessels and possessions thereof into the Officers hands, I made this answer unto them : If you had demanded mine estate and goods, lands, houses, or any other thing that I had, Gold, Silver, or the like, I would very readily yield them to you : But it is not in my power, to yield up any thing, that is the Churches, and is but only committed to my trust and custody ; and therefore herein, because the things of the Church are the goods of God, I have a special respect to the saving of the Emperours soul ; because it neither becometh me the Bishop, to give up the vessels and the goods of the Church, nor him the Emperour, to ask them ; And therefore I besought his Majesty, to take my words in good part, and if he loved himself, to desist from offering such an injury unto Christ.

Ambros. 1. 1.
Epistol. 6. E.
pist. 33.

And the same Father, in concione de Basilicis non tradendis hereticis, saith Solvimus quæ sunt Cesaris Cesari, We give to Cesar, the things that are Cesars, and to God, the things that are God's : For if Cesar demands his Subsidy or Tribute, we do not refuse to pay it ; but if he would have the Church, and Church-goods, they must not be delivered up to Cesar ; Quia Templum Dei est, non jura Cesaris ; Because the Temple, and what belongs unto the Temple, is Gods right, and not the right of Cesar. And this we say for the honour of Cesar, because nothing can be more honourable for the Emperour, than that he should be called the son of God : And the same may I say of every King, Prince, or Potentate.

Idem de Basilicis non tradendis hereticis
Tomo. 5.

And here I must crave leave to insert a Story, How that in the time of Pope Xistus, a cunning persecuting Tyrant came to the Treasurer of the Church, and said unto him, You Christians do complain that you are cruelly dealt withal ; and perhaps you have some just cause to complain ; and therefore I am far from any bloody purpose, being as unwilling to proceed in any capital Sentence against you, as your selves are willing to live : but I understand that your Bishops are very rich, and have store of vessels of Gold and Silver, and many men do give their lands and livings unto your Churches, whereby you must needs become exceeding rich ; and yet your God is no Mammonist, but hath left many wholesome Precepts against covetousnesse,

The Story of a
crafty Tyrant,
and a faithful
Pastour ; related
by Doctor
Gardiner.

covetousness, and hath advised you, to give unto *Cesar*, what is due to *Cæsar*; and you know, that his *Wars*, and the affairs of the *Common-wealth* are very chargeable unto him, and we know, that your profession is not to hoord up wealth, and to make account of transitory things: And therefore if you be pleased to forgo those lands, and riches, and vessels of Gold and Silver, which you have and care not for, I will warrant you, both safety of life, and freedom to use your Religion, according to your Conscience.

To whom the godly man answered, That he desired three dayes liberty *Prudent. Perik.* to return his resolution: and by the third day, he had gathered together *Proph.* a multitude of poor, lame, blind, impotent men and women, whose names he delivered up in a *Schedule*, into the Tyrant's hands, and said, These are the goods of the Church, for whom I am but the Steward of those goods that you desire, and my Master commanded me, to keep for them, and for his Service. A blessed man, that herein shewed, he feared God more than man.

And I would all our Bishops, that have alienated and past away the lands, houses, and possessions of the Church in long Leases and Fee-farms unto their children and friends, for a trifling rent only, reserved unto their successors, had had some part of this good mans spirit; for then, the Church of Christ had not been left so naked as it is.

But you may remember the Canon, that I quoted to you before, which saith, If any Bishop do grant the Tythes, or other possessions of the Church to any lay man, let him be numbred among the greatest Hereticks, and let his name be like *Demas*, a lover of this world, more than a lover of God. *Canf. 16. qu. 7. c. 3. Greg. 7. Si quis à modo Episcopus.* And I hope, that by this, which I have already shewed, it is apparent unto you, and to all men, that will not be blind, having their eyes open, and grope with the Sodomites for the wall at noon-day, The Donations of good and holy men, whether houses, lands, or goods, which they have freely dedicated, and given to God, to perpetuate the Service, and to promote the Religion of Jesus Christ, ought not by any means to be, either by the Bishop alienated, or by his children, or any other person received, and taken away from the Church contrary to the will and intention of the Donor. And I say here, in the name of God, That no Bishop can passe it away, nor any lay person can receive it and detain it from the Church without sin, and committing a most horrible Sacriledge in the sight of God: And if men did but remember what the Apostle saith, That, a Testament, or a mans last Will, is of force and inviolable after men are dead, and that the very Gentiles and Heathens thought it a *piaculum*, and a heynous offence, to infringe and alter a mans last Will and Testament. I wonder, why these mens Wills, that gave their own goods (and it was lawful for them to do, what they would with their own) to God, and to maintain Gods Service, should not be of force, and stand unalterable, but that men will, so fearlessly break them, and so presumptuously take away the things that they bequeathed unto God; especially if men considered, the form and style of their Donation, which I find thus expressed in sundrie Copies. These things being lawfully our own, we offer and give to God, for the maintenance of his Service; from whom, if any man presume to take them away, (which we hope no man will attempt to do) but if any man shall do, Let his account be without favour, and his judgement without mercy in the last Day, when he cometh to receive his doom, which is due for his Sacriledge, which he hath committed against that our Lord and God, unto whom we have given and dedicated the same. *Heb. 9. 17. Capit. Car. 16. 6. cap. 185.*

For this form and manner of their Dedication, should, in my judgement, make their hairs to stand on end, and their hearts to tremble, for fear of this judgement, when they go about to take away the lands, houses, and possessions

possessions of the Church (which were offered for the service of God) and which I would not do, for all the *World*, and which I think none durst do, but such as have their hearts *hardened* above *Pharaohs* heart.

But here, I must tell you; How that after I came to *London*, to put this Treatise into the Press, I lighted upon a Pamphlet not only *foolish*, but most *wicked*, defending the most horrible sin of *Sacrilege* to be no sin at all: and the selling and taking away of the *Church-Lands* to be no offence at all; which Pamphlet had I met it at *Kilkenny*, I would have done, as our Saviour did at *Jerusalem*, made a scourge to *Whip* the publisher of it *C. Burges* out of the Church of Christ, and after the detecting of his *lies* and *errors*, condemn his *blasphemous* scriblings into the fire; for, having read his Pamphlet all over, I find that all his *malice* is against the *Bishops*, and the flood of *poysen*, that he spitteth out of his mouth, is to none other end, then like *Noahs* deluge, to drown their lands, and none else: For in page 23. he prosecuteth the point at large, that *Parochial Glebes*, that is, the lands given to the *Presbyterians*, that were the limbs of the false Prophet, and settled in all the *fattest* livings of *England*, far better then the poor *Bishop-pricks*, must neither be sold nor alienated from them, and their Churches, by any means; so that had the land of the Bishops been given to these *prating* Presbyterians, it had been *piacular* to take it from them: And though he writes much and quotes *Authors*, to make men think that he is a *Scholler*, yet, this is the substance of his whole book, divided into these two parts.

The whole sum and substance of Dr. Burges his book;

1. Cathedral, or *Episcopal*, Lands are not of Divine right, *à pag. 19. ad pag. 44.* But *Presbyterian* or *Parochial* lands are of Divine right, *pag. 23.* that therefore,

2. It is no *Sacrilege*, nor sin to purchase Cathedral and *Episcopal* lands, *à pag. 44. ad 58.* But the *Parochial* lands, and *Presbyterian* Glebes, being of Divine right, it must needs be *Sacrilege*, And a very haynous sin to sell or alien their lands from them, *pag. 23.*

Now consider these things, thus plainly and briefly set forth, and tell me if any man, that hath his eyes open, will believe this *blind* fellow, that like a *mad* man layeth about him, to spit out all his malice against the *Bishops*. When as the Scripture speaketh, *Malitia ejus excacavit eum*: His envy and malice against the Bishops have made him stark blind. But as *S. Jerome* thought *Helvidius* not worthy to be answered, so I would answer all the *extravagant* passages of this *Parochial* *Presbyter* *Burges*, were it not for fear, to make him proud, to think himself worthy to be answered by a *Bishop*; when as, in very deed, I think not his book worthy to be looked on, when as out of his own words and quotations, without any other help, I could easily answer and confute his whole book.

And so I have sufficiently shewed the haynousness of this sin.

And therefore, let me advise all *Sacrilegious* persons, to take heed how they dally with God, and take up from such *desperate* and *irreligious* fellows a security to the *inchantment* of their souls, in this so haynous and so horrible an impiety, and to fill their houses, and to enrich their children with those goods, that were Sanctified for Gods service, and are execrable unto them, and do make them likewise execrable, and all the whole Host of *Israel*, the whole Church of God, to be troubled, as the execrable goods of *Aban* did.

Leach. 3. 18.

And let not us, that are Gods Ministers, and are commanded to give you warning of your sins, *sub pena maledictionis*, as the Prophet sheweth, after so many Sermons and Summons, *Tam Verbis quam Scriptis*, both in words and writings, find your hearts still *obdurate*, and as hard as the nether *Millstone*, lest we be forced, in the bitterness of our souls, to cry out with the Prophet, *In vacuum laboravimus*, we have spent our strength

in

in vain, and be so compelled, with grieved spirits to send you to Gods judgement seat, *carbōne notabiles atro*, marked by a black coal, with this inscription upon your foreheads, *Noluerunt incantari*, They would not be charmed, but made a mock of all that we said.

But I would have these greedy snatchers of those lands and houses, that instead of making their children happy, will bring an inevitable curse upon themselves and their Posterity, to weigh well what *Fulgentius*, a Holy Bishop, saith upon these words of *Job* the Baptist, Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire; *Si sterilitas in ignem mittitur, rapacitas quid meretur? & si semper ardebit, qui sua non dedit, quid recipiet qui aliena tulit?* If sterility be thrown in the fire, what shall become of rapacity; and if he shall endure everlasting burning, that would not give his own goods, what punishment shall he receive that taketh away another mans goods, and especially the goods of God? And to weigh likewise what *Rabanus Maurus*, another Holy man, commenteth upon the words of Christ, *I was hungry and you gave me not to eat, and, amplying our doings; saith, Esurivi, & pauxillum panis quod restabat, abstulisti: Nudus fui, & volem chlamidem & vestem quam habui, abripuisti: Et unicam vineam habui & tu illam diripuisti: I was naked, and that simple garment that I had, you have taken from me; and I had but one Ewe, and one only Vineyard, and like Abab you have deprived me of it; And what reward shall they have for these things? I fear, their doom will be too heavy, if, with *Zacheus*, they make not Restitution, of that, which with *Abab*, they have most unjustly taken possession of; for, as *S. Augustine* truly saith, *Si res aliena, propter quam peccatum est, reddi potest & non redditur, penitentia simulatur, sed non agitur; nam si veraciter agitur, non dimittitur peccatum nisi restituatur oblatum; id est, cum restitui potest: If that which we have taken away from another, whereby we have sinned, may be restored, and is not; the repentance is not done, but dissembled: because that if it be truly done, the sin is remitted; and the sin is never remitted, unless that which is taken away, be restored, that is, as I said, when Restitution may be made.**

Matth. 3.
To which purpose *S. August.* saith in like manner, *Si in ignem mittitur qui non dedit rem propriam; Ubi mittendus est qui inuasit alienam? Verè seipsum vili pendit, qui pro re aliena animam suam perdit.*
Aug. ad Maced. Ep. 54.

Aug. quo supra Ep. 54.

But, though it be an *Axiom* infallible, not liable to controulment, and a truth as clear as the Sun, that *Impropriations* of Tythes, and the alienation of Lands, Houses, and other things that were given to God, and for the service of God, ought not to be done, nor cannot be enjoyed, as their own proper goods, by any lay person, be he Lord, Knight, or what you will; contrary to the mind and will of the donors, without committing that horrible sin of *Sacriledge*; yet you must not so understand me, as if I conceived, that Ministers might not set their Tythes, or let their Lands, and their Livings to any lay-person: or that it must be generally understood, that no commerce or bargain can be made, of the goods and endowments of the Church; because that, as God is willing we should use those goods alwaies for our benefit; so he will be as graciously pleased, we shall forgoe them and exchange them, when we find it for our benefit, and the benefit of his Church and Service; which in all our bargains and commerce, we ought chiefly to regard: because, we are but Gods Stewards, for the service of his Church; and so, whatsoever our Religion and our Ancestors have honoured God withal, we must employ, not so much for our own best advantage, as for that, which maketh most for Gods honor.

How the tythes, lands, and houses of the Church may be let, and set to lay- persons.

And therefore, we that are instructed with the inheritance of the Church and portion of *Jesus Christ*, must not make such bargains for our Master; as *Glaucus* made for himself, when he changed his golden Armour for brazen furniture; neither must we deal with the Church of Christ, as *Rebbobani* did with the Temple of *Solomon*, when he took away all the shields of gold, and made in their stead shields of brass: but what bargain or covenant

1 Reg. 14. 18; 27.

soever we make, without sin, for the greater glory unto God, and greater good unto the Church, we hold it good, with whomsoever the same is made.

CHAP. XIX.

That it is the duty of all Christian Kings and Princes, to do their best endeavours, to have all the Impropropriations restored to their former Institution; to hinder the taking away, and the alienation of the Lands, Houses, and other the Religious Donations of our Ancestors from the Church of Christ; and to suppress and root out all the Unjust and Covetous suttile customs and frauds, that are so generally used, and are so derogatory to the service of God; from amongst the people, and especially from this Kingdom of Ireland, where most corruption is used, and most need of Instruction unto the people.

THUS you have heard, how that *Cathedrals* and other *Parochial Churches* should be built and beautified for the Honor of God, Godly Bishops and Preachers should be placed in them for the Service of God; and then the allowance, that God hath appointed, should be given and yielded unto them, for their maintenance; And now, because the Lands, Houses, Tythes, and Hereditaments of the Church, which the Lord God hath granted, and the godly Emperours, pious Kings, and zealous Professors have given and dedicate for Gods service, are in these dismal daies, snatched away by the hands of Hacksters, and haters of Religion, and alienated by the Souldiers, that divide Christ his garments amongst them, from the true servants and Ministers of Christ, who should be very thankful unto these Souldiers, as they often say, that we have anything left unto us. For, as the Orator telleth the grave Senators of Rome of an audacious fellow called *Fimbria*, that stabbed *Quintus Scaevola*, an honest man, at the funerals of *Caius Marius*; and then boasted of the great favour that he shewed to him, *Quod non totum telum in ejus corpore absconderat*; That he had not thrust his dagger wholly to the Hilt, into his body, but only gave him a slight stab, that was sufficient to kill him; So these brood of *Fimbria*, having seized upon a great part of the Houses, Lands, and Patrimony of the Church, and still detayning them, *Per fas & nefas*, in their own hands; do labour to get more; and think the favour that they have done us deserveth no small thanks, that they brought or left to us what we have, and have not deprived us of all together.

Therefore, Covetousness, Injustice, and the love of this World, being so deeply grounded and settled in the hearts of our Demas's, and this Epidemical disease of taking and detaining the Churches right, being, as one saith, just like the Kings-evil, which no Physitian but the King himself, will serve to heal it; Our address must be unto his Majesty, to supplicate, that he would be graciously pleased to interpose his Royal Command, to stop the current of these intruders into Gods right, and to cause the Restitution of the Church-goods to be made unto the Church,

And

*Cicero in Orat.
pro Roscio
Amerino.*

And among the rest of the injuries done by these Military * men to the Church of God; there is one great Abuse, which is generally used and practised here in Ireland, by the rich proprietors and possessors of Lands and Town-ships, to the abundant detriment and loss of the Ministers, and to the hazard and danger, if not the destruction, of many, I know not how many souls; and that is, when the Gentleman proprietor, that holds all or most of the Parish in his own hands, if he be offended with his Minister and cannot have the Tythes, as he pleaseth himself, he can make the Rectory or Vicaridge, that might be well worth fifty or sixty pounds per annum, to be scarce worth ten pound a year, or nothing; for he will leave all his ground unplowed, and turne it to pasture, and so bring a dearth, through the scarcity of Corn in the Common-Wealth, and then he will buy young Bullocks; and fills his Lands with dry Cattle, whereof their Religious Lawyers, (of whom Dr. Gardiner † saith; that he never heard yet; at any hand, of any good; that they have Prophesied unto the Church) tels them, their custome will preserve them, from the payment of any Tythes; and so they bring a spiritual dearth, and a famine of Gods Word, unto the rest of the poor parishioners, when for want of sufficient maintenance, they sufficient Minister, that is able to give them any Instruction; the Poet saith;

* I speak of the Souldiers; because either the Souldiers of that Parliament, or of Cromwell, or his Majesty, have almost all the Kingdom of Ireland; and do fill the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, and are the chief men in every place; So that nothing can be done either in Parliament, City, or Countrey, but what they will have done; because they are the Major Party, and so can Out-vote all the rest; and therefore Ireland, being now Regnum Militum; This my discourse cannot be, *Gratum opus agricolis*, but *Ingratum militibus*, which is all one, to me, if you consider what I say, in the latter end of this booke; and that I fear not what they say of me, *Quia nec melior sum si laudaverint, nec deterior si vituperaverint.*

† Dr. Gardiner in his Scourge of Sacrilege.

Nulla illis capietur gloria, quæquæ
Ingeniis stimulos subdere fama solet.

Ovid. trist.
lib. 5.

And the benefit, that these worldlings reap, by this lawless, impious, and wicked Custome, to pay no Tythes for their dry Bullocks, nor any thing to God for the fruits of their ground, is one main reason why the Minister's part of six or seven Parishes, doth scarce amount to twenty pounds per annum, as I have formerly shewed in my Remonstrance to his Majesty; and I conceive it likewise, to be a special Reason, why the poor simple Irish Papists have so many Popish Priests amongst them, for want of Protestant Priests; for, that want of sufficient maintenance, doth cause them to leave their Parishes and charge unlooked unto, and their flock untaught; and then the Superstitious mendicant Friar cometh to instruct, and lead the silly ignorant Irish, as he pleaseth.

And truly, to say what I think, though I am far enough from Popery, and from all Popish errors, and superstitions, as; I hope, all the Sermons that I have Preached, and the Books that I have Printed, can bear witness unto the World; yet, as Alexander Severus told an unruly Victualler, that would not suffer the Christians to erect a Church, in a place which he thought more convenient and fit for him to sell Ale in it, That it was better, God should be served in any place; and in any way, then that he should have his way, and God not served in any place, nor any way, as I shewed to you before; so I conceive it better to be Superstitious then Profane, better to be a Papist then an Atheist, and better to have a Popish Priest, to give some light to them, that sit in darkness; and some knowledge of Christ, to them that otherwise would know nothing, then not to have any Priest at all.

And therefore, if you would abandon Popery, and suppress all *papist* Priests out of Ireland, which is my heart's desire; then I desire *wisely*, that this, and all other lewd and wicked *customs* be taken away; the *lands*, *houses*, and possessions of the Church be restored; and all *impropriations* reduced to their *first institution*, that so a *sufficient Ministry* may be maintained here in Ireland, as they are in England; and that the poor *ignorant Irish* may have honest and able Protestant Ministers, and, as many as may be, of their own Nation, to live amongst them, and to instruct them: and then God will *bless* this Nation, and the true Protestant Religion will prosper and *flourish*, and both we and they shall live *happily* together; which otherwise will very *hardly*, if ever, come to pass: Because that *now*, we have not our knowledge by *inspiration*, we cannot in an instant, understand and speak *all Tongues*, and we cannot work *miracles*; but we must buy many Books to learn *Languages*, and to get *knowledge*, which the Apostles had without any Book; and we must spend our time, in reading, writing, studying, and praying to God to assist us, and to *enable* us, to instruct our people: and all this cannot be done without *maintenance* and means to do it. And therefore, where there is no *sufficient maintenance*, there can be no *sufficient Ministry*, no instructing of the people, no true serving of God, as it ought to be.

And to that end the natives, according to the institution of the College, should be placed in the College at Dublin; the which thing hitherto, they say, hath been too much neglected.

And what a heap of *unspeakable* mischiefs and miseries do these *evil customs*, *impropriations*, and taking away the *lands*, *houses*, and possessions of the Church, bring amongst us?

And therefore, seeing the Souldiers, Captains, and others of the *Military* rank, that have gotten the lands of the *Irish* Rebels (which for their service, they have *justly* deserved) have likewise *unjustly* seized upon Gods part, and the lands, houses, and possessions of the Church, and are as fast wedded to these *evils*, as to their wives; so that we can *more easily* overcome *Goliath*, or pull the club out of *Hercules* hands, than our *lands* out of these *mens fingers*: It is *high time*, and I hope no *good man* will be offended with us for it, to implore, and most humbly to beg and beseech, the help and assistance of our Most gracious King, to redress these *intolerable* abuses, and to drive away this three-headed *Cerberus*, or rather this many-headed *Hidra*, the manifold *Sacrilege*, and the great oppression of the Church of Christ that is used in these dayes, and especially in this Kingdom of Ireland at this time. For I call Heaven and Earth to witness, that ever since the *monstrous*, undutiful, and *unnatural* murder, of that Most *glorious* Martyr, your Majesty's most dear Father, my Most gracious Master, Charles the First, until the happy Arrival of your gracious Majesty, I lived more *quietly* and *contentedly*, when all my *Ecclesiastical* Preferments were taken from me, and not 20 pound *per annum* left me in all the world to maintain me, than now I do; when by your gracious *goodness*, all the Church Rights and *Inheritances*, are commanded *unresistably* to be yielded unto us: for your Majesty may be well assured, that they which, neither for love of Gods favour, nor fear of his vengeance, will observe Gods Commandments, will never regard to obey your commandments. And therefore many of our *Military* men, Colonels, Captains, and others that fought for the Long-Parliament and *Cromwell*, do, with some of your Commanders, that herein imitate them, divide and teare the Revenues, and *Garment* of the Church, the Spouse of Christ, worse than the Souldiers of *Pilate* did with the *Coat* of Christ. And therefore now in mine *old age*, well-nigh 80. years, I am forced to bestow all my labour, and take pains, and many journeys, which an old man can *hardly* do, and spend all my means in Law, (which were better bestowed upon the poor) to wring the Church-means out of their hands, or suffer the same, through my *remissness*, to be swallowed down into the belly of Hell; and leave my self to be liable to that great account, which I must

I must render for my neglect of doing mine uttermost endeavour to recover it, at the last Day: the which wonderful streight that I am put to, doth wonderfully discontent and trouble me continually: which makes me oftentimes to think, that I were better to resign my Bishoprick, if I knew it were no offence to God, to some younger man, that could better combat with these Goliaths, than for me to agonize, as I do, to recover my right, who may well cry out with the Poet,

Impar congressus Achilli.

But the nearness of the time, that I must render mine account of my Stewardship unto God, hath strengthened me, to write this Treatise against Sacrilege, and especially, the Sacrilege of this Climate, and more particularly of this Diocese of Ossory, where the Irish behind me, the English before me, the Citizens of the Corporation of Kilkenny, and Cromwells Captains on the one hand; and your Majesty's faithful Souldiers and Subjects in Anno 1649, on the other hand, do all seem to me, to become faithless unto Christ, and to fight against God, to take away the Inheritance of his Church from us, that are his weak servants. And it hath emboldned me likewise, most humbly to supplicate your Majesty, to take notice of these wrongs done unto us, which you do not know; and to assist me, to gain that right unto the Church, which I without your Majesty's assistance, cannot do; and to pardon me for my boldness, and whatsoever else I have done amiss.

CHAP. XX.

The Author's supplication to Jesus Christ, that he would arise and maintain his own cause, which we his weak servants cannot do, against so many rich, powerful, and many-friended adversaries of his Church.

And now, sweet Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, having made mine humble addresse according to my bounden duty, to thine Anointed, thy Livenant, and my Sacred Sovereign, to assist thy servants, to maintain thy right, Thy right, I say, as thou art a Priest, and a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec; and I know, that his Majesty, being the Son of so pious, and so gracious a Father, as is now so glorious with thee in Heaven, will stretch forth his Royal hand, as thou didst unto S. Peter, to preserve us from sinking: I must now, with fear and reverence, and in all humility, leave leave, to return my speech unto thy Self; and as thou hast commanded us, to hear thy voice, so thou hast promised, to hear our prayers: And therefore I pray thee: let not my Lord be angry, but suffer thy servants to speak unto thee: And we confess, that we are not worthy to sit with the dogs of thy flock; yet thou hast called us, to a most high and honourable place, to be thine Embassadors to thy chosen people, and unto Kings and Princes, to be thy Stewards, and the Dispensers of thy manifold graces. And according to our places, thou hast commanded us to behave and carry our

selves, as may be most agreeable for thine Honour; to preach thy word, to relieve the poor, to keep hospitality, to build thine House, and to do other the like works of piety and charity.

March. 21. 33.

March. 21. 14.

Luke 19. 13.

And we know, that thou art not like Pharaoh, a cruel Master, that taketh away the straw, and yet will require the whole sale of bricks; for thou didst deliver thy Vineyard unto the Husbandmen, before thou didst expect the fruits of it; and thou gavest thy Talents unto thy servants, before thou didst look for any gain from them.

It was all taken from us, and now still much is detained from us.

But now, O Lord God, our straw is kept from us, our vineyard is taken away, and we have scarce any one talent left unto us; for, O God, the Heathen have come into thine Inheritance, and as of old they made Hierusalem, so, now of late, they have made the famous Church of S. Keny, and many other Churches in Ireland, an heap of stones; the dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the air, and the flesh of thy Saints unto the beasts of the field. And as the Prophet David said, The Tabernacles of the Edomites, and Ismaelites, the Moabites and the Hagarens, Gebal and Ammon, and Amalec, the Philistines, with them that dwell at Tyre; Assure also is joyned with them, and have holpen the children of Lot to devour Jacob, and to lay waste his dwelling place: So, the Independents, the Arminians, the Brownists, the Anabaptists, Luther and Calvin, and Cartwright, the Hugonots, with them that are called Quakers, and the Jesuites also, have joyned with them, and have, to the utmost of their power, holpen our Grand Opposers the Presbyterians, if not to devour the seed of Jacob, to destroy the Church, and thy Service, (which they now deny to desire to do it). yet I am sure, to be confederate against thee, and to lay waste thy dwelling place, to imagin craftily against thy people, the true Royalists; and to take counsel against the secret ones, the Bishops, and Governors of the Church: And as Elias said of the children of Israel, They have forsaken thy Covenant, they have thrown down thine Altars, and they have killed thy Prophets; So I may say of the children of Belial, they have forsaken the true Protestant Religion, they threw down thy Churches, they killed many of thy servants; and they said, Come, and let us root out the Bishops, that they be no more a people, and that the name of Episcopacy may be no more in remembrance; and to that end, at the Prophet saith, They brake down all our carved and curious works, with axes and hammers; they have set fire upon thy holy places, and have defiled the dwelling place of thy Name, even to the ground: Yea, and they said in their hearts, Let us make havock of them altogether; And by taking away all our lands, houses, and possessions, they fed us with the bread of tears, and gave us plentifulness of tears to drink: and so they made us a very strife unto our neighbours, and our enemies laughed us to scorn, when they saw us made as the filth of the world, and as the off-scouring of all things.

1 Reg. 19. 10.

Psal. 74. 7, 8.

Psal. 80. 5

1 Cor. 4. 13.

And though thou hast brought unto us, a most gracious King, to our unspeakable joy and comfort; yet to this very day, they and their associates, and that, which troubles us most of all, they that come in thy Name, and under pretence of thy Service, and for service done unto thee, and thy Church, do, by the example of those thine enemies, and the haters of thy Church, either through ignorance or covetousness, labour by all means, and with great friends, to blind the eyes of our good King, that he should not understand the truth of the Churches Right; that so they might the easier and the sooner, carry away the lands, houses, and possessions of the Church from thee, and from thy servants, whereby, they shall be made invalid and unable, to discharge the duties, and the works, that thou requirest at their hands, if thou dost not help them to their instruments and means wherewith they may do their work.

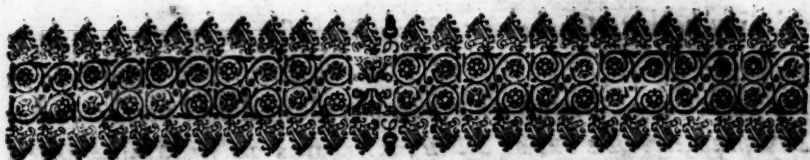
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And therefore, because we are *weak* and *friendless*, and *far unable* to deal, and to *prevail* against so many *powerful*, armed men, we lift up our eyes and hands to thee, O Lord God, and pray thee, to *arise and maintain thine own Cause*, and let not man have the upper-hand; for they have rebelled against thee, and have robbed thee, as the Prophet testifieth, and be not angry with us for ever; but be gracious unto thy servants, and lay not that to our charge, which we cannot help, when we have done our very best to preserve thy Right, and to uphold thy Service; but let the sin lie upon the heads of them, that commit it. Hear us, O Lord our God, and grant our request, for Jesus Christ's sake, thy dear Son, and our only Saviour; to whom with thee, and the Holy Spirit, our blessed Comforter, be all *Glory and Dominion*; and *Thanksgiving*, for ever and ever. Amen.

Jehova Liberatori.

VINDICIÆ

INDICIA



TO THE
KINGS
Most Excellent
MAJESTY.

Most Gracious Sovereign,



Have been long ashamed to see the Egyptian locusts, the emissaries of Apollyon, and the sons of perdition, under the name of Christ, so much to abuse His sacred truth, as to send forth so impudently, and most ignorantly, such lying Pamphlets, so stuffed with Treason, to animate Rebellion, and to poison the dutiful affections, and the obliged loyalty of Your Majesties seduced Subjects; and seeing we ought not to be sleeping, when the Traytors are betraying our Master, I have been not a little grieved to see so many able men, the faithful servants of Christ, and most loyal to Your Majesty, either over-awed with fear, or disempered with their calamities, or, I know not for what else, to be so long silent from publishing the necessity of obedience, and the abomination of Rebellion, in this time of need; when the tongue and pen of the Divine, should as well strengthen the weak hands of faithful subjects, as the Sword and Musket of the Souldier, should weaken the strength of faithlesse Rebels: Therefore, not presuming of mine ability to equalize my brethren, but as conscions of my
A a 2 *fidelity*

The Epistle Dedicatory.

* Non sine
meo magno
malo.

fideliſty both to God and to Your Maſteſty, as in my younger years I * fearleſſy publiſhed The reſolution of Pilate, ſo in my latter age, though as much perplexed and perſecuted as any man, driven out of all my fortunes in Ireland, hunted out of my houſe and poor family in England; and (after I had been cauſeleſſy imprifoned, and moſt barbarouſly handled) then threatned beyond meaſure; yet I reſolvedly ſet forth this Tract of The Grand Rebellion: and though it be plain, without curioſity, -----Qualem decet exulis eſſe: Yet I do it in all truth and ſincerity, without any ſiniſter aſpect: for, my witneſſe is in Heaven, I had rather have all the eſtate I have, plundred and pillaged; my wife and children left deſolate, and deſtitute of all relief; and my ſelf deprived of liberty and life by the Rebels, for ſpeaking truth; in defence of whom my conſcience knoweth to be in the right; than to have all the praiſe and preferment that either People, Parliament, or Pope, can heap upon me, for ſewing pillows under their elbows; and with idle diſtinctions, falſe interpretations, and wicked applications of holy Writ, hypocritically to flatter, and moſt ſeditiouſly to inſtigate the diſcontented and ſeduced ſpirits, and others of moſt deſperate fortunes, to rebell againſt the Lord's annointed. I preſume to preſent the ſame into Your ſacred hands. God Almighty, which delivereth your Maſteſty from the contradiction of ſinners, and ſubdueth your people that are under You, bleſſ, proteſt, and proſper You in all Your wayes, Your Royal Queen, and all Your Royal Progeny. Thus prayeth

Your Maſteſties moſt loyally-

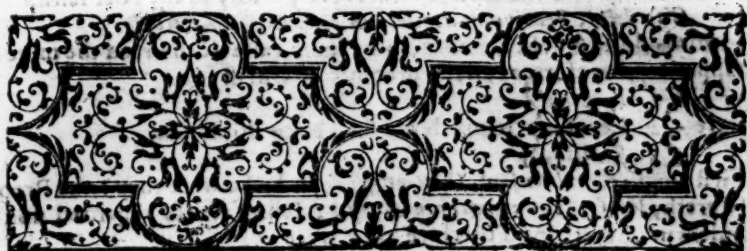
devoted Subject, and

moſt faithfully-

obliged ſervant,

Gryffith Oſſory.

T O



THE GRAND REBELLION.

PSAL. 106. 16.

*Emulati sunt Mosen in Castris, Aaron
sanctum Domini.*

CHAP. I.

*Sheweth, who these Rebels were; how much they were obli-
ged to their Governours; and yet how ungratefully they
rebelled against them.*

I Am here in this Treatise to shew unto you a *Monster*, more hideous and monstrous than any of those that are described either by the *Greek* or *Latin* Poets; and more noysome and destructive to humane kinde, then any of those that the hottest Regions of *Africa* have ever bred, though this be now most frequently produced in these colder Climates: The name of it is, *Rebellion*, an ugly beast of many-heads, of loathsome aspect, of great antiquity, and as great vivacity; for the whole world could not subdue it to this very day. And this *Rebellion* (the like whereof was never seen from the Creation of the World to this very time, and I hope shall never be seen hereafter to the day of Judgement) is fully set down in the 16. of *Numbers*; and it is briefly repeated in the words of the *Psalmist*; *Psal. 106. 16. How great a sin it is, and how odious unto God will appear, if we examine*

1. The particulars of the Text in the 16. verse, and but view
2. The greatness of their punishment in the next verse.
3. The Text containeth four special parts:
 1. *Qui fuerunt*, who the Rebels were that did this
 2. *Contra quos*, against whom they rebelled:
 3. *Quid fecerunt*, what they did:
 4. *Ubi fecerunt*, where they did it.

The greatness of this sin of *Rebellion*, is seen two ways:
1. From the Text.
2. From their punishment.
3. Of the Text
4. Parts of the Text.

Horat.

And in each of these I will endeavour brevity: for, as the Poet saith,

Cuius dicta, Percipiunt dociles animi, retinentque fideles;

Few words do best hold memory, and a short taste doth breed the more eager appetite; therefore, as all the precepts of Christ

3. Properties
of Christs pre-
cepts,

were { 1. *Brevia,*
2. *Levia,* } so my desire shall be to do herein.
3. *Utilia,*

1. Part, who
the Rebels
were.

Described by
four notions.

First then, *Emulati sunt*, they angred; and who were they? the Prophet answereth, *Vers 7. Patres nostri in Aegypto*, Our Fathers regarded not thy wonders in *Aegyp*. And therefore they were

1. Their own *Country-men*, the *Israelites*.

2. Of their own *Tribe*, as was *Corah* and his companions; and of the Nobility of *Israel*, as were *Dathan* and *Abiram*, and their adherents.

3. Of their own *Religion*, such as had received the *Oracles* of God, and did profess to serve the same true and ever living God, as the others did.

4. Such as had obtained *multa & magna*, many great favours and benefits; yea, *Beneficia nimis copiosa*: and I may say, very precious benefits from them. For when God sent *Moses* his servant, and *Aaron* whom he had chosen; these delivered them from *bondage*, and brought them forth with silver and gold, and there was not one feeble person among their *Tribes*, saith the Prophet: And yet these were the men that rebelled.

1. Of the same
Country.

1. They were their own *Country-men*, of their own *Tribe*, the seed of *Abraham*, and partakers of the same fortunes; And therefore they should love, and not hate; they should *furber*, and not hinder; *rejoyce*, and not envie at one anothers happinesse: for though wicked men of desperate fortunes, care for none but for themselves, *Sibi nati, sibi vivunt, sibi moriuntur, sibi damnantur*; yet not only the *Heathen* Philosophy of *Natures* Schollers, but also the *Divine* verity of Gods elected servants, doth teach us, that *partem patria*, *partem parentes* vendicant; the love of our *Country*, and to our *Country-men*; should be such, as rather to spend our selves to relieve them, then by *lewd* practices to destroy them; when by our *dissolute* debauchment, we have destroyed our selves.

2. Of the same
Tribe.

2. These Rebels were of their own *Tribe*, of the *Tribe* of *Levi*, and so knit together *indissolubili vinculo*, with the indissoluble bond of blood and fraternity; and therefore they should have remembered the saying of *Abraham* their Father, unto his Nephew *Lot*; *Let there be no dissention between thee and me, for we be brethren*: a good Uncle, that would never drive his Nephew out of his house and home.

And we read, that affinity among the *Heathens* could not only keep away the force, and suppress the malice of deadly foes, but also retain *ignora juncti sanguinis*, as *Julia* did *Cesar* and *Pompey*; and as the Poet saith,

Lucan Pharsal.
1. 1.

Ut generos soceris media iunxere Sabina.

And therefore why should not *consanguinity*, and the bond of flesh and blood suppress the envy of friends, and retain the love of brethren?

But these prove true the old saying, that *Fratrum ira inter se inimicissima*, the wrath of brethren is most deadly: as it appeared, not only in *Cain* against *Abel*, *Romulus* against *Romus*, and all his brethren against *Joseph*; but especially in *Caracalla*; that slew his brother *Geta* in his mothers armes: and therefore *Solomon* saith, *A brother offended is harder to winne then a strong City*, and their contentions are like the bars of a *Pallace*, not easily broken. Nam ut aqua calefacta, cum ad frigiditatem reducitur frigidissima est. For as water that hath been hot, being cold again, is colder then ever it was before; and as the *Adamant*, if it be once broken, is shivered

red

red into a thousand pieces; so love, being turned into hatred, and the bond of friendship being once dissolved; there accreweth nothing but a swift increase of deadly hatred: So it happened now in the Camp of Israel, that the saying of Saint Bernard is found true, *Omnes amici, & omnes inimici*, All of a house, and yet none at peace; all of a kindred, and yet in mortal hatred.

Bern. in Cant.
Serm. 33.

And as Corah and his companions were so nearly allyed unto Moses; of the Tribe of Levi; so Dathan and Abiram were men famous in the Congregation, noble Peers, and very popular men, heads of their families, of the Tribe of Reuben. A subtle practice of that pestiferous Serpent, to joyn Simeon and Levi, Clergy and Laity, in this wicked faction of Rebellion; the one under colour of dissembled sanctity; the other with their power and usurped authority, to seduce the more, to make the greater breach of obedience. And so it hath been always, that we scarce read of any Rebellion, but some base Priests, the Chaplains of the Devill, have begot it; and then the Nobles of the people, *arripientes ansam*, taking hold of this their desired opportunity, do foster that which they would have willingly fathered; as, besides this Rebellion of Corah, that of Jack Cade, in the reign of Henry the sixth; and that of Perkin Warbeck, in the time of Henry the seventh; and many more that you may find at home, in the lives of our own Kings, may make this point plain enough. But they should have thought on what our Saviour tells us, that *Every Kingdom divided against it self, is brought to desolation; and every City or House divided against it self, shall not stand*. What a mischief then was it for these men to make such a division among their own Tribe, and in their own Camp? *Nondum tibi desuit hostis*: had they not the Egyptians, and the Canaanites, and the Amalekites, and enow besides to fight against, but they must raise a civil discord in their own house? Could not their thoughts be as devout as the Heathen Poet's, which saith,

———*Omnibus hostes*
Reddite nos populis; civile avertite bellum.

Lutan Pharsal.
lib. 1.

And therefore this makes the sin of home-bred Rebels the more intolerable, because they bring such an *Illias malorum*, so many sorts of unusual calamities, and grievous iniquities upon their own brethren.

3. These Rebels were of their own Religion, professing the same faith that the others did: *Et religio dicitur à religando*, (saith *Lactantius*) and therefore this bond should have tyed them together firmer then the former. For if equal manners do most of all bind affections; *Et similitudo morum parit amicitiam*, as the Orator teacheth: then; *hoc magnus est, hoc mirum*, that men should not love those of the same Religion. And if the profession of the same trades and actions is so forcible, not onely to maintain peace, but also to increase love, and amity, as we see in all Societies and Corporations of any mechanick craft or handie work, they do inviolably observe that *Maxim* of the Civill Law, to give an interest un- to those, *qui foveant consimilem causam*: so that as birds of the same feather, they will cluster all in one, and be zealous for the preservation of them that are of the same craft or society: why then should not the profession of the same Religion, if not increase affection, yet at least detain men from dissention?

3. Of the same Religion.

JACOB REX,
in Ep. to all
Christian Monarchs.

For, though diversities of Religion, *non bene conveniunt*, can seldom contain themselves for any while in the same Kingdom, without Civil distractions, especially if each party be of a near equall power, which should move all Governours to do herein, as Hannibal did with

his army, that was a mixture of all Nations, to keep the most suspected under, and rank them so, that they durst not kick against his Carthaginians: or as Henry the fourth did with the Britains, to make such Laws, that they were never able to rebell: To should the discreet Magistrate, not root out a people, that they be no more a Nation, but so subvert the furthest from truth to the best professors, that they shall never be able any wayes to endanger the true Religion; yet where the same Religion is universally professed, excepting small differences in adiaphoral things, *que non diversificant species*, as the Schismatics speak; it is more then unnatural for any one to make a Schism, and much more transcendently heynous to rebell against his Governours. But indeed no sin is so unnatural, no offence so heynous, but that swelling pride, and discontented natures, will soon perpetrate; no bonds nor bounds can keep them in; and therefore Corah must rebell. And ever since in all Societies, even among the Levites, and among the Priests, the disorderd spirits have rebelled against their Governours, *et fecerunt unitatem contra unitatem*; and erecting Altars against Altars, (as the Fathers speak) they have made confederacies and conspiracies against the truth, and thereby they have at all times drawn after them many multitudes of ignorant soules unto perdition: This is no new thing, but a true saying; and therefore our Saviour biddeth us to Take heed of false Prophets, and of rebellious spirits; that, as Saint John saith, went from us, but were not of us, but are indeed the payson, and Incendiaries, both of Church and Common-wealth.

4. Much obliged for many favours unto their Governours.

Numb. 16. 9.

4. These Rebels had received many favours and great benefits from their Governours: for they were delivered *è lutulentis manuum operibus*, as Saint Augustine speaketh; and, as the Prophet saith, They had eased their shoulders from their burthens, and their hands from making of pots: they had broken the Rod of their oppressors, and, as Moses tells them, they had separated them from the rest of the multitude of Israel, and set them near to God himself, to do the service of the Tabernacle of the Lord: and therefore the light of nature tells us, that they were most ungrateful, and as inhumane as the brood of Serpents, that would sting him to death, which, to preserve his life, would bring him home in his bosome.

And it seems this was the transcendencie of Judas his sin, and that which grieved our Saviour most of all, that he, whom he had called to be one of his twelve Apostles, whom he had made his Steward and Treasurer of all his wealth, and for whom he had done more then for thousands of others, should betray him into the hands of sinners; for, if it had been another (saith the Psalmist) that had done me this dishonour, I could well have born it, but seeing it was thou my familiar friend, which didst eat and drink at my table, it must needs trouble me: for though in others it might be pardonable, yet in thee it is intolerable; and therefore of all others he saith of Judas, *Va illi homini*, woe be unto that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed, it had been better for him he had never been born, as if his sin were greater then the sin of Annas, Casaphas, or Pilate.

But the old saying is most true, *Improbis à nullo flectitur obsequio*, no service can satisfie a froward soul, no favour, no benefit, no preferment can appease the rebellious thoughts of discontented spirits. And therefore notwithstanding Moses had done all this for Corah, yet Corah must rebell against Moses: So many times, though Kings have given great honours unto their subjects, made them their Peers, their Chamberlains, their Treasurers, and their servants of nearest place, and greatest trust; And though Aaron, the High-Priest, or Bishop, doth impose his hands on others, and admit them into Sacred Orders above their brethren, to be near the Lord, and bestow all the preferment they can upon them: yet, with Corah, these unquiet and ungrate-

full

full spirits must *rebell* against their Governours: For, I think, I may well demand, Which of all them, that now *rebell* against their King, have not had either Grand fathers, Fathers, or themselves promoted to *all*, or *most* of their fortunes and honours, from that Crown which now they would trample under their feet? Who *more* against their King, then those, that received *most* from their King? Just like *Judas*, or, here, like *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. I could instance the particulars, but I passe.

So you see, *who were the Rebels*, most ungrateful, most unworthy men.

CHAP. II,

Sheweth against whom these men rebelled; that God is the giver of our Governours; the severall offices of Kings and Priests; how they should assist each other; and how the people laboureth to destroy them both.

Secondly, we are to consider, *against whom they rebelled*; and the Text saith, *Moses and Aaron*: and therefore

We must discusse ^{1.} *Qui fuere*, who they were in regard of their places. ^{2.} *Quales fuere*, what they were in regard of their qualities.

1. In regard of their places, we find that these men were
 1. The chief Governours of Gods people.
 2. Governours both in temporal, and in spiritual things.
 3. Agreeing, and consenting together in all their Government.

1. They were the *prime* Governours of the people: *Moses* the King or Prince, to rule the people; and *Aaron* the High-Priest to instruct and offer Sacrifice, to make attonement unto God for the sins of the people; and these have their authority from God: for though it sometimes happeneth that *Potens*, the Ruler, is not of God, as the Prophet saith, *They have reigned, and not by me*; and likewise *modus assumendi*, the manner of getting authority is not alwayes of God, but sometimes by *usurpation*, *cruelty*, *subtlety*, or some other sinful means: yet *Potestas*, the power it self, whosoever hath it, is ever from God: for the Philosopher saith, *Magistratus originem, esse à natura ipsa*. And Saint *Ambrose* saith, *Datus à Deo Magistratus, non modo malorum coercendorum causâ, sed etiam bonorum fovendorum in vera animi pietate & honestate, gratiâ*. And others say, the Sun is not more necessary in Heaven, then the *Magistrate* is on Earth; for alas, how is it possible for any Society to live on earth, *cum vivitur ex rapto*, when men live by rapine, and shall say, *Let our strength be to us the law of justice*; therefore God is the giver of our Governours, and he professeth, *Per me regnant Reges*: And *Daniel* told *Nebuchadnezzar*, *That the most high ruleth in the Kingdoms of men, and he giveth it to whomsoever he will*: Dan 4. 25.

Hof. 8. 4

Aristot. Polit. lib. 1. c. 1. Ambros. Ser. 7.

Vide etiam t. 2; v. 37.

2. These two men were Governours, both in all temporal and in all spiritual things; as *Moses* in the things that pertained to the Common-wealth, and *Aaron* in things pertaining unto God.

And these two sorts of Government are in some sort subordinate each to other, and yet each one intire in it self, so that the one may not usurp the office of the other; for

1. The spiritual Priest is to instruct the Magistrates, and to reprove them too, if they do amisse, as they are members of their charge, and the sheep of their sheep-fold: And so we have the examples of *David*, reproved by *Nathan*, *Achab* by *Elias*, *Herod* by *John Baptist*; and, in the Primitive

2 Governours both in temporal, and spiritual things.

Euseb. l. 6. c. 34.
Sozomen. lib. 7.

Rom. 13.
Bernard. ad
Archieps. Seno-
nensem.

3, Governours
well agreeing
in their go-
vernment.

Church, of Philip the Emperour, repenting at the perswasion of Fabian; and Theodosius senior, by the writings of S. Ambrose.

2. The temporal Magistrate is to command, and, if they offend, to correct and condemn the Priests, as they are members of their Commonwealth; for Saint Paul saith, *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers*: and if every soul, then the soul of the Priest, as well as the souls of the People; or otherwise, *Quis eum exceptit ab universitate?* as Saint Bernard saith; and so, Theodoret, Theophylact, and Oecumenius, are of the same mind: And the examples of Abiathar, deposed by Solomon; and a greater than Solomon, Christ himself, not refusing the censure of Pilate, though for no fault; Saint Paul appealing unto Caesar; Cæcilian judged by the Delegates of Constantine; Flavianus by Theodosius, and all the Martyrs and godly Bishops never pleading exemption from their persecutors, do make this point beyond all question.

3. These two Governours were not onely consanguinei, two brethren, for so were Cain and Abel, to whom *totus non sufficit orbis*; but they were also consentanei, like the soul and body of man, of the same sympathy and affection for the performance of every action: For the Church and Commonwealth, are like Hippocrates twins, so linked together, as the Ivis intwisteth it self about the Oak, that the one cannot happily subsist without the other; but, as the Secretary of nature well observeth, That the Marygold opens with the Sun, and shuts with the shade; even so, when the Sun-beams of peace and prosperity shine upon the Commonwealth, then by the reflection of those beams, the Church dilates and spreads it self the better; as you may see in Acts 9. 31. and on the other side, when any Kingdom groaneth under civill dissention, the Church of Christ must needs suffer persecution. And therefore to this end, that the Prince and Priest might, as the two feet of a man, help each other to support the weight of the whole body, and to bear the burthen of so great a charge; God at the first severing of these offices, (which before were united in one person, as the Poet saith of Anius,

— Rex idem hominum, Phæbique Sacerdos.

and as the Apostle saith of Melchisedech, that he was both a King, and the Priest of the most high God) did chuse two natural brethren to be the Governours of his people; and that, *quod non caret mysterio*, Aaron was the eldest, and yet Moses was the chiefest; to signifie, as I take it, that they should rather help and further each other, then any wayes rule and domineer one over the other; because that although Aaron was the eldest brother, and chief Priest, yet Moses was the chief Magistrate, and his brother's god, as God himself doth stile him; and therefore this should *terrorem incutere*, and teach him how to behave himself towards his brother; and though Moses was the chief Magistrate, yet Aaron was the chief Priest, and his eldest brother, which had not lost (like Reuben) the prerogative of his birth-right: and this should *reverentiam inducere*, work in Moses a respect unto his brother's age and place.

And truly there is great reason why these two should do their best, to support and protect each other; for the government of the people, is, as we may now see, a very difficult, and miraculous thing, no lesse then the appeasing of the Surges of the raging Sea, as the Prophet sheweth, when he saith, *That God ruleth the rage of the Sea, and the noise of his waves, and the madness of his people*: And the Rod of government is a miraculous Rod, as well that of Aaron, as that of Moses; for as Moses Rod turned into a Serpent, and the Serpent into a Rod again; so the Rod of

Aaron,

Aaron, of a dry stick, did *blossome* and bear ripe *Almonds*: to shew how strange and wonderful a thing it is, either for *Prince* or *Priest*, to rule an unruly multitude, too much for any one of them to do; and therefore God doth alwayes joyn both of them together, as the *Psalmist* sheweth, *Thou leddest thy people like sheep, by the hand of Moses and Aaron.*

And besides, if these two do not assist and protect each other, they shall be soon suppressed, one after another, of their own people; for if the *Prince*, which is to be our *Nursing-Father*, be once subdued, then presently the *Priest* shall be destroyed; and when he hath lost his power, our power shall never be able to do any good: and if the *Priest* which prayeth, and preacheth, to direct the *King*, be trampled under foot, it hath been found most certain, that after they have thrown away the *Miter*, they have not long retained the *Scepter*: And therefore King *James* of ever blessed memory, of a sharp conception, and sound judgement, was wont to say, *No Bishop, no King*; unless you mean such a King as *Christ* was, when the *Jews* crowned him with *Thorns*, and bowing their knees, said, *Hail King of the Jews*; that is, *Rex sine Regno*, a King without power; like a man of straw, that is only made to fright away the birds: For the people are alwayes prone to pull out their necks from the yoke of their obedience, and would soon rebell, if the *Priests* did not continually preach, that *Every soul should be subject to the higher powers*; as we see now by experience, how apt they are to rebell, when factious Preachers give them the least encouragement. And therefore as this rebellion of *Corah*, so every other, though they begin with one, yet they ayne at both, and strive to overthrow as well the one, as the other: for so my Text saith, *They angered Moses in their Tents, and Aaron the Saint of the Lord.* And therefore these two should be as *Hippocrates* twins, or indeed like man and wife, indissolubly coupled, and coherent together, without distraction; and cursed be they that strive to make the division: for whom God hath thus united together, no man should put asunder.

As soon as men have overthrown their Priests, they will presently labour to destroy their king.

And here you may observe the method of their Rebellion, the Text saith, *Moses and Aaron*, yet *Moses* sheweth, they began with *Aaron*: for when their Rebellion was first discovered, *Moses* doth not say, *What have I done against you?* but *What is Aaron that you should murmur against him?* to shew unto us, that although *Moses* was the first they ayined at in their intention, yet he was the last they purposed to overthrow in the execution: *Quia progrediendum a facilius*, as the Devil began with the woman, the weaker vessel, that he might the easier overthrow the stronger; so the enemies of God and his Church do alwayes seek, first to overthrow the *Priest*, and then presently they will set upon the *Prince*.

The method of their Rebellion.

And therefore as *Moses* here, so all Magistrates every where should remember, that *Jam res agitur*, through our sides they may smart, and our wounds may prove dangerous unto them: because you shall never read they began to shake us, but they fully intended to root out them: for if the fear of God, and the honour of the King must go together, as *Saint Peter* sheweth; it must needs follow, that they will but dishonour and disobey their King, that have cast away the fear of God; and it is most certain, that when they drive God out of their hearts, as the *Georgians* drove *Christ* out of their Coasts: when they expell *Aaron* the chief *Priest* or *Bishop* out of their Assemblies, there is but little fear of God before their eyes: for if *Seneca*, that was but *Nature's* Schollar, could tell us, that when we go about any wicked Act, a grave Cato, or severe *Aristides* standing by us, would make us blush, and stop the doing thereof, then certainly the *Christian* that hath any grace, will be ashamed of his evil intent, and be afraid to offend God, when he seeth a man of God so near him; who doth often-

Vulgar. Latin. lib. 2.

Little fear of God in them, that expell their Priests out of their Societies.

times

The wisdom
of the former
age.

The expulsion
of Bishops, the
cause of many
subsequent
mischiefs.

times *ponere obicem*, make a stop to stay the proceedings of the wicked, that would not seldom be farre worse, and do more unjustice, if it were not for the company and perswasions of the Priest and Preacher.

And therefore the former ages, that feared God more then we, and were wiser to use this means, that they might fear him, desired, that in their greatest Assemblies of greatest affairs, as *Sessions, Councils, Parliaments*, and the like; the Bishops and Preachers might be as the chief members of their consultations, as well to witnesse the uprightnesse of their actions, as to direct them in cases of conscience, what is most agreeable to the divine constitution.

And wheresoever you see the expulsion of these men, and the rejection of these helps and furtherances unto godlinesse, you shall find no good success, nor better fruit of their greatest Councils, than *Sedition, Oppression, Confusion*, and *Rebellion*: For it is not the least part of the Bishops office, and the duty of all Preachers, not onely in the *Pulpit*, where what they say is of many men soon forgotten, but also in all other meetings and assemblies; and in the very instances, when occasion shall be offered; to do as Christ and his Apostles did, perswade peace, righteausnesse, and obedience unto the people; and the want of their association hath been the opening of many gaps, to let in much injustice and impiety in many places, because their present perswasion may do as much, if not more good with men, when they are in action, then their preaching can do when they come to contemplation.

And therefore if any assembly hath (like *Corah*) rebelled against *Aaron*, and cast their Bishops and Preachers out of doores, I would advise them to follow the Counsell of Saint *Ambrose* in the like case, *Quod inconsulto fecerunt, consultis revocetur*, what they have inconsiderately done, to throw them out, let them more advisedly revoke and call them in again; and they whose breeding hath been in knowledge, and their calling is to do justice, and to teach truth, will help, and not hinder them to understand the truth, and to proceed in righteausnesse.

And so you see, who these men were, in regard of their places.

CHAP. III.

sheweth the assured testimonies of a good and lawful Governour, their qualifications, our duties to them; and wherein our obedience to them consisteth.

2. How these
Governours
were qualified
for their places.

2. Points discussed.

1. How they
obtained their
places.

Many usurp
their places

Secondly, we are to consider, *Quales fuere*, how these men were qualified for their places; touching which, these two points are to be handled:

1. *Modus assumendi*, the mannner of obtaining it.
 2. *Facultas exequendi*, the ability and fidelity of discharging it.
1. I told you before, that many do obtain their places by *sinful* means: as many of the Popes and Roman Emperours, by poysoning and murdering their Predecessours, have unlawfully kept the Thrones of Majestys and so did *Henry* the fourth by the unjust deposition of *Richard* the second: and *Richard* the third, by the cruell and secret murdering of his poor innocent Nephewes, attain unto the Crown of England. And in such manner of assuming government, there is just cause of resisting, and a fair colour of rebelling against them; if you call it a *Rebellion*, when men discharge their duties in defence of justice, to oppose usurpation: But neither *Moses* nor *Aaron* came so to the places of their government. For

1. *Moses*

1. *Moses* had a double testimony to approve his calling to be from God.

1. *Moses* had a twofold testimony to justify his calling.

The first was *Internum*, to assure himself: And the second was *Externum*, to confirm the same unto the people. For

1. When *Moses* said unto God, *Who am I that I should goe unto Pharaoh*; The Lord answered, *I will be with thee*; [*ad protegendum & dirigendum*] saith the glosse: and this shall be a token unto thee, that I have sent thee; After that you have brought the people out of Egypt, you shall serve God upon this Mountain; and that may assure thee that I have sent thee; and will bring thy people unto *Canaan*, as I have brought them into this wilderness.

1. Inward,

2. That the people might be assured he was lawfully called, God gave unto him a threefold sign.

2. Outward, which was a threefold sign.

1. Of his Rod: that, being cast to the ground, was turned to a Serpent; but taken by the tayle, it turned to a Rod again: to shew, that when the rod of Government is thrown out of the Magistrates hand, the people are like the brood of Serpents, a malicious; and a viperous generation; but being taken into the hand of government, they prove a royal, and a glorious Nation.

1. Of his Rod. People without government, like Serpents.

2. The hand thrust into his bosom, and taken out, was leprous; but thrust again and taken out, was made whole: to signifie, that a good Magistrate out of the bosom of the Law, must pull out the hand of justice, both to wound and to heal, to kill and to make alive, as the Poet saith;

2. Of the Hand

Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbis.

To defend the innocent, and to punish the wrong doer.

3. The water taken out of the river, and cast upon the dry ground; should be turned into blood, to intimate unto them, that the blood which was spilt by *Pharaoh*, when their children were murdered, and drowned in the Rivers, should be required, and revenged upon the Egyptians, when, by the government of *Moses*, the carcasses of those outrageous oppressours, should be cast out of the Red Sea, and laid upon the dry ground. Thus *Moses* shewed that he was lawfully called.

3. Of the Water.

2. For *Aaron*, the Apostle makes him the pattern of all lawful entrance into this Calling, when he saith, that No man taketh this honour upon him, but he that is called as *Aaron* was: and *Moses* manifested the lawfulness of his calling unto all Israel, when according to the number of their twelve Tribes, he caused 12. Rods to be put in the Tabernacle of witness; and of all them the Rod of *Aaron* only, which was for the Tribe of *Levi*, was budded and brought forth buds, and bloomed blossoms, and yielded Almonds. And so it was apparent to all Israel, that these men came lawfully to their government.

2. *Aaron*'s calling justified. Heb. 5.

2. For their ability and fidelity to discharge their places, the malice of their adversaries could not charge them with any omission; they do not say they have governed amisse, but they would fain govern with them. And, to make this more apparent;

Numb. 17. 8.

1. The Spirit of God testifieth of *Moses*, that He was faithful in all Gods house; and in that respect called the man of God, the servant of God; whose whole care was for his Master: and for the sweetness of his disposition, he is said to be a very meek man, above all the men that were upon the earth: for his love to his people; *Tertullian* makes him the figure of Christ, *Cam adhuc Christo non revelato, in se figurato, ait, Si perdis hunc populum & me pariter cum eo disperde*; for his zeal of Gods honour he was most servent; and therefore severe in punishing the worshippers of the golden Calf: and for his justice and uprightness, he wronged no man; for his intellectuals he was exceeding wise, and learned in all the learning of the Egyptians.

2. Their qualifications for their places.

1. Of the abilities of *Moses*.

Tertul. de fuga in persequ.

2. Of the abilities of Aaron.

1. His ability to teach.

Malach.

1 Tim. 3. 2.

Hieron. in Hag-
gai 2. & Aug.
de doctr. Christi.
1. 4. c. 16.

3. His up-
rightness of
life.

2. For Aaron, how fit he was to be a Priest, will appear, if you consider those two vertues that are the most requisite for the Priest-hood, as Moses sheweth when he prayeth. *Let thy Urin and thy Thummim be upon the man of thy mercy*, that is, omitting all other interpretations,

1. Ability to teach. } For,

2. Sanctity of life. }

1. The Priests lips must preserve knowledge; he must be apt to teach, & *fi Sacerdos est, sciat legem Dei; si ignorat legem, ipse se arguit non esse sacerdotem Domini*: But God himself saith, that he knew Aaron was an eloquent man, and could speak well, and he promised unto Moses, that *He would be with his mouth*, to teach him what he should say: and therefore I know not who can say any thing against him herein, when God saith, he can do it so well, and ingageth himself that he will help him.

2. For the integrity of his life, I need not go further then my Text, when as the Prophet calleth him *The Saint of the Lord*; that is, not onely *Sanctificatum ad Sacerdotium*; but also a holy, just, and godly man, in respect of the innocency of his life.

And so you have seen the persons described, against whom these Rebels have rebelled: They were the prime Governours of Gods people, and such Governours as the like, for all kind of goodnesse and excellencies, could not be found on earth.

Therefore these Rebels ought to have obeyed them, though for nothing else, but because they were their Governours; for the Apostle tells us plainly, that *Neceffe est subijci*, we must needs be subject; not onely for wrath, but also for conscience sake: wherein you see a double necessity of obeying.

1. External, *Propter iram*, for fear of wrath:

2. Internal, *Propter conscientiam*, for conscience sake: therefore we must needs obey. And our obedience consisteth chiefly in these two things:

1. To do nothing against them. }

2. To do all that we can for them. } For,

1. We are forbidden to think an ill thought of them with our hearts: *Speak not evil of the King*, (saith Solomon) *no not in thy thought*; for *a bird of the ayre shall carry the voyce*, and that which hath wings, shall tell the matter:

2. We are charged not to revile them with our tongues; for, *Thou shalt not revile the Gods, nor curse the Ruler of the people*.

3. We are restrained from resisting them with our hands; for, *Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the Ordinance of God*; and they that resist, receive unto themselves damnation.

And therefore the Lord saith unto all, *Nolite tangere Christos meos*; where he doth not say, *Non occides*, or *ne perdas*, the worst that can be, but *ne tangas*, the least that may be; touch not, *tatin noxio*, with any hurtful touch.

And many times we are touched secretly, we know not how, nor when, nor by whom, but cursed be he that smiteth his neighbour secretly, and all the people shall say *Amen*: and therefore much more cursed be he, that smiteth his Prince, his Priest, his Governour.

And sometimes we are touched with violent hands, when with hostile force, and open arms, our power and authority are withstood: but

Most frequently we are touched with virulent tongues, as they say in *Jeremy*; *Venite, percutiamus eum lingua*; and this touch, though it breaks no bones, yet doth it wound and kill the very heart.

A double necessity of obedience.

Our obedience consisteth in two things.

1. In doing nothing against our Governours.

1. In Thought.

Eccles. 10. 20.

2. In Word.

Exod. 22. 28.

3. In Deed.

Rom. 13. 2.

Many kinds of touches.

Jerem. 18. 18.

But the Lord saith in general, Touch not at all; therefore no kind is limited, no way permitted to touch them.

2. As we are forbidden to do any thing against them, so we are commanded to do all we can for them: for,

Saint Peter saith, *Fear God*; and honour the Kings; therefore he cannot be said to fear God, that doth not honour his King: And Solomon saith, *Fear God, my son, and the King*; therefore he cannot be the son of Wisdom, the son of Solomon, that doth not fear the King; that is, fear to wrong him, fear to offend him, fear to anger him. And when the Magistrates command us any thing, Saint Paul bids us to obey them; but if they command any thing against God, then indeed their authority comes too short. *Quia melius est obedire Deo, quam hominibus*. Yet in these things wherein we may not obey, we must not resist; but as Julian's Souldiers would not sacrifice at his command; *Sed timendo potestatem, contemnebant potestatem*, in fearing the power of God, regarded not the power of man; yet when he led them against his enemies, *Subditi erant propter Dominum eternum, etiam domino temporali*; so should we truly distinguish of the things they do command, and take heed we be not blind Judges herein, and too partial to satisfy our own passionate affections.

And besides, we are to impart our goods to supply their necessities, and for the supportance of their dignities; for our Saviour bids us, *Give unto Caesar, what belongeth unto Caesar*: and Saint Paul expresth the same to be Tribute; that is, Imposts, Subsidies, Gifts, or the like; call it by what name you will; we are commanded by God, to the uttermost of our ability, to supply their occasion and necessities, even as the children are bound to relieve their parents in their extremities.

And if we see our Moses, our King, or chief Governour, any wayes impugned, or like to be oppressed, either by forraign Egyptians, or domestick Israelites, though they should be *Dathan* and *Abiram*, the most prime and popular men in all the Congregation, that could draw thousands after them, yet are we bound, to the hazard of our lives, to preserve the Life, Crown, and Dignity of our Prince; as the subjects of King David hazarded themselves to save him harmlesse: And if we will not do this, then, as Mordecai in the like case said to Hester, *If thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place, but thou and thy fathers house shall be destroyed*. So I say, with King David, the Lord will help his Anointed, and deliver him from the strivings of his people: and if we still be silent and do nothing, yet, the Starres in their order shall fight against Siseru. *Et conjurati veniant ad classifica venti*: and as the Angell of the Lord said of the *Merokites*, *Curse ye Meroz*, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to help Barack against the Canaanites: So let them fear a bitter curse, and a curse from God, that will not help their Prince against his enemies, especially such enemies as have least reason to be enemies unto him.

So you see what obedience we owe unto our Governours, and therefore their rebellion was the more intolerable, that thus spurned against their Magistrates.

2. In doing all that we can do for our Governours.

1. To honour them.

Rom. 13: Vide I Joh. 1.

16. Wherein we ought to obey, and disobey.

Aug. in Psal. 124.

3. To impart our goods to them.

3. To hazard our lives for them.

1 Sam. 18. 3. Hester 4. 14.

The punishment of them that will not assist their Governours.

CHAP. IV.

Sheweth the objection of the Rebels to justifie their Rebellion: the first part of it answered, that neither our compulsion to Idolatry, nor any other injury or tyranny should move us to Rebell.

BUT we must not condemn them before their cause be heard; and therefore Corab shall have his Counsell, to object what he can for himself: And I find but one Objection of any moment, though the same consisteth of many branches. As

The objection
of the Rebels.

What if Moses, the King, or chief Governour, being so much affected and addicted unto Aaron the chief Priest or Bishop, and to others his prime Councell, should be led by evill advice to set up Idolatry, and to play the Tyrant; to take away the goods, destroy the lives, and bring most of his people to most miserable conditions? may neither private men, nor the subordinate Magistrates, nor the prime Nobility of the people; nor any other Court or Assembly of men, restrain his fury, or remove this mischief from Gods inheritance, from the Church and Common-wealth? This is that Gordian knot which is so hard to be untied.

Solutio.

Two Parts of
their objection.

But if I might in the School of Divinity have leave to resolve this question, and not to be confuted, as Saint Steven was, with stony arguments, I would soon answer, that 1. In neither of these cases: 2. Neither of these men may do it: and I could make this good by very good authority; for, *Si Magistratus est bonus, nutritor est tuus*; if our Governour be good, he is our Nursing-Father, and we should receive our nourishment with thanks; and no thanks to us for our obedience to such a one. And if our Governour be evill, he is so for our transgression, and we should receive our punishment with patience; and therefore no resistance: but either obey the good willingly, or endure the evill patiently.

But to proceed to break this Gordian knot in pieces, and to answer each part of this Objection:

1. Part of their
objection answered.

Not to rebell
for any cause
1. Not for our
compulsion to
Idolatry.

1. I say, that many wicked Kings, and cruel Emperours have set tip Idolatry, and blasphemy against God, and yet I do not find that any of Gods servants did ever rebell against them; for you know Jeroboam the son of Nebat that made Israel to sin, did set up golden Calves to be worshipped. Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon made an Image of gold, and commanded all his people to fall down to worship it. And what shall I say of those Idolatrous Kings, Achab, Manasses, Julian, and abundance more, that most impiously compelled their subjects unto Idolatry? and yet you shall not find that either the faithfull Jews under Jeroboam, or the Prophet Daniel in Babylon, or Elias the man of God in the time of Achab, or any of all the good Christians that were under Julian, either did themselves, or perswaded others of the servants of God, at any time, to rebell against those Idolatrous Kings: for they considered how far the Law of God that prohibiteth Idolatry, and instigateth us against the allurers and perswaders of us to Idolatry and blasphemy, extendeth; and that is, *If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend which is as thine own soul, shall intice thee to Idolatry, and to serve strange Gods, thine eye shall not spare him, neither shalt thou have any pity upon him*; but for the sonne to rise up against the father, the wife against her husband, the servant against his Lord, the subject against his King, here is not a word; and therefore by this Law they are not obliged,

Deut. 13, 6.
How far the
Law of God
extendeth to
resist Idolaters.

but

but rather forbidden to do it; for though the son is not expressly prohibited to accuse his father, nor the wife her husband, nor the servant his Lord, nor the subject his King: yet, because Gods Law is absolute and perfect, to which we must neither adde nor detract, nor construe it as we please; the Divines conceive those things forbidden which are not expressly especially in penall precepts, which are to be restrained, and not extended any further then they are set down, as *Iohannes* doth most truly conclude: And what the sonne may not do against his father, nor the wife against her husband, nor the servant against his Lord; that certainly no man may do against his King, which is the father of his Country, the husband of the Common wealch, and the supreme Lord over all his subjects.

Iohannes in Deut. 12. 4. 3.

And therefore Christ himself that came to fulfill the Law, and knew best how farre it reached, living under the Empire of *Tiberius*, the Principality of *Herod*, and the Government of *Pilate*, that were all wicked and idolatrous, did notwithstanding submit himself in all things (which the Law of God forbade him not) unto them; and though for strength, policy, and power, he might easily have resisted them, yet did he not only perform all the offices of subjection unto these wicked Magistrates, and idolatrous Governours, but also commanded all his followers to do the like; and so we see they did: for the Christians which were at *Hierusalem*, when *Saint James* was martyred, were more in number; and greater in power, then were the persecutors of that Apostle; and yet for the reverence they bare to the Law of God, and the example of their Master Christ, intermissis se a paucioribus, quam interimere paschantur; they rather suffered themselves to be killed, then they would kill their Persecutors, saith *St. Clement*. And so the other Apostles, under *Caligula*, *Claudius*, *Nero*, and *Domitian*, that were bloody Tyrants, cruell Persecutors, and most wicked Idolaters: and those holy Fathers of the Church, *Liberius*, *Hosius*, *Athanasius*, *Naxianzen*, *Hilary*, *Amrose*, *Augustine*, *Hierom*, *Chrysostom*, and the rest, for a thousand years together followed the example of Patience; without resistances yea, *Quamvis nimis et copiosus noster sit numerus*; though their power was great, and their number greater then their adversaries, yet none of them struggled when he was apprehended; saith *St. Cyprian*. And the reason is rendred by *Tertullian*, because among the Christians, *Occidit licet, occidere non licet*; It was lawfull for them to suffer themselves to be killed, but not to kill; for our Saviour had pronounced them blessed, that would suffer for righteousness sake: and what more righteous, then to suffer death for not being an Idolater, to die rather then to deny their God? Therefore they are not to be blessed, which refuse to suffer, because that is not suffering, but in rising up, and rebelling against their Persecutors, they are (as the Apostle saith) convinced of sin; and in sinning, they acquire unto themselves damnation; *Rom. 13.*

The obedience of all his Apostles and prime Christians to Idolatrous Governours.

Clement, recogniti. lib. 1. f. 3.

Cyprian ad Demetrium.

Tertul. in Apolo.

He that would see more plenty of proof, let him read the Treatise

A persuasion to Loyalty.

Where the

Author brings the

Fathers of all ages, to confirm this

point.

Besides, if it were lawfull to maintain this Doctrine, then the *Papists* that believe our Religion to be false, and that we perswading men unto it, do seduce them from the true service of God, may lawfully rebell against their Prince, and justify all their traitorous plots: and every heretical Sect that believeth we are Idolaters, (as they do all which oppose the crosse in Baptism) may, without offence, fall into Rebellion against all those Magistrates that maintain that Idoll, as they term it. And this false pretext might be a dissembled cloak for all Rebels, to say, They do it in defence of their Religion, because they are afraid to be compelled unto Idolatry: And therefore the truth is, if any Tyrant, like *Julian*, should endeavour to compell me unto the Idols Temple, or to worship my true God with false service, I will rather die then do it; but I may not resist when I am compelled by any means: for so I find, that *Shadrach*, *Mishao*, and *Abednego*, *Eliakim*, the

The Grand Rebellion.

the Prophets, and the Apostles, and all the Christians of the Primitive Church, did use to do in the like case.

And I had rather imitate the obedience of those good Saints to those wicked Kings, that would have compelled them to Idolatry; then the insolencie of those proud Rebels, that under these false pretences will rebell against their lawful Princes.

2. Not for any injury that is done unto us.

No injury greater then compulsion to Idolatry.

2. If we may not rebell when we are compelled to Idolatry, much lesse may we do it for any other injury: for, what injury can be greater then to be forced to Idolatry, when as to be robbed of my faith and religion, is more intolerable then to be spoyle of all my goods and possessions? And therefore, when Christ suffered as great an injury as could be offered unto his person, when the Souldiers came with Swords and Staves to take him, as if he had been a thief and a murderer; and Saint Peter then, like a hot-headed Puritane, was very desirous to revenge this indignity, our Saviour reprehended his rashnesse, because he knew what the other as yet knew not: that he ought not to resist when the Magistrate doth send to apprehend; and so the Christians of the Primitive Church were extreemly injured by their Persecutors: And the Catholique faith it self suffered no small oppression under Constantius the Arian Emperour; and yet that purer age, wherein the better Christians lived, did not so much as once think of any revenge or resistance, saith Baronius: But about the year of Christ 350. then first (saith he) alas the Christian Souldiers being swell'd with pride, and taken up with a cruell desire of bearing rule, have conspired against the Christian Emperours; when as before, *ne gregarius quidem miles inveniri quidem posset, qui adversus Imperatores, licet Exhbitos, Christianorum quoque persecutores, a partibus aliquando steterit insurgentium tyrannorum*; not a Christian could be found that stood up against the Heathen Emperours, that were the persecutors of the Christians.

When, and who did first resist, and what moved them.

Baron. ad annum Christi. 350.

But to make it yet more plain, that no grievance should move good Christians to make resistance, no injury should cause them to rebell against their Magistrates, our Saviour saith, & authoritative, with authority enough, I say unto you, that ye resist not evill; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also: and if by our Saviour's rule we may not resist any one, what think you that we may resist our King, our Priest, or any other Magistrate that correcteth or reproveth us? And Saint Peter saith, This is thank-worthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully; for what glory is it, if when ye suffer for your faults, ye take it patiently? but if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God; where you see still, the rule of piety is none other but suffering, though it be never so unjustly.

Match. 5. 39.

1 Pet. 2. 19.

How pathetically the Fathers persuade us to suffer, not to resist.

And therefore the Fathers are most plentiful in the explanation and confirmation of this point; for Tertullian, that was no babe in the School of Divinity, nor any coward in the Army of Christ, speaking of those faithful Christians, that suffered no small measure of miseries in his time, saith, that one short night, with a few little torches, might have wrought their deliverance, and revenged all their wrongs, if it had been lawful for them to blot out, or expell evill with evill; but God forbid (saith he) *ut aut igne humano vindicetur divina secta, aut doleat pars in quo probatur*; that either the divine sect, that is, the Christian Religion, should be revenged with humane fire; or that it should grieve us to suffer, wherein we are commended for suffering.

Tertul. in Apolog.

Nazian. Orat. 1.

Nazianzen, that for his soundnesse of judgement, and profoundnesse of knowledge, was *καὶ θεολόγος*, termed Theologus, the Divine, saith, that the fury of Julian that great Apostata, was repressed onely with the tears of the Christians, which many of them did most plentifully powre forth to God,

God, when they had *no other remedy* against their Persecutor, because they knew it *unlawful* for them to use any other means then *sufferance*; or else they might (having so much strength as they had) have repelled their wrongs with violence.

Mark that they say, it is unlawful to resist.

Saint Ambrose saith as much; and Prosper in like manner saith, The present evils should be suffered, untill the promised happiness doth come; the Infidels should be permitted among the faithful, and the plucking of the tares should be deferred: and let the wicked rage against the godly, as much as they will; yet the case of the righteous is far better, because that *Quand acris impetuntur, tamen gloriosius coronantur*; by how much the more sharply they are tormented, by so much the more gloriously they shall be crowned.

Ambros. ep. 33.

Prosper. in sent. 99.

And Saint Bernard saith, If all the world should conspire against me, and conjure me, that I should plot any thing against the royal Majesty, yet I would fear God, and would not dare to offend the King, that is appointed of him over me; because I am not ignorant of the place where I read, *Ubi sover resistit the Power, resistit the Ordinance of God*.

Bernard. Ep. 170.

And yet he speaketh this of King Lodovick, that offered a monstrous wrong to all the Clergy, when he robbed them, and took away all their goods without cause; and which is worse; would hear of no persuasions to make restitution, or to give them any satisfaction: as Gaguinus testifieth.

Gaguin. lib. 6.

Thus the Fathers (whereof I could heap many more) do testify of this truth; and the School-men tread in the same steps, and differ not a hairs breadth from them herein; For,

The School-men of the same judgement.

Alexander Hales saith, wicked and evil men ought to suffer for the fault of their irrationality, and good men ought to suffer, *Propter debitum divina ordinationis*, for the duty that they owe to the divine ordinance; and the benefit of their own purgation: Whereupon Saint Ambrose saith, If the Prince be good, he doth not punish the well-doer, but loveth him, because he doth well; but if the Prince be evil, and punisheth the well-doer, he hurteth him not, but purgeth him; and therefore he is not a terror to him that doth well: but the wicked ought to fear, because Princes are appointed, that they should punish evil.

Ambrosius in Rom. 13.

Alex. Hales, p. 34. q. 4. memb. 2. art. 1. de offic. subd. erga Print.

Aquinas saith, The faith of Christ is the beginning, and the cause of righteousness, and therefore by the faith of Christ, the order of Justice is not taken away, but rather settled and strengthened; because (as our Saviour saith) *It became him to fulfill all righteousness*. But the order of justice doth require, that all inferiours should obey their superiours; otherwise the estate of humane affairs could no ways be preserved: and therefore by the faith of Christ, the godly and the faithful Christians are neither exempted, nor excused; but that they are tyed, and bound by the Law of Christ, to obey their secular Princes. Where you see the Christian faith doth not submit the superiour to the inferiour, contrary to the rule of justice; neither doth it any ways for any cause permit the power of the sword to any subject to be used against his Prince, because this inordinate power would turn to the ruine of man-kind, and the destruction of all humane affairs; which can no otherwise be preserved, but through the preservation of the order of justice.

Thom. secundæ secundæ q. 104. art. 6.

Indeed many times there may happen some just causes, for which we are not bound to obey the commands of our Magistrates, as when they command any thing contrary to the commandments of God; and yet then there can be no cause why we should withstand him that executeth the unjust sentence of our condemnation, or requireth the punishment that an unjust malicious Magistrate, under the colour of his power and authority, hath most unjustly

Wherein we may disobey; and how.

The Grand Rebellion.

unjustly laid upon us; because he hath (as our Saviour saith unto Pilate) this ordinary power from God, which if he doth abuse, he is to be refrained, not by the preparation of arms, and the insurrection of his subjects to make impressions upon their Sovereign, but by those lawful means which are appointed for them; that is Petitions unto him, and prayers and tears unto God for him, because nothing else remaineth to him that is guilty, or condemned as guilty for any fault, but to commit his cause to the knowledge of the omnipotent God, and to expect the judgement of him which is the King of Kings, and the Judge of all Judges; and will undoubtedly chastize and correct the iniquity of any unjust sentence, with the severity of eternal justice, as Barclay saith.

Barcl. l. 3. c. 10.

Berchetus in
explicat. con-
trovers. Galli-
cana, cap. 7.

An example
of a faithful,
and excellent
subject.

J. b. Servinus
pro libertat.
Ecclesie, & sta-
tu Regni, tom. 3.
Monarchia.
Rom. p. 202.

These testimonies are clear enough: and yet to all these I will adde this one memorable example, which you may read in Berchetus, and Job. Servinus, which tells us, that in France, after the great Massacre at Paris, when the reformed Religion did seem as it were forsaken, and almost extinguished, a certain King, powerful in strength, rich in wealth, and terrible for his Ships and navall Force, which was at enmity, and hatred with the King of France, dispatched a solemn Embassie and Message unto Henry King of Navarre, and other Protestant Lords, and commanded his Embassadors to do their best to set the Protestants against the Papists, and to arm Henry the Prince of Navarre, which then lived at Bearne, under the Dominion of the most Christian King, against his Sovereign, the French King; which thing the Embassadors endeavoured to do with all their art and skill, but all in vain; for Henry being a good subject, as it were another David, to become a most excellent King, would not prevent the day of his Lord; yet the Embassadors offered him many ample, fair, and magnificent conditions, among the rest abundance of money, the summe of three hundred thousand, Aureorum Scutatorum, French Crowns, which were ready to be told for the preparation of the warre; and for the continuation of the same, there should be paid every moneth so much as was necessary: but Henry being a faithful Christian, a good Prince, a Widower; and though he was displaced from the publique government of the Common-wealth; and for his sake, for the dislike the King bare towards him, the King had banished many Protestants from his Country, and had killed many faithful Pastours; yet would not he for all this lift up his hand against the Lords annointed, but refused their gold, rejected their conditions, and dismissed the Embassadors, as witnesses of his faith to God, his fidelity and allegiance to his King, and peaceable mind towards his Country.

Where you see this prudent and good Prince, had rather patiently suffer these intolerable injuries that were offered, both to himself, to the inferiour Magistrates, and to many other good Christians for his sake, then any wayes undutifully resist the Ordinance of God. And surely this Example is most acceptable unto God, most wholesome for any Common-wealth, and most honourable for any subordinate Prince; for I am certain this is the faith of Christ, and the religion of the true Protestants, Not to offer, but suffer all kind of injuries, and to render good for evil; and rather with patience, love, and obedience, to study to gain the favour of their Persecutors, then any ways with force and arms, to withstand those that God hath placed in authority: which must needs be not onely offensive unto God, whose Ordinance they do resist; but also destructive to the Common-wealth, which can never receive any benefit by any insurrection against the Prince.

3. Not for any
tyranny that
shall be offer-
ed unto us.

3. Though the King should prove to be Nerone Neronior, worse then Phalaris, and, degenerating from all humanity, should prove a Tyrant to all his people; yet his subjects may not rebell against him upon this pretence; for if any cause should be admitted for which subjects might rebell, that cause would

would be allwayes alledged by the Rebels, whensoever they did rebell; and whom I and many others should deem a good Prince and most pious, the Rebels would proclaim him tyrannical, and idolatrous.

And therefore in such a case, when some men think their King most gracious, and others think him vitious, some believe him to be good, others believe him to be evil; shall we think it fit that the disaffected party shall presently with arms decide the controversie, and not rather have the accused, the accuser, and the witnesses, before a competent Judge to determine the truth of this question? Surely this seems more reasonable, and more agreeable unto the rules of justice, when as The Law condemneth no man (much lesse the King) before his cause be heard.

And seeing such a competent Judge, as can justly determine this controversie betwixt the King and his People, or rather betwixt one part of his people and the other, cannot be found under Heaven; therefore to avoid civil warres, and the effusion of humane and Christian blood, and the prevention of abundance of other mischiefs; both the Scripture teacheth, and the Church believeth, and Reason it self sheweth, and the publique safety requireth, that we should transmit this question to be decided only by him, which is the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords; and will, when he seeth good, bind evil Kings in fetters, and their Nobles with links of iron.

The difference betwixt king and people, to be determined only by God.

That we ought not by any means to resist our kings. Proved.

CHAP. V.

Sheweth, by Scripture, the Doctrine of the Church, humane Reason, and the Welfare of the weale publique, that we ought by no means to rebell. A threefold power of every Tyrant. Three kinds of tyrannies. The doubtful and dangerous events of Warre. Why many men rebell. Jchu's example not to be followed.

1. **T**He Scripture saith, I counsell thee to keep the Kings commandement, and that in regard of the oath of God; that is, the oath whereby thou hast sworn before God, and by God, to obey him; Be not hasty to go out of his sight, that is not, out of his presence, but out of his rule and government, and stand not in an evill thing; that is, in opposition, or rebellion against thy King, which must needs be evill, and the worst of all evils to thy King, for He doth whatsoever pleaseth him; that is, he hath power and authority to do what he pleaseth. Where the Word of a King is, there is power; and who may say unto him, What dost thou? or, Why dost thou so? And Solomon saith, A Grey-bound, an Hee-Goat, and a King, against whom there is no rising up; there ought not to be indeed. I will not set down what Samuel saith; but desire you to read the place, 1 Sam. chapter 8. verse 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. where you shall see what the King will doe, and what remedy the Prophet prescribeth against him, Not to rebell and take up arms, but to cry unto the Lord that he would help them. And Saint Paul saith, Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation. And St. Peter saith, that they which despise government, and are not afraid to speak evil of dignities, are presumptuous, and do walk after the flesh in the lusts of uncleannesse, and as natural brute beasts, that are made to be taken and destroyed, they speak evil of the things they understand not, and therefore they shall utterly perish in their own corruption. And Saint Jude in like manner calleth those that despise Dominion, and speak evil of Dignities, (the very phrase of Saint Peter) filthy dreamers, that defile the flesh, and therefore shall perish in the gainfaying of Co-

1 By the Scripture.

Ecclesiast 8. 2, 3, 4.

Prov. 30. 31.

Rom. 13. 11.

1 Pet. 2. 10, 11.

Jude 8. 10, 11.

1 Tim 2. 2.

By the Do-
ctrine of the
Church.

Cyrril in Jo-
han. 1. 12. c. 56.

rab. This is the doctrine of God, therefore Saint Paul exhorteth us not to *rebell*, nor to speak *evil* of our Kings, be they what they will; but *first* of all, or *before* all things, to make *prayers*, and *supplications* for our Kings, and for all that are in authority. And I wonder what *spirit*, except it were the spirit of *bell* it self, durst ever *presume* to answer, and evade such plain and pregnant places of Scripture, to countenance disobedience, and to justify their rebellion: And therefore,

2. The Church of Christ believeth this Doctrine to be the truth of God; for no man (saith Saint Cyril) without punishment, *resisteth* the Laws of Kings, but Kings themselves, in whom the fault of prevarication hath no place; because it is wisely said, *It is impiety* (therefore against the will of God) to say unto the King, *Iniquè agis*, Thou doest amisse; for, as God is the *supream* Lord of all, which judgeth all, and is judged of none; so the Kings and Princes of the earth, which do *correct* and judge others, are to be *corrected* and judged of none, but onely of God, to whose power and authority they are onely subject; and therefore King David, understanding his own station well enough, when he was both an *adulterer*, and a *murderer*, and prayeth to God for mercy, saith, *Against thee onely have I sinned*; because I acknowledge none other my *superiour* on earth, besides thee alone; and I have no judge besides thee, which can call me to examination, or inflict any punishment on me for my transgression: And so the Poet saith,

*Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis.*

Object.

But you will object against S. Cyril; If it be *impiety* to say unto the King, *Thou doest amiss*; how shall we excuse Samuel, that told King Saul, he did foolishly; and Nathan that reproved King David; and Elias, that said to King Achab, *it was he and his fathers house*, that made Israel to sin; and John Baptist that told Herod, *It was not lawful for him to have his brothers wife*.

Sol.
What the
Priest or Pro-
phet may do,
private men
may not do.

I answer, 1. That by the *mouth* of these men, God himself reproved them; because these men were no *private* persons, but *extraordinarily* inspired with the spirit of God, to perform the extraordinary mes-
sages of God.

2. I say, as I said before, that as Moses may *correct* and punish Aaron if he doth amisse, so Aaron the Priest in regard of his calling, may *reprove* and admonish Moses the chief Magistrate, when he doth offend; but so, that he do it *wisely*, and with that love and reverence which he oweth unto Moses, as to his God; not *publicly* to disgrace and vilifie his Prince unto his people, but modestly and privately to amend his fault, and reconcile him to God: and this is the work of his office, which he ought to do as he is a Priest, and not of his person, which ought not to do it, as he is his subject.

3. By humane
reason,

3. Reason it self confirmeth this truth, because the King is the *head* of the body politique; and the *members* can neither judge the *head*, because they are subject unto it; nor cut it off, because then they *kill* themselves, and cease to be the *members* of that head: and therefore the *subjects* with no reason can either judge or depose their King.

4. From the
welfare of eve-
ry Common-
wealth.
The event of
every warre is
doubtful.

4. The *publique safety* and welfare of any Common-wealth requireth, that the subjects should never rebell against their King. 1. Because the event of a rebellious warre is both *dubious*, and *dangerous*; for who can *di-
vine* in whose ruine it shall end? or which party can assure themselves of vi-
ctory? It is true, that the *justest* cause hath best reason to be most confident; yet it succeeds not always: when God for *secret* causes best known unto himself,

himself, suffereth many times, especially for a time; (as in the case of the Tribe of Benjamin) the Rebels to prevail against the true subjects. And as the event is doubtful, so it must needs be mournful, what side soever proveth victors, for who can expresse the sorrows and sadness of those faithful subjects, that shall see the light of their sun any wayes eclipsed? the lamp of Israel, and the breath of their nostrils to be darkned, or extinguished? and also to see the learned Clergy, and the grave Fathers of the Church discountenanced and destroyed? On the other side, it will not be much less mournful to see so many of our illustrious Nobles, ancient Gentry, and others of the ablest Commonalty, brought to ruine; and to pay for their folly, not only their dearest lives, but also the desolation of their houses, and decay of their posterities.

Quis talia fando Temperet à lachrymis?

When the Kings victory shall be but like that of David, after the death of Absolon, & the Nobles victory but as the two victories of the Benjāmites over their own brethern the Israelites; and the best triumph that can succeed on either side, shall be but as the espousal of a virgin on the day of her parents funeral; or as the laying of the foundation of the second Temple, when the shout of joy could not be discerned from the noyse of weeping.

And therefore a learned Preacher of Gods Word saith most truly, that it is a hard matter to find out a mischief of so destructive a nature, that would exchange it for this civil warre; for Tyranny, Slavery, Penury, or any thing almost, may be better born with peace and unity, then a civil warre with the greatest liberty and plenty; seeing the comfort of such associates would quickly be swallowed up, like Pharaohs fat kine, by such a monster feeding with them.

Had we a Tyrant like Rehoboam, that would whip us with Scorpions, (which the Devil dares not be so impudent, as to alledge we have) yet, better it were to be under one Tyrant, then many, which we are sure to have in civil broyls, when every wicked man becomes a Tyrant; when he seeth the reins of government cut in pieces. Were we under the yoke of an Egyptian slavery, to make bricks without straw, yet better it were for us to be in bondage, then that fury and violence should be set free, and malice suffered to have her will, because there is more safety in being shut up from a Tyger, then to be let loose before him, to be chased by him: or were we wasted and oppressed in our estates; yet the wisest of men tells us, that Better is a little with the fear of the Lord, then great treasure and trouble therewith.

And therefore seeing civil warre is *Μεγάλη βλάβη τῷ πατριώτι*, an affliction full of all calamity, and one of the greatest punishments that God useth to send upon a Nation: it is apparent that the welfare of any State calleth upon every subject to be obedient unto his King; yea, though he were never so vile an Idolater, or so cruel a Tyrant: for though a King could be proved, and should be condemned to be cruell and tyrannous; unjust and impious towards God and men, yet hereby that King will not yield what he doth hold from God, but though the confederate conspirators should have a thousand times more men and strength then he; yet he will call his servants and friends, his kinsmen, allies, and other circumjacent Kings and Princes unto his aid, and he would hire mercenary Souldiers, to revenge the injury offered unto him, and to suppress the Rebels both with fire and sword: and if he should happen to have the worse, and to lose both his Crown and Kingdom, and his life and all, yet all this would be but a miserable comfort, and a lamentable victory a to ruined Common-wealth, whose winnings can no wayes countervail

The miseries that follow the disturbance or deposing of any king, are unspeakable.

His first Quinquennium was good.

A fable worth the observing

Who do many times rebell, and why.

A threefold power in every Tyrant.

Punishment should be proportionable to the fault.

Three kinds.
1. Kind.

her losses; for we never read of any King that either was disturbed, expelled, or killed, but there succeeded infinite losses to that Kingdom; and therefore Writers say, that the death of *Caesar* was no benefit unto the Romans, because it brought upon them farre greater calamities then ever they felt before; as you may find in *Appian*, those infinite miseries that succeeded in severall fields and battels, which could never end untill the overthrow of *Anthony* by *Augustus Caesar*. And when *Nero* perished, it fell out with no good successe; but the next year that followed after his death, felt more oppression, and spilt more blood then was spilt in all those * nine years wherein he had so tyrannically reigned: So when the *Athenians* had expelled one Tyrant, they brought in thirty. And when the Romans had abandoned their Kings, they did not put away the tyranny, but changed the Tyrants; for wicked Kings, they chose more wicked *Consuls*, which is nothing else, but (as the Proverb goeth) *Antigonum eff. dere*, to go out of Gods blessing into the warm Sun, or rather to change a bad Master for a worse: And this is contrary to the judgement of that ulcerated wretch in the fable, who, when the traveller saw him full of flies, swarming in his sores, and, pitying his miseries, would have swept them off, prayed him to let them alone, for that these being now well filled, would suck the lesse, but if these were gone, more hungry flies would come, which would most miserably suck his blood.

And so Histories tell us of many other Kings, that by Heathens, and rebellious Subjects, were for their injustice, cruelty, and tyranny, either expelled, or murdered; but very seldom or never with any publick benefit, when the chiefest plotters of any rebellion do most chiefly aim at their own private revenge, or profit. Yea, many times those very Parasitical Lords, that have most perswaded the King, to do things which he knew not to be illegall, and made benefit of those Monopolies, and exactions to their own advantage, to fill their own purses; and then upon either discontent with the King, or to content the people, and to escape their own due deserved punishment, will be the chiefest upbraidors of their King, the greatest sticklers of rebellion, and the head leaders of all the disloyal Faction. What fools then are the people, upon the false pretence of publique good, to take up arms, to destroy themselves; when this name of publique good is nothing else but a vain shadow to hide their private ends?

Or were it granted, that it might happen for the publique good, yet it is not good to do it, because it can never stand with a good conscience, because it is contrary to the Commandement of God; for in every Tyrant, there is a three-fold power and authority that doth concur. 1. Paternal. 2. Conjugal. 3. Herile: and you know the law of God doth not permit the children to renounce their father, nor, which is lesse, to laugh at their fathers nakednesse; nor doth it suffer the wife to forsake her husband, nor the servant to chastise his Lord and Master; and therefore much lesse may the Subjects deprive their King from his Dominion, and take from him what God hath given him; or any wayes chastise him for his ill government, whereof he is accomptable to God, and not to them: or if they might depose him, or reduce him by their correction; when he doth degenerate into a Tyrant; yet seeing there are many kinds of Tyrannies, I demand if the same reason shall serve to proceed against all kinds of Tyranny, to the like condemnation of all tyrannous Kings? and this every Sophister will deny; for where the punishment is not proportionable to the fault, the sentence is most unjust, and the suppressors of the Tyrant do shew the signs of a worse tyranny; and if there must be an adaequation of the punishment to the sin, I would know how they would distinguish to impose the just measure that is due to each kind of tyranny.

But to leave the Rebels in this Labyrinth, till they be better able to evade;

I say

I say that there are three special kinds of tyrannies :

1. Is against all humane right for his own private commodity, to the pub- 1. Kind.
lique losse and damage of his subjects, as was the tyranny of Ahab,
when he took away Naboths vineyard ; and of those Kings which Samuel 1 Sam 8.
doth describe.

2. Violateth the divine Law, to the contumelie of the Creatour, as was 2. kind.
the tyranny of Nebuchadnezzar, when he would have forced the three
children to adore his golden Image ; and of Jeroboam the son of Nebar,
that made Israel to sin, because he compelled them to go to Dan and Bethel
to adore his Calves ; and bindred them to go to Hierusalem for to worship
the true God.

3. Treadeth and trampleth under foot both the divine and humane 3. kind.
right, to the utter overthrow of all piety and justice, as was the tyranny of
Mun-sser, Julian, and others, that regarded neither the worship of God,
nor the good of men.

And I do confidently affirm, that each one of these tyrannies apart, or all
of them coupled in one Tyrant, as well that which offereth violence unto
God, as that which bringeth calamity and cruelty unto man, ought to be
suffered, and not abolished, untill he doth abrogate the same, which alone
looseth the belts of Kings, and girdeth about their loyns, as Job speaketh.
For you know the fore-named Tyrants, and many more as bad or worse
then they, as Solomon himself, that by his Oppression, Polygamy, and Idolatry,
had most grievously sinned both against God and man, and yet all of them
went on without either the diminution of their glory, or the losse of their
dominions : and Ahab did most tyrannically kill Naboth, and took away
his Inheritance without law, (as David did before kill Urias, a most inno-
cent man, and took away his wife, contrary to all law, which was death
by their law to any other man;) and he exiled the Prophets, and was the
death of many of them; and he trampled down the true Religion under his
feet, and by publique authority established the Idolatrous worship of Baal
in every place; and yet neither the inferiour Magistrates, nor the greatest
Peers, nor the consent of all the people, durst presume, contrary to the Or-
dinance of God, to depose or suppress any of these tyrannous men.

If you alleadge Jehu, I confesse indeed he did it, when he conspired
against Joram, his own Lord and Master.

But how did he this ? By a power extraordinarily given him from Hea-
ven, as you may see in the 6. and 7. verses of that Chapter, when the same
was not permitted him by any lawes, as Jezabel her self could tell him;
Had Zimri peace which slew his Master ? to whom he might have answered,
He breaks no Law, that obeyeth the commands of the Law-maker ; no
more then the Israelites could be accused of theft, when they did rob the
Egyptians, or Abraham of murder, if he had killed Isaac ; but without
this special command, he could not have done this extraordinary work
without sin ; and therefore that which he could not do then, without the
warrant of the heavenly Oracle, cannot be done now by any other, with-
out the contempt of the Deity, the reproach of Majesty, and abundance of
damage to the Common-wealth. And so not onely I, but also Peter
Martyr commenteth upon the place; where he saith, God stirred up, and
armed one onely Jehu against his Lord; which fact, as it is peculiar and sin-
gular, so it is not to be drawn for any example: for certainly, if it might be
lawfull for the people upon any pretence, to expell their Kings and Go-
vernours, though never so wicked and unjust ; from their Kingdomes and
government, no Kings or Princes could be safe in any place ; for though
they should raign never so justly and holily, yet they should never satisfie
the people, but they would still accuse them of injustice and impiety, that
they might depose them.

These should
be our par-
terns, unlesse
we have some
new revelati-
ons.

Object.

2 Reg. 2.

Sol.

Jehu's exam-
ple not to be
imitated.

Petrus Martyr
loc. com. class. 41
loc. 20.

And Bodinus in his *Policy*, differeth not at all from this *Divinity*; for he saith, If the Prince be an absolute Sovereign, as are the Kings of France, Spain, England, Scotland, Ethiopia, Turkie, Persia, Muscovie, and the like true Monarchs, whose authority cannot be doubted, and their chief rule and government cannot be imparted with their subjects; in this case, it is not lawful for any one apart, nor for all together, to conspire and attempt any thing, either of fact, or under the colour of right, against the life, or the honour of his Prince or Monarch; yea, though his Prince should commit all kind of impiety and cruelty, which the tongue of any man could expresse. For, as concerning the order of right, the subject hath no kind of jurisdiction against his Prince, from whom dependeth, and proceedeth all the power and authority of commanding, (as they that rise against their King, do notwithstanding send out their Warrants and Commands in the Kings name) and who not onely can recall all the faculty of judging and governing from his inferiour Magistrates, whensoever he please; but also being present, all the power and jurisdiction of all his under-Magistrates, Corporations, Colledges, Orders, and Societies do cease, and are even then reduced into him, from whom before they were derived.

Johan. Bodinus
de repub. l. 2. c. 5

The true causes that move many men to disturb the State and to rebell.

Paterculus in
Histor. Roman.

But we find it many times, that not the fault of the Prince, nor the good of the Common-wealth, but either the biding of their own shame, or the hope of some private gain induceth many men to kindle and blow up the flames of civil discord; for as Paterculus saith, *Ita se res habet ut publicâ ruinâ quisque malit, quam suâ proteri*: It so falls out, that men of desperate conditions, that, with Catiline, have out-run their fortunes, and quite spent their estates, had rather perish in a common calamity, which may hide the blemish of their sinking, then to be exposed to the shame of a private misery: and we know, that many men are of such base behaviour, that they care not what losse or calamity befalls others, so they may enrich themselves; so it was in the civil warres of Rome, *Bella non causâ inita, sed prout merces eorum fuit*; they undertook the same not upon the goodnesse of the cause, but upon the hope of prey: and so it is in most warres, that avarice and desire of gain makes way for all kind of cruelty and oppression, and then it is as it was among the Romans, a fault enough to be wealthy; and they shall be plundered, that is, in plain English, robbed of their goods and possessions, without any shew of legal proceedings.

But they that build their own houses out of the ruine of the State, and make themselves rich by the impoverishing of their neighbours, are like to have but small profit, and lesse comfort in such rapine; because there is a bidden curse that lurketh in it, and their account shall be great, which they must render for it.

August. contra
Faustum Man.
l. 27. c. 70.

Therefore I conclude this point: that for no cause, and upon no pretext; it is lawful for any subject to rebell against his Sovereign governour; for Moses had a cause of justice, and a seeming equity to defend and revenge his brother upon the Egyptian: And Saint Peter had the zeal of true religion, and, as a man might think, as great a reason as could be, to defend his Master that was most innocent, from most vile and base indignities, and to free him from the hands of his most cruell persecutors; and yet (as Saint Augustine saith) *Uterque justitia regulam excessit; & ille Fraternali, iste Dominico amore peccavit*; both of them exceeded the rule of justice; and Moses out of his love to his brother, and S. Peter out of his respect to his Master, have transgressed the commandement of God.

And therefore I hope all men will yield, that what Moses could not do for his brother, nor Saint Peter for his Master, and the religion of his Master Christ, that is, to strike any one without lawful authority, ought not to be done by any other man, for what cause or religion soever it be; especially to make insurrection against his King contrary to all divine authority,

city, for the true Religion hath been always *humble, patient*, and the *preserver* of peace and quietnesse; and (as Saint *Augustine* saith) the City of God, though it *wandred* never so much on earth, and had many *troopes* of mighty people; yet, for their *temporal* safety, they would not fight against their *impious* persecutors, but rather *suffered* without resistance, that they might attain unto *eternal* health.

And so I end this *first* part of the objection, with that Decree of the Councell of *Eliberis*; If any man shall break the *Idols* to pieces, and shall be there *killed* for the doing of it, because it is not written in the Gospel, and the like fact is not found to be done at any time by the Apostles; it pleased the Councell that he shall not be received into the number of *Martyrs*, because (contrary to the practice of our *dayes*, when every *base* mechanick runs to the Church to break down, not *Heathen* Idols, but the *Pictures* of the blessed Saints out of the windows) they conceived it unlawful for any man to pull down *Idolatry*, except he had a *lawful* authority.

Pro temporali salute non pugnavit, sed potius ut obtineret eternam non repugnavit, Aug. de Civit. l. 22. c. 6.

Concil. Eliber. Can. 60.

C.H.A.P. V I.

Sheweth, that neither private men, nor the subordinate Magistrates, nor the greatest Peers of the Kingdom may take arms, and make Warre against their King. Buchanan's mistake discovered, and the Anti-Cavalier conjured.

2. **A** S it is not lawful for any cause, so no more is it lawful for any one, or for any degree, calling, or kind of men, to rebell against their lawful Governours: For,

1. Touching private men, we find that *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Jun. Brutus*, *Daneus*, *Bucanus*, and most others yield, that meer private men ought not to rebell at any hand; and no wonder, for the Scriptures forbid it flatly: as *Exod. 21. 28.* Revile not the Gods, curse not the Ruler. *1 Chron. 16. 22.* Touch not mine annoynted. *Prov. 30. 31.* Rise not up against the King, that is, to resist him. *Eccles. 8. 3.* Let no man say to the King, Why dost thou so? *Eccles. 10. 17.* Curse not the King in thy thought. And the examples of obedience in this kind, are innumerable, and most remarkable; for *David*, when he had *Saul*, a wicked King, guilty of all impiety and cruelty, in his own hand, yet would he not lay his hand upon the Lords annoynted, but was troubled in conscience, when he did but cut the lap of his garment; *Elias* could call for fire from Heaven to burn the two Captains and their men, a hundred in number, onely for desiring him to come down unto the King; as you may see, *2 Reg. 1. 10, 12.* and yet he would not resist *Achab* his King that sought his life, and was an enemy to all religion; but he rather fled, than desired any revenge, or perswaded any man to rebell against him, *Esaia*s was sawed in pieces by *Manasses*, *Jeremy* was cast into the dungeon, *Daniel* exposed to the Lyons, the Three Children thrown into the fiery Furnace, *Amos* thrust thorough the temples, *Zacharias* slain in the porch of the Temple, *James* killed with the sword, *Peter* fastened to the Crosse with his head downward, *Bartholomew* beaten to death with clubs, *Matthew* beheaded, *Paul* slain with the sword, and all the glorious company of the Martyrs, which have ennobled the Church with their innocent life, and enlarged the same by their precious death, never resisted any of their Persecutors, never perswaded any man to rebell against them, never cursed the Tyrants, never implored the aid of the inferiour Magistrates, or superiour Nobility, either by force to escape their hands, or by violence to resist their power; for they thought it more honour unto God,

2. Part of the objection answered.

No kind of men ought to rebell.

1. Not private men.

Calv. Inst. l. 4.

c. 20. Sect. 31.

Beza Confess.

c. 5. p. 171.

J. Brutus q. 3.

pag. 103.

Dan. de Polit.

Christ l. 6. c. 3.

Bucan. loc. com.

49. Sect. 76.

The examples of obedience.

to kings.

Why the holy Saints obeyed the unjust Tyrant.

and

and farre better to themselves, that the just should unjustly suffer for righteousness sake, than under the colour of justice undutifully to resist, and unjustly to rebell against these unjust Persecutors.

A strange Position.

And yet some men are not ashamed to averre, that meer private men, and inferiour subjects, if their King as a Tyrant should invade them like a robber or ravisher, may defend themselves, and oppose the Tyrant, as well, and as violently, as they may resist a private thief, or a high-way robber.

Confuted.

The Tyrant hath a just power, though he useth the same unjustly; so hath not the thief or the robber.

But how untruly they do avouch this thing, will plainly appear, if you consider how *disjunctive* these things are, and how *unjustly* they are alledged for this purpose; for a Chirurgion launceth a man, and draweth his blood, and so doth the thief, or a robber; but he deserveth a reward, this a rope: So, the Prince sometimes doth in some sort the same thing, and it may be after the like manner as a thief or a robber doth, as often as with a strong hand he taketh the goods of his subjects, and forceth the rebellious unto obedience. But will you say, that both of them do it by the same right? I hope not: for God gave the power and the sword unto the Prince, and he, as the Judge of our actions, useth the same *ad vindictam*, for the punishment of our offence; but the thief or the robber *usurpeth* the sword, and abuseth the same *ad rapinam*, to our destruction, and therefore whosoever saith, that a subject hath the same reason to rise against his Prince that punisheth him, as a traveller hath against a robber that stealeth from him, may well be ashamed of such doctrine, that carrieth so little shew of any truth.

Object.

But you will say, the Prince that is a Tyrant punisheth for no fault, without any just cause, nay, altogether unjustly, and against all truth; as Saul persecuted David, and put to death the harmlesse Priests: and David did the like to Urias, Achab to Naboth, Joash to Zachary, Manasses to Esay, Pilate to Christ, Nero to Peter, and perhaps Theodosius to the Thessalonians; may they not resist in such a case, when they are thus punished, and persecuted without cause?

Sol.

How the Saints at all times suffered, and never resisted their kings.

I answer, that under Saul, David, Achab, Joash, and Manasses, there lived many faithful Priests and Prophets, that were both upright for life, and excellent for knowledge; and in the days of Christ, Zachew, Nicodemus, and Gamaliel, were inferiour Magistrates, and were also pious men, and skilful in the understanding, as well of Politique as of Divine affairs; and we are sure, that no age brought forth either more learned Bishops, or holier Saints, than the Apostles and Disciples of Christ, that lived under Nero, and those excellent Fathers that were in the time of Theodosius; and yet never any of these, not one of them all, shewed us this resisting way, to escape the force of tyranny; but it hath been alwayes the doctrine of Christ and his Church, that Kings and Princes, offending the Lawes, and transcending the bounds of their duties, have onely God for their revenger, and ought not to be resisted by any man, or any kind of men, though they should never so much abuse that power which they have received from God.

Christ and his Apostles perswade all men obediently to suffer.

And therefore Christ himself and all his Saints, not onely suffered their greatest rage, but also exhibited all honour, and shewed all reverence unto their most cruel Persecutors; and they perswaded all others, both by their precepts and examples, to do the like, and that not onely for fear of wrath, but also for conscience sake; because the King is Gods Steward, which Christ hath set over his whole family: and if the Steward, like the evil servant in the Gospel, shall begin to despise his Master, neglect his duty, smite his fellows, and dissolutely go on to eat and drink, and be drunken; yet not all the whole family, not the Priests, not the Nobles, not the Commons, nor yet all together have any power or right to displace that Steward, which their Lord hath appointed over them; but they with patience must expect and wait for the coming of their Master, which onely hath authority to call him

him to his account, and to *displace* him, and dispose of him at his pleasure.

Besides, we know that among men *every one* is either *superiour*, *inferiour*, or *equal*. And, 3. Degrees of men.

1. The *Superiour* is no way subject to his *inferiour*.

2. The *inferiour* is every way subject to his *Superiour*. But

3. An *equal* hath no power or authority against his *equal*.

As for example, In the Common-wealth of *Israel* there were Rulers of *thousands*, and Rulers of *hundreds*, Rulers of *fifties*, and Rulers of *tens*; and those of *tens* were over the people, those of *fifties* were over the *tens*, those of *hundreds* over the *fifties*, those of *thousands* over the *hundreds*, the 70. Elders over them, and *Moses* (as the King) over all; and he was subject neither to any of them apart, nor to all of them together, but onely unto God himself; and therefore (as Saint *Ambrose* saith) he was obliged by no lawes, because Kings are free from the bonds of offences, and cannot be called to their punishment by any Statute, *Tuti imperii potestate*, being safe from men by the power of their Dominion. Exod. 18. 21; Tostatus in Num. 25. 9. Ambros. in Ps. 50.

But then you will object: If the *Tyrant* may thus do what he will, without resistance, then he may destroy the whole *Society* of men, and especially the *Church* of *Christ*, when the worse part, that is, the *Tyrant* and his Flatterers, shall take and root away the better, that is, the true servants of God.

Object.

I answer, that the *society* of men and the *communion* of Saints, the *Church* of *Christ* and the *Common wealth*, are continued and preserved, not by any *humane* policy, but by the *divine* providence, which useth the power and policy of men to do it; and yet, contrary to their power, and beyond all their policies, suffereth not the same to be destroyed by the subtlety or cruelty of any *Tyrant*, whom he can *bridle* when he will; and either put a *book* in his nostrils, or cut him off at his pleasure; and though this our God, when he will, and as long as he will, suffereth wicked Kings and *Tyrants* to reign and rage over his people, and disposeth the *Ministerie* of those evil Governours for the punishment of *ungodlinesse*, or the trial of our faith; yet he is no lesse merciful and good unto us, when, either for the proof our *fidelity*, or the scourging of our *sinnes* by cruel *Tyrants*, for the healing of our dying and perishing soules, he punisheth us; than when he heapeth his *blessings* upon us, by most meek and clement Princes, for the comfort and consolation of this present life. Neither may we think, that by this *sufferance* of God, the worse part can take away the better, or that the *Devill* by this means shall be able to overthrow the *Church* of *Christ*, against which, the gates of hell shall never be able to prevail; because he doth not cast his vessel into the furnace of tribulation, ut frangatur, sed ut coquatur. And as the *Goldsmith* doth not cast his gold into the fire to consume it, but to purge it; so God never did, nor ever will, in the greatest persecutions, deliver up his inheritance as a prey unto the *Tyrants* teeth, nor submit his people unto the hands of their adversaries, that they might be oppressed to destruction; but only that they might be pressed and reduced to amendment, or delivered from their miseries to salvation.

Sol. God preserveth his Church;

Why God punisheth his servants.

And therefore, when the *Saints* of God lye under the hands of a cruel *Tyrant*, *Christ* hath prescribed them farre better means, both for his glory and their own comfort, to escape his tyranny, than by resisting his power. And these meanes I find to be amendment of life, tears for our sinnes, prayers to God, flight from them, and patience to suffer when we cannot escape: For so *Theodore* saith, As often as *Tyrants* sit at the stern of the *Common wealth*, or cruel masters do rule over us, the wrath of God is to be pacified, and the mitigation of these miseries is to be sought for by earnest prayers, and serious amendment of our lives. And *Christ*,

The best means to escape our punishments.

Theodore Orat. 8. de Providentia.

Ambrosius in
Orat. contra
Auent. tom. 5.
Ch. Ep. 32. simi-
lia habet.
Basilus ut est
apud Lonic-
rum in Theatro
Historico, pag.
154.
Chrysost. in
Epist. ad Cyria-
cum.

Bernard. Epist.
221.

2. Not the
Nobility, or
Peers;
Calvin. Instit.
1.4. c.20. Sect.
31.
Beza in confes.
c.5. p.171.
Auctor. vindic.
q.3. pag. 203.
Althus. de polit.
c.14. pag. 141.
§ 161. Dana-
us de polit.
Christiana, l.6.
c.3. p.413.
1. Reason.
ut apud Xor.

when he was sought to be murdered by Herod, fled into Egypt; and he adviseth us, *When we are persecuted in one City, to flye into another*; and when by flight we cannot escape, then, as the Martyrs and godly Confessors did, so must we do; either mollifie the Tyrants by our humble prayers, or offer up our souls to God by true patience: For so Saint Ambrose saith, I have not learned to resist, but I can grieve, and weep, and sigh; and against the weapons of the Souldiers and the Gothes, my tears and my prayers are my weapons; otherwise, neither ought I, neither can I resist. And Saint Basil saith, I will not betray my faith for fear of the losse of my goods, or of banishment, or of death it self; for I have no wealth besides a torne garment, and a few books. I remain on earth as one that is alwayes going away, and my feeble body shall overcome all sense of pain and torments, *una accepta plagâ*, when I shall receive but one stroke. And Saint Chrysostome, when he was driven from Constantinople, said unto himself, If the Empresse will banish me, let her banish me; for the earth is the Lords, and the fulnesse of it: If she cut me in pieces, let her cut me; Esayas suffered the same punishment: If she will have me thrown into the Sea, I will remember Jonas: If she will throw me into the fiery furnace, the three Children suffered the like doom: If she will cast me to wild beasts, let her do it; I shall call to mind how Daniel was cast into the Lyons den: If she will stone me to death, let her stone me; I have Steven the Proto-martyr my companion: If she will take away my head, let her take it; I have John Baptist for my fellow: If she will take away my goods and substance, let her take it; for, *I came naked out of my mothers womb, and naked I shall return again*. And Saint Bernard saith, whatsoever it pleaseth you to do, concerning your Kingdome, your Crown, and your Soul, we that are the children of the Church, cannot any wayes dissemble the injuries and contempt of our mother; and therefore truly we will stand, and fight unto death (if need be) for our mother, but with those weapons wherewith we may lawfully do it; not with swords, speares, and shields, but with our prayers and teares to God. And it would be too tedious for me to set down all that I might collect of this kind, most excellent sayings of those worthy men, which never hoped for any glory in the Kingdome of Heaven, but by suffering patiently in the Kingdom of the Earth; and, when they could, did faithfully discharge the duties of their places; and when they could not, did willingly undergo the bitterness of death; and were alwayes faithfull, both to their good God, and their evil Kings; to God rather by suffering Martyrdom, then offend his Majesty; and to their Kings, not in committing that evil which they commanded, but in suffering that punishment which they inflicted upon them.

2. As no private men, of what rank or condition soever they be, so neither Magistratus populares, the peoples Magistrates, as some term them; nor Junius Brutus, his Optimates regni, the prime Noble-men of the Kingdom; nor Althusius his Ebori, the Kings assistants in the government of the people; nor his great Councel of Estate, nor any other kind, calling, or degree of men, may any wayes resist, or at any time rebell for any cause or colour whatsoever, against their lawful Kings, and supreme Governours.

1. Because they are not, as Althusius doth most falsely suggest, Magistratus summo Superiores, but they are inferiours to the supreme and chief Magistrate; otherwise, how can he be Summus, if he be not Supremus? or how can Saint Peter call the King supereminent, 1 Pet. 2. 13. if the inferiour Magistrates be superiour unto him? and it is contra ordinem justitie, contrary to the rules of justice, as I told you before out of Aquinas, that the inferiours should rise up against their superiours, which hath

hath the rule and command over them, as the husband hath over the wife, the father over the sonne, the Lord over his servants, and the King over his subjects; and therefore Jezebel might truly say, *Had Zimri peace which slew his Master?* And I may as truly say of these men, as Optatus saith of the Donatists, when as none is above the King or the Emperour, but onely God which made him Emperour; while the inferiour Magistrates do extoll themselves above him, they have now exceeded the bounds of men, that they might esteem themselves as Gods, *Non verendum, qui post Deum ab hominibus timebatur*, in not fearing him, which men ought to fear next to God.

The Inferiour should never rise against his Superiour, Optat. de schif. Donat. l. 3. p. 85

But the words of Saint Peter are plain enough. *Submit your selves unto every ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be unto the King as supreme, or unto Governours, as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well.* Wherein you may see not onely the subordination which God hath placed betwixt the King and his Subjects, but also that different station which is betwixt the Supreme, and the inferiour powers: for the words [sent of him] do most clearly conclude, that the inferiour Magistrates have no power to command, but by the vertue, power, and force which they receive from the supreme; and that the inferiour Magistrates, opposed to the supreme power, are but as private men: and therefore, that as they are rulers of the people, so, being but instruments unto the King, they are subjects unto him, to be moved and ruled by him which is inferiour to none but God; and their authority, which they have received from him, can have no power upon him, or to manage the sword, without him, and especially against him, upon any pretence whatsoever: how then can any, or all these Magistrates make a just war against their King, when as none of them can make any just warre without him.

1 Pet. 2. 13.

Inferiour Magistrates in respect of the king, are but private men;

2. Because, as Bodinus saith most truly, the best and greatest, not onely of the inferiour Magistrates, but also of all these Peers, Nobles, Counsellors, or what you please to call them, have neither honour, power, nor authority, but what they have given them from him, which is the King or supreme Magistrate; as you see, God made Moses the chief Governour, and Moses made whom he pleased his Peers, and his inferiour Magistrates: and as they have all their power derived from him that is the chief, so he that is the King, or chief, can draw it away from them that are his inferiours, when he pleaseth; and as he made them, so he can unmake them when he will, and none can unmake him, but he that made him, that is, God himself, and therefore David, that was *ex Optimatibus regni*, the greatest Peer in Israel, being powerful in warre, famous in peace, the Kings Son-in-law, and divinely destinated unto the Kingdome, yet would he not lay his hand upon his King, when he was delivered into his hands. And this Buchanan cannot deny, but confesseth, that the Kings of the Jews were not to be punished, or resisted by their subjects, because that from the beginning, they were not created by the people, but given to them by God; and therefore (saith he) *jure optimi, qui fuit honoris autor, idem fuit puniarum exactor*, it is great reason, that he which gives the honour, should impose the punishment.

2. Reason.

Buchanan's absurdity.

But for the Kings of Scotland, they were (saith Buchanan) not given them of God, but created by the people, which gave them all the right that they can challenge; *Ideoque jus idem habere in reges. Multitudinem, quod illi in singulos à multitudine habent*; which is most false: for Moses tells us, that immediately after the deluge, God, the Creatour of all the world, ordained the revenging sword of blood-shed, and the slavish servitude of paternal derision, wherein all the parts of civil jurisdiction and regal power, are Synecdochically set down: and Job saith, that there is one God, which

Buchan. de jure Regni, apud Scotos.

The Grand Rebellion.

Job 12. 18. *looseneth the bond of Kings, and girdeth about their reines: which must be understood of the Gentile-Kings, because that in his time the Common-wealth of Israel was not in being; and God himself universally saith, By me Kings do reign, that is, all Kings; not onely of the Jews, but also of the Gentiles: and Christ doth positively affirm, that the power of Pilate was given him from Heaven, and Saint Paul saith, There is no power, but what is appointed of God. And Tertullian saith, Inde & Imperator, unde & homo; inde illi potestas, unde & spiritus; he that made him a man, made him Emperour; and he that gave him his spirit, gave him his power. And Irenaeus saith, God ordained earbly Kingdomes for the benefit of the Gentiles, Er-
 That God is the ordainer of all kings.
 Ang. de Civit. Dei, l. 4. c. 33.
 God the immediate authour of Monarchy.*

*cujus jussu homines nascuntur, illius jussu reges constituuntur; And by whose command men are born, by his command Kings are made. And S. Augustine more plainly, and more fully saith, God alone is the giver of all earbly Kingdomes, which he giveth both to the good, and to the bad; neither doth he the same rashly, and as it were by chance, because he is God, but as he seeth good; Pro rerum ordine, ac tempore, in respect of the order of things and times, which are bid from us, but best known unto himself: and whosoever looketh back to the original of all governments, he shall find that God was the immediate authour of the Regal power, and but the al-
 lower, and confirmer of the Aristocratical, and all other forms of govern-
 ment; which the people erected, and the Lord permitted, lest the execu-
 tion of judgement, should become a transgression of justice; for as Ho-
 mer saith,*

Hes. Odyss. α.

Ἀντὶς ἔχον ἰσχυρὸν ἀνὰ θυμὸν ἡγεμῆνα.

Aristot. Polit.
l. 1. c. 8.

And Aristotle tells us, that the Regal power belonged to the father of the family, who, in the infancy of the world was so grandeeous and long-liv'd, that he begat such a numerous posterity, as might well people a whole Nation; as Cain for his own Colony built a City, and was as well the King as the father of all the Inhabitants; and therefore Justin saith very well, that
 Justin. l. 1. *Principio rerum, Gentium, nationumque imperium penes reges erat, The rule of Nations was in the hands of Kings from the beginning; and the Kingly right pertaining to the father of the family, the people had no more possibi-
 lity in right to choose their Kings, then to choose their Fathers; and to make it appear unto all Nations, that not onely the Kings of Israel, but all other Heathen Kings are acknowledged by God himself to be of divine institution, he calleth Nebuchadnezzar his servant, and Cyrus his annointed.*

Jerem. 43. 10,
Esay 45. 1.Jo. Goodwin
in his Pam-
phlet of Anti-
Cavalierism,
p. 5.

And therefore though I do not wonder that ignorant fellows should be so impudent, as to affirm The King, or kingly government to be the Ordinance or Creation, or creature, of man; and to say that the Apostle supposeth the same, because he saith, Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be unto the King, &c. whereas he might well understand that the same act is oftentimes ascribed aswel to the mediate as to the immediate agent, as Samuel's anointing of Saul and David Kings, denieth not but that God was the immediate giver of their Kingdomes, and the Authour of that regal power; for God annointed Saul Captain over his inheritance, and by the mouth of Nathan he telleth David, that he annointed him King over Israel: and Solomon acknowledgeth, that the Lord had set him on the Seat of his Father David: and Abijah in the person of God saith unto Jeroboam, I will give the Kingdome unto thee; and yet it is said, that all the people went to Gilgal, and made Saul King before the Lord; and the men of Juda annointed David King of Juda; and Zadock the Priest, and Nathan the Prophet annointed

1 Sam. 10.

1 Sam. 12.

1 Reg. 1.

1 Reg. 11.

1 Sam. 11. 15.

1 Sam. 7.

annointed Solomon King; that is, God annointed them as Master of the substance, and gave unto them regal power, in whom is all power, *primario & per se*; and the Prophets annointed them as Masters of the Ceremony, and declared, that God had given them that power. And therefore the power and authority of Kings is originally, and primarily (as Saint Paul saith) the Ordinance of God; and secondarily, or demonstratively, it is as Saint Peter calleth it, the ordinance of man: when the people, whose power is onely derivatively, makes them Kings, not by giving unto them the right of their Kingdomes, but by receiving them into the possession of their right, and admitting them to exercise their royal authority over them, which is given them of God, and therefore ought not to be withstood by any man.

Constituere regem est facere ut regiam potestatem exerceret. Pinedas de reb. Solom. c. 2.

And this *Anti-Cavalier* might further see, that Saint Peter meaneth not, that the King is the creature of man, or his Office of mans Creation; but that the *Laws* and Commands of Kings, though they be but the Commands and Ordinances of man, yet are we to obey the same for the Lords sake; because the Lord commandeth, that Every soul should be subject to the bigger powers: Or if this will not satisfie him, because the *Greeks* word is not so plain for this, as the *English*, yet let him look into *Pareus*, that was no friend to Monarchy, and he shall find that he doth by seven speciall reasons prove, that the authority of Kings is primarily the Ordinance of God; and he quoteth these places of Scripture to confirm it, *Proverbs* 8. 15. 2 *Chron.* 19. 6. *Psalms* 81. 6. *Job* 10. 34. *Genes.* 9. 6. 1 *Sam.* 15. 1 *Kings* 12. 4 *Kings* 9. *Dan.* 2. 21. *Job* 34. 30. *Eccles.* 10. 8. And to this very objection he answereth, that the Apostle calleth the Magistrate *non arbitrio, an humane* Ordination, or Creation; not causally, because it is invented by man, and brought up onely by the will of men; but subjectively, because it is born and executed by men; and objectively, because it is used about the government of humane society: and *namus* in respect of the end, because it is ordained of God for the good and conservation of humane kind; and he saith further, that *arionus appellatio*, the *Greek* word *arion*, ad Deum primum autorem nos revocat. sheweth plainly, that God is the first author of it: for though the Magistrate, in some sense as I shewed, may be said to be created, that is, ordained by men, yet God alone is the first Creatour of them; as *Aaron*, though he was ordained the high-Priest by *Moses*, yet the Apostle tells us, None taketh this office upon him, but he that is called of God, as *Aaron* was.

Pareus in Rom. c. 13. p. 13. 27.

Yet I do admire, that *Buchanan*, or any other man of learning, to satisfie the people, or his own peevish opinion, will so absurdly deny so divine, and so well known a verity, and say, that any Kings have their Kingdomes, and not from God: so flatly contrary to all Scripture.

CHAP. VII.

Sheweth the Reasons and Examples that are alledged to justifie Rebellion, and a full answer to each of them: God the immediate Author of Monarchy: Inferiour Magistrates have no power, but what is derived from the Superiour: And the ill successe of all rebellions Resisting of our Kings.

The allegati-
on to justifie
Rebellion.

1. By Reason.

2. By Exam-
ples.

Jerem. 26. 24.

Sol.

1. Their Rea-
sons answered.

To what end
kings do
choose their
inferiour Ma-
gistrates,

All the inferi-
our Magistrates
must do all in
the name of
the Superiour.

Heb. 7. 7.

BUt to prove their *absurdities*, they still alledge, that the *inferiour* Ma-
gistrates, as the *Peers* and *Counsellours* of *Kings*, and the chief *heads*
of all the people, which are *sos & medalla regni*, are therefore added unto
the *superiour* Magistrate, both to be his *helpers* in the government, and also
to *restrain* his *licentiousness*, and to *hinder* his *impieties*, if he *degenerate*
to be an *Idolater* or a *Tyrant*.

And to confirm this *Tener*, they produce many *examples* both out of the
sacred and *profane* Histories; as the *Judges* that rose up against their neigh-
bour *Tyrants*; *Ezechias* against the King of *Affria*; the people withstand-
ing *Saul*, that he should not slay *Jonathan*; *Abikam* defending the Prophet
Jeremy against King *Jehoiakim*; the revol.ing of the ten *Tribes* in the time
of *Reboam*; the *Priests* and *Princes* of *Juda* taking away *Athalia*; the
Macchabees arming themselves against *Antiochus*; and others of the *Ma-
cedonian* *Tyrants*; *Thrasibulus* driving the thirty *Tyrants* out of *Athens*;
the *Romans* expelling their *flagitious* *Kings*, *Consuls*, and other *Tyrants*,
that behaved themselves most wickedly, out of *Rome*; and so, many *Peers*
and *Potentates* of other *Kingdomes*, that in the like cases did the like.
To all which I answer,

1. That it is most *false* that any *Peer*, or *inferiour* *Potentate*, *Magistrate*,
or other, is appointed by *God* to be the *Associate* of the *King*, or *supreme*
Governour for the government of the people: for, as *God*, and not the *peo-
ple*, appointed *Moses*, *Jashua*, *Gideon*, and the other *supreme* *Judges* of *Is-
rael*; so *Moses*, and not *God* immediately, as he did the others, appointed
the *Rulers* of tens, *fifties*, *hundreds*, and *thousands*, which alwayes ac-
knowledgeed themselves his *subjects*, and not his *associates* in the govern-
ment of the people. And so other *Kings* and *Princes* have alwayes chosen
whom they pleased to be their *Peers*, *Counsellors*, and *inferiour* *Magi-
strates*, as well to bear some part of their burthen (as *Jethro* saith unto *Mo-
ses*) and to lessen their care, as also to afford them their best assistance and
counsel in the discussion and determination of great and difficult affaires;
but not for them to prescribe and set down *Laws*, *Orders*, and *Ordinances*,
that should either moderate their royal liberty, or bridle and revenge what
they conceive to be *Idolatri* or *Tyranny*. I am sure, no *King* that did in-
tend to be a *Tyrant*, would choose *Counsellours*, or make *Magistrates* to that
end; but they make choyce of them (as I said) to further them, and not to
hinder them to effect those things which they conceive to be most fit and
just; for the *Magistrates* that are over the people, are under the *King*, and
do all, as you see, in the name of the *King*, from whom they derive all the
power that they have; whereby it followeth, that neither the people can
resist the *Magistrates* whom the *King* appointeth, nor those *Magistrates* re-
sist their *King*, without apparent *sacrilege* against *God*; because the *grea-
ter* can never be judged, nor condemned by the *lesser*: but, as the *Apostle*
saith of *Abraham* and *Melchisedech*, that without contradiction, the *lesse* is
blessed of the better; so I say, that without all controversy, the *inferiour*
must

must be alwayes judged of the *superiour*; and therefore if these Peers, Nobles, or inferiour Magistrates, have any wayes any power or authority over their Kings, we must conclude against Saint Peter, that these are above the King, and so they, and not the King, are the *supereminent* power.

But we find no such power nor commandment, that they have from God to refrain Kings, in all the holy Scriptures; *Et si mandatum non est, presumptio est; & ad penam proficiet, non ad præmium*: and if there be no commandment for it, it is presumption to do it, which deserveth punishment; and not praise; because it is to the reproach of the Creator, that contemning the Lord, we should worship the *Servant*; and neglecting the *Emperour*, we should adore or magnifie his *Peers*; as S. Augustine saith.

And therefore both the learned and religious *Fathers*, and the best of our later Writers, are flat against this Doctrine, that any sort of men have any power over Kings, but he that is the King of Kings, as you may see; what would be too tedious for me to set down, in *Johan. Bodinus Apol. pro Regibus*, c. 27. & de repub. l. 2. c. 5. *Barclains contra Monarchom.* l. 3. c. 6. *Berchets in explicat. controvers. Gallicar.* c. 2. *Saravia de Imperator. auctorit.* l. 2. c. 36. *Sigon. de repub. Hebræor.* l. 7. c. 3. *Bilson. de perpet. Eccles. gubernat.* c. 7. *Pet. Gregor. Tholof. de republ.* l. 5. c. 3. num. 14, 15, 16. and many more.

And the Homly of the Church of England, against wilful Rebellion:

2. For the examples that are produced, to countenance Rebels against their Kings, I answer, that they are *unlike*, or of some peculiar fact, or unjust, and therefore no warrant for any other to do the like; when as we are to live by the lawes and precepts of God, and not by the examples of men; which many times, contrary to equity, do induce us to transgress the divine verity. But to run over the particulars of their examples as brief as I can.

1. Their examples answered.

1. I say, that to conclude an ordinary rule from the doings of the Judges, which were extraordinarily commanded by God to be done, is no more lawfull for us to do, then it is for us to rob our neighbours, because the *Israelites* robbed the *Egyptians*, as Saint Augustine sheweth.

1. Example answered. August. in Jud. c. 20.

And therefore *Aquinas* (if *Aquinas* be the Authour of that book, *De Regimine Princip*) saith excellently well; *Quibusdam visum est*; it seems to some men, that it pertaineth to the honour of valiant and heroical men; to take away a Tyrant, and to expose themselves to the perill and danger of death, for the liberty and freedom of the Multitude: whereof they have an example in the Old Testament, where *Ehud* killed *Eglon*: But this agreeth not with the Apostolical Doctrine, for Saint Peter teacheth tis to be subject, not onely to the good, but also to the froward, because this is thank-worthy with God, if for conscience sake we patiently suffer wrongs: therefore when many of the Roman Emperours did most tyrannically persecute the faith of Christ, and a great and mighty multitude both of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons, were converted unto Christianity, they are praised, not for resisting, but for suffering death. Besides, *Eglon* was not the lawfull King of *Israel*, but an alien, an usurper, and a scourge to them for their sinne, and therefore no pattern for others to rebell against their lawfull King.

Thom. de Regimine Princip. l. 1. c. 6.

Judg 3. 21.

2. For the example of *Ezechias*, rebelling against the King of *Assyria*; it is most impertinently alledged, for *Ezechias* was the lawfull King of *Juda*, and the King of *Assyria* had no right at all in his Dominions; but being greedily desirous to enlarge his territories, he incroached upon the others right, and for his injustice, was overcome by the sword in a just battell: and therefore to conclude from hence, that because the King of *Juda* refused to obey the King of *Assyria*, therefore the inferiour Magistrates, or Peers of any Kingdome, may resist and remove their lawfull Prince for his tyranny;

A great deal of difference betwixt a lawfull King, and an Usurper.

2. Example answered. An impertinent example.

tyranny or impiety, surely this deserves rather *fustibus retundi, quam rationibus refelli*; to be beaten with rods, then confuted with reasons: as Saint Bernard speaketh of the like Argument.

The absurdity of their replication.

And whereas they reply, that it skilleth not whether the Tyrant be *foreign*, as *Eglon*, and the King of *Assyria* were; or *domestique*, as *Saul*, *Achab*, and *Manasse* were; because the *domestique* is worse then the *foreign*, and therefore the rather to be suppressed, I will shew you the *validity* of this argument by the like: The *sedition* Preachers are the generation of vipers; nay, farre worse then vipers, because they hurt but the body onely, and these are pernicious both to body and soul; therefore as a man may lawfully kill a viper, so he may more lawfully kill any *sedition* Preacher.

Quia Dare absurdum, non est solvere argumentum.

But to omit their *absurdity*, let us look into the comparison betwixt *domestique* and *extranean* Tyrants; and we shall find, that *domestique* Tyrants are lawfully placed over us by God, who commandeth us to obey them, and forbiddeth us to resist them in every place; for the Scripture makes no distinction betwixt a good Prince and a Tyrant, in respect of the honour, reverence, and obedience, that we owe unto our superiours; as you see the Lord doth not say, Touch not a good King, and, Obey righteous Princes; but as God saith, Honour thy father and thy mother, be they good or bad: so he saith, Touch not the King, resist not your Governours, speak not evil of the Rulers, be they good, or be they bad; and therefore Saint Paul, when he was strictly charged for reviling the wicked high-Priest, answered wisely, I wist not, brethren, that he was Gods High-Priest; for if I had known him to be the true High-Priest, I would not have spoken what I did, because I know the Law of God obligeth me to be obedient to him that God hath placed over me, be he good or bad; for it is Gods institution, and not the Governours condition that tyeth me to mine obedience: So you see the mind of the Apostle, he knew the Priest-hood was abolished, and that he was not the lawful High-Priest, therefore he saith, God shall smite thee, thou whited wall: But if he had known, and believed him to be the true and lawful High-Priest, which God had placed over him, he would never have said so, had the Priest been never so wicked; because the Law saith, Thou shalt not revile thy Ruler. But for private robbers, or foreign Tyrants, God hath not placed them over us, nor commanded us to obey them; neither have they any right by any Law, but the Law of strength, to exact any thing from us; and therefore we are obliged by no law to yield obedience unto them, neither are we hindred by any necessity, either of rule or subjection, but that we may lawfully repell all the injuries that they offer unto us.

Bad kings to be obeyed, as well as the good.

3. Example answered.

Saul was contented to be perswaded to spare his son.

Gregor. in 1 Reg. 4.

3. For the peoples hindring of King Saul to put his son Jonathan to death; I say, that they freed him from his fathers vow, *non armis, sed precibus*, not with their weapons, but by their prayers, when they appealed unto himself and his own conscience before the living God; and perswaded him, that setting aside his rash vow, he would have regard unto justice, and consider whether it was right, that he should suffer the least damage; who, following God, had wrought so great a deliverance unto the people, as Tremelius and Junius in their Annotations do observe. And Saint Gregory saith, The people freed Jonathan that he should not die, when the King, overcome by the instance of the people, spared his life: which no doubt, he was not very earnest to take away from so good a son.

4. Example answered.

Jerem. 26. 24.

4. Touching Abikam, that was a prime Magistrate under King Jehoiakim, I say that he defended the Prophet, not from the Tyranny of the King but from the fury of the people; for so the Text saith, The band of Abikam, that is, (saith Tremelius) the authority and the help of Abikam, was with Jeremy, that They, that is, his enemies, should not give him into the hands of the people which sought his life, to put him to death, because Abikam had been a long while Counsellour unto the King, and was therefore very powerful

powerful in credit and authority with him : And you know there is a great deal of difference betwixt the *refraining* of a tumultuous people by the authority of the King, and a tumultuous insurrection against the King; That was the part of a good man, and a faithful Magistrate, as *Abikam* did; this of an enemy and a false Traytor, as the opposer of Kings use to do.

5. For the defection and revolting of the ten Tribes from *Rehoboam* their own natural lawful King, unto a fugitive, and a man of a servile condition; and for the *Edomites*, *Lybnites*, and others, that revolted against King *Joram*; and that Conspiracy which was made in *Jerusalem* against *Amaziah*; I answer briefly, That the Scriptures do herein (as they do in many other places) set down, *rei geste veritatem, non facti equitatem*, the truth of things how they were done, not the equity of the things that they were rightly done: and therefore, *Non ideo quia factum legimus, faciendum credamus, ne violemus præceptum dum sectamur exemplum*; We must not believe it ought to be done, because we read that it was done, lest we violate the Commandement of God, by following the example of men, as Saint *Augustine* speaketh: for though *Joseph* sware by the life of *Pharaoh*, the *Midwives* lyed unto the King, and the *Israelites* robbed the *Egyptians*, and sinned not therein; yet we have no warrant without sinne to follow their examples. Besides, God himself had foretold the defection of the ten Tribes for the sinne of *Solomon*, and he being Lord proprietary of all, his donation transferreth a full right to him, on whom he bestowes it; and this made *Shemaiah* the man of God, to warn *Rehoboam* not to fight against his brechren: for, as, when God commanded *Abraham* to kill his sonne, it was a laudable obedience, and no murther to have done it; and when he commanded the *Israelites* to rob the *Egyptians*, it was no breach of the eighth Commandement: so this revolt of these Tribes, if done in obedience unto God, could be no offence against the Law of God: but because they regarded not so much the fulfilling of Gods will, as their not being eased of their grievances, and the fear of the weight of *Rehoboam's* finger, which moved them to this Rebellion, I can no ways justify their action: and though God by this Rent did most justly revenge the sinne of *Solomon*, and paid for the folly of *Rehoboam*; yet this doth no wayes excuse them for this rebellion, because they revolted not with any right aspect: and therefore it is worth our observation; that the consequences which attended this defection, was a present falling away from the true God into Idolatry, and not long after to be led into an endless Captivity. Which is a fearful example, to see how suddenly men do fall away from God, and from their true religion; after they have rebelled against their lawful King; and how, to avoid imaginary grievance, they do often fall into a real bondage, and so leap out of the Frying-pan into the fire. And for the *Edomites* they were not *Israelites* that led their lives by the law of God; neither can any man excuse the conspirators against *Amaziah*, from the transgression of the Law of God.

6. For *Uzziab*, that was taken with a grievous sicknesse, so that he could not be present at the publique affaires of the Kingdom; I say, that according to the law, by reason of the contagion of his disease, he was rightly removed from the Court and concourse of people, and his sonne in the mean time placed in his fathers stead, to administer and dispose the Commonwealth: but he in all that while, like a good sonne, did neither affect the name, nor assume the title of a King.

7. For the deposing of *Athalia*, I see nothing contrary to equity; because she was not the right Prince, but an unjust Usurper of the Crown: and therefore *Jehoida* the chief Priett, having gathered together the principal Peers of the Kingdom, and the Centurions, and the rest of the people, shewed them the Kings sonne, whom for six yeares space

The act of *Abikam* no colour for Rebellion.

5. Example answered.

2 Chron. 21.
2 Reg. 14. 19.

Actions commanded to be done, are not to be imitated by us, unless we be sure of the like commandement.

God is the right owner of all things, and therefore may justly dispose any Kingdom.

6. Example answered.

7. Example answered.

he had preserved alive from the rage and fury of *Athalia*, which had slain all the rest of the Kings seed; and when they saw him, they did all acknowledge him for the Kings sonne; they crowned him King, and he being crowned, they joyfully cryed, *God save the King*: and then by the authority of the new crowned King, that was the right heir unto the Kingdom, they put to death the cruel Queen, that had so tyrannically slain the Kings children, and so unjustly usurped the Crown all that while. And therefore to alledge this example, so justly done, to justify an insurrection contrary to justice, doth carry but a little shew of reason. And I say the like of the *Maccabees*, and *Antiochus*, that neither he, nor any other *Macedonian* Tyrant had any right over them, but they were unjust *Usurpers*, that held the *Jewes* under them in *ore gladii*, with the edge of their swords, and were not their lawful Kings, whom they ought to obey; and therefore no reason, but that they might justly free themselves with their swords, that were kept in bondage by no other right, then the strength of the sword.

8. Example answered.

Examples not to be imitated.

8. For the example of *Thrasibulus*, *Junius Brutus*, and other *Romans*, or whosoever, that for their faults have deposed their Kings; I answer, with Saint *Augustine*, that *Exempla paucorum non sunt trabenda in legem universorum*; we have no warrant to imitate these examples: for though these things were done, yet we say, they were done by *Heathens* that knew not God, and unjustly done contrary to the law of God; and therefore with no blessing from God, with no good success unto themselves, and with lesse happiness unto others; but it happened to them, as to all others that do the like, to expell a mischief, and to admit a greater; as, besides what I have shewed you before, this one most memorable example out of our own Histories, doth make it plain.

The ill success of resisting our superiors:

In the time of *Richard* the second, the Nobility and Gentry murmured much against his government; in brief, they deposed him, and set the Crown upon the head of the Duke of *Lancaster*, whom they created King *Henry* the fourth. The good Bishop of *Carlisle* made a bold and excellent Speech, to prove, that they could not by any law of God or man, depose and dispossesse their lawful King: or, if they deposed him, that they had no right to make the Duke of *Lancaster* to succeed him; but he good man for his pains was served as Saint *Paul* and others were many times for speaking the truth, committed to prison, and there was an end of him, but not an end of the story: for the many battels and blood-shed, the miseries and mischiefs that this one unjust and unfaithful act produced, had never any period, never an end, till that well nigh a hundred thousand *English* men were slain in civil warres; whereof two were Kings, one Prince, ten Dukes, two Marquesses, 21. Earles, 27. Lords, two Viscounts, one Lord Prior, one Judge, 139. Knights, 421. Esquires, and Gentlemen of great and ancient Families, a farre greater number; a just revenge for an unjust extrusion of their lawful King, whose greatest misery came from his great mildnesse.

Trussell in his supplement to Daniel's History.

All the pressures that we have suffered since the first year of our king, are not comparable to the miseries that one years civil warre hath brought upon us.

And therefore these things being well weighed in the ballance of the Sanctuary, in the scales of true wisdom, it had been better for them, as it will be for us, and all others, patiently to suffer the crosse that shall be laid upon us, untill that by our prayers we can prevail with God, that for our finnes hath sent it, in mercy to remove it, then for our selves to pluck our necks out of the collar; and, in a froward disobedience, to pull the house (as *Sampson* did) upon our own heads: and like impatient fishes, to leap out of the Frying-pan into the fire, from hard usage that we impatiently conceived, to most base cruel bondage, that we have deservedly merited; or at the best, to bring many men to many miseries, before we can attain unto any happiness; and so as the Poet saith in this very case among the *Romans*, when for their liberty and priviledges, as they

they termed it, in Pompey's time, *Excessit medicina modum*, The remedy that they procured, hath proved farre worse then the disease they suffered; And I doubt not but ere long, the Rebels in this Kingdom will feelingly confesse this to be too true, when they shall more deeply taste of the like miseries, as they have brought, as well upon many of their own friends, as others.

If you alledge the time of Richard the third, how soon he was removed, and how happily it came to passe that Henry the seventh succeeded; I answer briefly, that Richard the third was not onely a cruel bloody Tyrant, but he was also an unjust Usurper of the Crown, and not the right King of England: and that there is a great deal of difference betwixt rebelling against our lawful Kings which God hath justly placed over us, and expelling an usurping Tyrant, which hath unjustly intruded himself into the royal Throne: This God often hath blessed, as in the case of Egton, Athalia, Henry the seventh, and many more, which you may obviously find both in the Greek and Roman stories; and the other, he always cursed, and will plague it, whensoever it is attempted.

After I had answered these Objections, I lighted upon one more, which is taken out of 2 Kings 6. 32. where the Objector saith, When Abab sent a Cavalier, a man of blood, to take away the Prophet Elisha's head, as he sate in his house among the Elders, did Elisha open his dore for him, and sit still till he took off his head in obedience to the King? No, he bestirred himself for the safeguard of his life, and called upon others to stand by him to assist him. And a little after he saith, Surely he that went thus farre for the safety of his life, when he was but in danger to be assaulted, would have gone further if occasion had been; and in case the Kings Butcher had got in to him, before the dore had been shut, if he had been able, and had had no other means to have saved his own head, but by taking away the others; there is little question to be made, but he would rather have taken, then given a head in this case.

Object.
Goodwin in his
Anti-Cavalie-
risme. p. 8,

I answer, that who this Goodwin is, I know not; I could wish he were none of the Tribe of Levi: 1. Because I find him such an incendiary of warre, and an enemy unto peace; whereas the messengers of Christ have this Elogie given them, *Quam speciosi pedes Evangelizantium pacem?* And the Scripture saith, Blessed are the Peace-makers; and we continually pray, Give peace in our dayes, O Lord: and therefore I can hardly believe these incendiaries of warre to be the sonnes of the God of peace. 2. Because his objection is full of falsehoods, and false grounds: as

Sol.
The Ministers
of Christ
should not
be the incen-
diaries of war:

1. He saith, that Abab sent to take Elisha's head, when as Abab was dead long before: it was his ghost therefore, and not he. But it was his son, and what then? what did the Prophet? he shut the dore, and desired the Elders to handle the messenger roughly, or hold him fast at the dore: Thus saith the Text, and the Prophet in my judgement doth herein but little more then what God and nature alloweth every man to do, not to lay down his life, if he can lawfully preserve it; but, as the Prophet did, to shut the dore; or, as our Saviour saith, When we are persecuted in one City, to flye into another, to save our lives as long as we can; and in all this I find no violent resistance. But 2. the Objector tells us, Surely, if the messenger had got in, Elisha had taken off his head, rather then given his own. I demand, What inspiration he hath from God to be sure of this; for I am sure John Baptist would not do so, nor Saint Paul, nor any other of Gods Saints, that I have read of; but these men are sure of every thing, even of Gods secret Counsel, and that is more then the thoughts of mens hearts; or, if this be sure, which I am not sure of, I answer, that Elisha was a great Prophet, that had the spirit of Eliab doubled upon him; and those actions which he did, or might have done, through the inspiration

The first mi-
stake in the
front of his
Speech.
2 Kings 6. 32.
If any thing
more.

The Grand Rebellion.

of Gods Spirit; *this* man may not do, except he be *sure* of the like inspiration: for God, who is *justice* it self, can command by *word*, as he did to *Abraham* to kill his son; or by *inspiration*, as he did to *Elias* to call fire from Heaven, and it is a sin to *disobey* it: whereas without this, it were an horrible sin to do it. And we must *distinguish* betwixt *rare* and extraordinary cases, that were managed by *special* commission from God; and those patterns that are confirmed by *known* and general Rules, which passe through the whole course of Scripture: and take heed, that we make not *obscure* Commentaries of humane wisdom, upon the *clear* Text of holy Writ;

Quia maledicta glossa qua corrumpit textum.

Curled be the gloss that corrupts the Text.

But indeed the place is plain, that *Elisha* made no other resistance, but what every man may lawfully do, to keep the messenger out of dores so long as he could; and yet this man would inferre hence, that we may *lawfully*, with a strong hand, and open warre, resist the authority of our *lawful* Kings; a Doctrine, I am sure, that was never taught in the School of Christ.

He makes some other Objections, which I have already answered in this Treatise; and then he spends almost two leaves in six several answers, that, he maketh to an objection against the *examining* the equity or iniquity of the Kings commands: but to no purpose: because we never *deny*, but that in some cases, though not in all, (for there must be *Arcana Imperii*, and there must be Privie Counsellours; and every Peasant must not *examine* all the Edicts of his Prince:) The commands of Kings may not onely be *examined*, but also *disobeyed*; as the three Children did the commands of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the Apostles the commands of the High-Priests: but though we may *examine* their commands, and *disobey* them too, when they are contrary to the commands of God; yet I would fain know, where we have leave to resist them, and to take arms against them? I would be understood, There is a great deal of difference betwixt *examining* their commands, and *resisting* their authority: the one, in *some* cases we may; the other, by no means we may do.

CHAP. VIII.

Sheweth, that our Parliament hath no power to make warre against our King: Two main Objections answered: The original of Parliaments: The power of the King to call a Parliament, to deny what he will, and to dissolve it when he will. Why our King suffereth.

BUT, when all that hath been spoken cannot *satisfie* their indignation against true obedience, and allay the heat of their *rebellious* spirits, they come to their *ultimum refugium*, best strength, and strongest fort; that although *all others* should want sufficient right to *cross* the commands, and *resist* the violence of an unjust and tyrannical Prince; yet the *Parliament*, that is the *representative* body of all his Kingdom, and are *intrusted* with the goods, estates, and lives of all his people, may *lawfully* resist, and when *necessity* requireth, take *arms*, and subdue their most *lawful* King; and this they labour to confirm by many arguments.

I answer, that for the *Parliament* of England it is beyond my sphere, and

and I being a *transmarine* member of this Parliament of Ireland, I will only direct my speech to that whereof I am a Peer; and I hope I may the more boldly speak my mind to them, whereof I am a member; and I dare maintain it, that it shall be a benefit, and no prejudice, both to King and Kingdome, that the *Spiritual* Lords have their Votes in this our Parliament.

For, besides the *equity* of our sitting in Parliament, and our *indubitable* right to vote therein; (and his Majesty, (as I conceive, under favour be it spoken) is obliged by the very first act in *Magna Charta*, to preserve that right unto us) when as in the Summons of Edw. 1. it is inserted in the Writ, that, * *Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus approbari, or tractari debet*, whatsoever affair is of publique concernment, ought to receive publique approbation; and therefore with what *equity* can so considerable a party of this Kingdom, as are the *Clergy*, (who certainly cannot deserve to forfeit the privilege of the meanest subjects, and of *Common men*, because they are more immediately the servants of the *living God*) be denied the benefit of that, which in all mens judgements is so reasonable a law, and they onely be excluded from that interest, which is common unto all, I cannot see: yet I say, that besides this our right; while we sit in Parliament, this fruit shall alwayes follow, that our *knowledge* and *conscience* shall never suffer us to vote such things against the truth, as to allow that power or privilege to our Parliament; as to make *Orders* and *Ordinances* without the consent, and contrary to the will of our King, much lesse to leave *moneys*, and raise *armes* against our King: for I conceive the Priviledges of Parliament to be *Private leges Parliamenti*, a proceeding according to certain rules; and private customes and lawes of Parliament, which no member of the Houses ought to transcend; whereas the other is *Privatio legum*, a proceeding without Law, contrary to all rules, as if our Parliament had an omnipotent power, and were more infallible than the Pope, to make all their Votes just, and their sayings truth.

I, but to make this assertion good, that the Parliament in some cases may justly take arms, and make warre upon their justest King, if they conceive him to be unjust: it is alledged, that although the King be *Singulus major*, greater then any one, yet he is *Universis minor*, lesse then all; therefore all may oppose him, if he refuse to consent unto them.

I answer, that the *weakness* of this argument, is singularly well shewed in the Answer to the Observations upon some of his Majesties late Answers and Expresses; and I will briefly contract the Answer, to say, the King is better than any one, doth not prove him to be better then two; and if his Supremacy be no more, then many others may challenge as much: for the Prince is *Singulus major*, a Lord above all Knights, and a Knight above all Esquires; he is *singulus major*, though *universis minor*; And if the King be *universis minor*, then the people have placed a King, not over, but under them: And Saint Peter doth much mistake, in calling the King *Supreme*, and they do ill to petition, when they might command: and I am confident, that no records (except of such Parliaments as have most unjustly deposed their Kings) can shew us one example, that the Parliament should have a power, which must of necessity over-rule the King, or make their Votes Law, without, and against the will of the King; for if their Votes be Law without his consent, what need they seek and solicit his consent?

But the clause in the Law made 2. Hen 5. cited by his Majesty, that it is of the Kings regality to grant or deny such of their Petitions as pleaseth himself, and the power which the Law gives the King to dissolve the Parliament; and especially the words in the Preface of cap. 12. Vices to Hen. 8. where the Kings Supremacy, not over single persons, but over all the body politique is clearly delivered, doth sufficiently shew the simplicity of this

And whatsoever I speak of Parliaments in all this Discourse, I mean of Parliaments disjunct from their King, and understand only the prevalent faction that ingrosseth and captivateth the Votes of many of the plain honest minded party, which hath been often seen both in general Councils, and the greatest Parliaments.

* Claus. 7. m. 3. dors.

Priviledges of Parliament, what they are.

Pag. 11. C. 38; 39, 40.

2 Pet. 2. 13.

As Edw. Carnarvan, and Richard the second.

That the King is *universis major*, greater then all: proved.

God having given, and the people having yielded their power to their King; they can never challenge any power, but what they have derived from their king.

2. Reason.
Sol.

2 Sam. 15. 4.

How easie it is to perswade the people to rebell.

Repl.

Sol.

How a Faction many times prevaileth to sway whole Councils and Parliaments.

The original of Parliaments; why they were at first ordained.

See Jo. Bodin. de repub. l. 1. c. 8. pag 95. in English, and the place is worth the noting.

Sophistry, and prove that the King being invested with all the power of the people, which is due to him as their King, he is the onely fountain of all power and justice; so that now they can justly claim no power, but what is derived from him; and therefore it is the more intolerable, that any man should usurp the power of the King, to destroy the King.

2. They will say, that *Salus populi est suprema lex*, The good of the people is the chiefest thing that is aymed at in all government; and the Parliament is the representative body of all the people; therefore if any thing be intended contrary to the good of the people, they may and ought lawfully to resist the same.

I answer, and confesse, that there is no wise King, but will carefully provide for the safety of his people, because his honour is included therein, and his ruine is involved in their destruction; but it is certain, that this principle hath been used as one of our Irish mantles, to hide the rebellion of many Traytors, and so abused to the confusion of many Nations; for there is not scarce any thing more facile, then to perswade a people that they are not well governed; as you may see in the example of Absolon; who by abusing this very Axiome, hath stolen away the hearts of many of his fathers subjects: for, as Lipsius saith, *Proprium est agri, nihil diu pati*, It is incident to sick men, and so to disordered minds, to indure nothing long, but foolishly to think every change to be a remedy; therefore the people that are soon perswaded to believe the lightest burthen to be too heavey, are easily led away by every seducing Absolon, who promise them deliverance from all their evils, so they may have their assistance to effect their ends; and then the people, swelled up with hopes, cry up those men as the reformers of the State; and so the craft and subtilty of the one, prevailing over the weaknesse and simplicity of the other, every Peer and Officer that they like not, must with *Teramines* be condemned, and themselves must have all preferments, or the King and Kingdom must be lyable to be ruined.

But you will say, the whole Parliament cannot be thought to be thus envious against the Officers of State; or thus carelesse of the common good, as, for any sinister end, to destroy the happiness of the whole.

I answer, that Parliaments are not alwayes guided by an unerring spirit, but as Generall Councils, so whole Parliaments have been repealed and declared null by succeeding Parliaments, as 21. Rich. 2. c. 12. all the Statutes made 11 Rich. 2. are disannulled: and this in the 21 Rich. 2. is totally repealed in 1 Hen. 4. c. 3. And 39 Hen. 6. we find a total repeal of a Parliament held at Coventry the year before, and the like: and the reason is, because many times by the hypocritical craft of some Faction, working upon the weaknesse of some, and the discontent of others, the worse part procuring most unto their party, prevaieth against the better.

Besides all this, I conceive the Original of Parliaments was, as it is expressed in the Kings Writ, to consult with the King, *De quibusdam arduis, & urgentibus negotiis regni*; they being collected from all the parts of the Kingdom, can best inform His Majesty, what grievances are sprung, and what reparations may be made, and what other things may be concluded for the good of His Subjects in every part: and His Majesty to inform them of his occasions and necessities which by their free and voluntary Subsidies, they are to supply both for his honour, and their own defence. In all this they have no power to command their King, no power to make Lawes without their King, no right to meet without his Writ, no liberty to stay any longer then he gives leave; how then can you meet, as you do now, in my Episcopall See at Kilkenny, and continue your Parliament there, to make warre against your lawful King? What colour of reason have you to do the same? you cannot pretend to be above your King; you have with lyes and falsehoods most wickedly seduced the whole Kingdom, and involved the same in

in a most unnatural *civil warre*: you are the *actives*, the King is *passive*; you make the *offensive*, He the *defensive warre*; for you began, and when He, like a Gracious King, still cryed for *peace*, you still made ready for *battel*.

And I doubt not but your selves know all this to be true, for you know, that all Parliament men must have their *elections* warranted by the Kings *special Writ*. You will say, that so you were; well, and you were chosen but by *subjects*, and intrusted by them to represent the *affections*, and to act the *duties* of subjects; and *subjects* cannot impose a *rule* upon their *Sovereign*, nor make any *ordinance* against their King; and therefore, if the *representative* body of subjects transcend the limits of their trust; and do in the name of the subjects, that which *all* subjects cannot do; and assume that power which the subjects neither *have*, nor can *conferre* upon them: I see no reason that any *subject* in the world should any wayes *approve* of their actions. For, how can your *priviledge* of being Parliament men, *priviledge* you from being *Murderers*, *Thieves*, or *Traytors*, if you do those things that the Law adjudgeth to be *murders*, *thefts*, and *treasons*? Your *elections* cannot quit you, and your *places* cannot excuse you; because he that is intrusted, cannot do more then *all* they that do intrust him; and therefore all subjects should *desert* them, that *exceed* the conditions, and *falsifie* the trust which their fellow-subjects have reposed in them.

Besides, you know the King must needs be reputed *part* of every Parliament, when as the selected company of *Knights* and *Burgeses*, together with the *Spiritual* and *Temporal* Peers, are the *representative* body, and the King is the *real* head of the whole Kingdom; and therefore if the *body* separates it self from the *head*, it can be but an *uselesse* trunk, that can produce no *act*, which pertaineth to the *good* of the *body*: because the *spirits* that gave life and motion to the whole body, are all *derived* from the *head*, as the Philosopher teacheth.

And further, you do *all* know, that as the King hath a power to *call*, so he hath a power to *dissolve* all Parliaments; and having a power of *dissolving* it when he *will*, he must needs have a power of *denying* what he *please*; because the other is farre greater then this. And therefore, all these *premisses* well considered, it is apparent that your *sitting* in *Kilkenny* without your King, (or his *Lieutenant*, which is to the same purpose,) and your *Votes* without his *assent*, are all *invalid* to exact obedience from any subjects; and for my part I deem them *fooles* that will obey them, and *rebels* that will take arms against their King at your commands; and if you *persist* in this your *rebellious* obstinacy, I wish your *judgements* may light *onely* upon your own heads: and that those, which like the followers of *Abson*, are simply led by you, may have the *mist* taken from their eyes, that they may be able to discern the *duty* they owe unto their King, that they be not involved, and so *perish* in your sin.

For, though you be never so *many*, and think that all the Kingdom, Towns, and Cities be for you; yet take heed lest you *imagine* such a *mischievous* device, which you are not able to perform; for the involving of *walls* meaning then into your bad businesses, as *Jehosaphat* was misled to war against *Ramoth Gilead*, doth not only bring a *punishment* upon them that are *seduced*, but a far greater *plague* upon you that do *seduce* them: and God, who hath at all times so exceeding graciously defended His Majesty, and contrary to your hopes and expectation, from almost nothing in the beginning of this *rebellion*, hath *increased* his power; so I hope an *invincible* Army, will be a *rock* of defence unto his annointed; because it is well known to all the world, that whatsoever this good King hath *suffered* at the hands of his subjects, it is for the preservation of the true Protestant Religion, of the established Lawes of his Kingdomes, and of those *Reverend* Bishops,

The letter sent from a Gentleman to his friend.

That men intrusted, should not go beyond their trust.

The King must needs be a part of every Parliament.

The power of dissolving the Parliament, greater then the power of denying any thing.

Psal. 21. 11.

1 Reg. 22. 29.

For what cause the King suffereth.

Grave

The Grand Rebellion.

Grave Doctors, and all the rest of the Learned and Religious Clergy, that have ever maintained, and will, to the spilling of the *last* drop of their blood, defend this truth against all *Papists*, and other *Anabaptistical Brownists* and *Señaries* whatsoever.

What a shame
it is to use the
power we have
received a-
gainst him
that gave it us.

And therefore if you that are his *Parliament*, should, like *unthankful vapours*, that cloud the *Sun* which raised them; or like the *Moon* in her interposition, that obscures the glorious *lamp* which enlightens her, in the *least* manner employ that strength, which you have received from his Majesty, when he called you together, against His Majesty; it will be an ugly spot, and a foul blemish, both for your *selves*, and all your *posterities*: And if not suddenly prevented, you may raise such spirits, that your selves cannot lay down; and sow such seeds of discord and discontent between the *King* and his people, as may derive through the whole *Race* of all succeeding Kings, such a *disaffection* to *Parliaments*, as may prove a *plague* and *poysen* to the whole Kingdom. For, if the *King* out of his favour and grace call you together, and intrust you with a power either of continuing, concluding, or enacting such things, as may be for the good of the Common wealth; and you abuse that power against him that gave it you: I must needs confesse that I am of his mind, who saith, That the *King* were freed before God and man from all blame, though he should use all possible *lawful* means to withdraw that power into his own hands; which being but lent them, hath been so misapplied against him: for if my servant desireth to hold my sword, and when I intrust him with it, he seeks to thrust the same into my breast, Will not every man judge it *lawful* for me to gain my sword, if it be possible, out of his hand, and with that sword to cut off his head, that would have thrust it into my heart? or, as one saith, If I convey my estate in trust to any friend, to the use of me and mine, and the person intrusted falsifie the faith reposed in him, by conveying the profits of my estate to other ends, to the prejudice of me and mine, no man will think it *unlawful* for me to annihilate (if I can possibly do it) such a deed of trust.

That it is law-
ful to recall a
power given,
when it is a-
bused.

And therefore, Noble Peers and Gentlemen of this ancient Kingdom of *Ireland*, that your *Parliament* may prove *successfull* to the benefit of the *Common-wealth*; let me, that have some interest and charge over all the Inhabitants and Sojourners of *Kilkenny*, perswade you to think your selves no *Parliament* without your *King*; and that your *Votes* and *Ordinances*, carrying with them the power, though not the name of *Acts of Parliament*, to oblige both *King* and *Subjects* to obey them, are the most absolute *subversion* of our *Fundamental Lawes*, the destructive *invasion* of our *rightful Liberties*; And that by an *usurped* power of an *arbitrary* rule, to dispose of our *estates*, or any part thereof as you please, to make us *Delinquents* when you will, and to punish us as *Malignants* at your pleasure, and through your discontent to dispossesse your *rightful King*, though it were to set the *Crown* upon the head of your greatest *Oneal*; is such a priviledge, that never any *Parliament* hath yet claimed. Or if you still go on for the enlargement of your own *usurped* power, under the title of the *priviledge* of *Parliament*, to *Vote diminution* of the *Kings just Prerogative*, that your *Progenitors* never denied to any of his *Ancestors*, to exclude us *Bishops* out of your *Assemblies*, without whom your determinations can never be so well concluded in the fear of God, and to invade the *Liberties* of your fellow-subjects, under the pretences of *religion*, and the *publique good*: I will say no more, but turn my self to God, and put it in my *Liturgie*; From *Parasites*, *Pharisees*, *Popes*, and such *Parliaments*, Good Lord deliver us.

CHAP. IX.

sheweth the unanimous consent and testimonies of many famous learned men, and Martyrs, both ancient and modern, that have confirmed and justified the truth of the former Doctrine.

And so you see, that as for no cause, so for no kind or degree of men, be they what you will; Peers, Magistrates, Heads of Families, Darlings of the people, or any other Patriots, whom the Commons shall elect, it is lawfull to rebell against, or any wayes to resist our chief Princes, and soveraign Governours. This point is as clear as the Sunne; and yet to make it still more clear unto them, that will not believe that truth which they like not; but, as *Tertullian* saith, *Credunt Scripturis, ut credant adversus Scripturas*, do alledge Scriptures to justify their own wilful opinions, against all Scripture; I will here adde a few testimonies of most famous men, to confirm the same.

Henry de Bracton, Lord chief Justice of the Kings Bench, under *Hen. 3.* saith, as he is quoted by the Lord *Elismer*, That under the King, there are free men and servants, and every man is under him, and he is under none but onely God: If any thing be demanded of the King, (seeing no writ can issue forth against the King) there is a place for Petition, that he would correct and amend his fact; and, if he shall refuse to do it, he shall have punishment enough, when the Lord shall come to be his revenger; for otherwise, touching the Charters and deeds of Kings, neither private persons, nor Justitiaries, ought to dispute. This was the Law of that time: what new Lawes our young Lawyers have found since, I know not; I am not so good a Lawyer.

The Civil Lawyers do farre surpasse the Common Law herein; for, *Corsetus Siculus* saith, *Rex in suo regno potest omnia, imò de plenitudine potestatis*. And *Marginista* saith, *Qui disputat de potestate Principis, utrum bene fecerit, est infamis*. *Hostiensis* saith, *Princeps solutus est legibus*; [id est, quoad vim coactivam, non quoad vim directivam: *Thom. 1. 2e. q. 96. ar. 5. ad 3.*] quia nulli subest, nec ab aliis judicatur. And, to omit all the rest, *Gulielmus Barclaius* out of *Bartolus*, *Baldus*, *Castrensis Romanus*, *Alexander*, *Felinus*, *Albericus*, and others, doth inferre. *Principem ex certâ scientiâ, supra jus, extra jus, & contra jus omnia posse; Principem solum, legem constituere universalem. Princeps soli Deo rationem debet. Princeps solutus est legibus, & temerarium est velle, Majestatem Regiam ullis terminis limitare*: which things if I should English, seditious heads would think my head not sufficient to pay for this; but I only repeat their words, and not justify their sayings: and therefore to proceed to more familiar things.

Pasquerius writeth that *Lewis* the eleventh did urge his Senators and Counsellors to set forth a certain Edict, which they refused to do, because it seemed to them very unjust; and the King being very angry, threatened death unto them all: whereupon *Vacarius*, President of the Council, and all the Senate in their purple robes came unto the King; and the King, astonished therewith, demanded whence they came, and what they would have; *Vacarius* answered for all, We come to undergoe that death which you have threatened unto us; for you must know (O King) that we will rather suffer death, then do any thing against our conscience towards God, or our duty towards you: Wherein we see the Nobility of this King, like

G g

Noble

Testimonies of famous men.

L. Elismer in orat. habita in Camera Fiscali, anno 1609. pag. 108.

Corsetus Sic. tract. de potestate. reg. par. 3. num 66.

Marginista in Angelum Perusinum. c. 1. g. tit. 29. De crimine sacrilegii.

Hostiens. Sum. l. 1. rubr. 32. de offic. legati. *Barclaius* contra Monarchomach. l. 3. c. 14.

Pasquer. de Antiquit. Gallican. l. 1. Sicut olim Lacedemonii, vitoribus responderunt: Si duriora morte linperetis, potius moriemur.

Noble Christians, do more willingly offer to lay down their *lives* at the command of their Liege Lord, then unchristian-like *rebell*, and take Arms against their delinquent Sovereign. And so Colmannus, a godly Bishop, did hinder the Scottish Nobility to rise against *Fercardus*, that was their most wicked King.

Tertul. ad Scapul.

Tertullian, writing unto *Scapula*, the President of *Carthage*, saith, We are defamed, when the Christian is found to be the enemy of no man, no not of the Emperour; whom because he knoweth him to be appointed by God, he must needs love and reverence, and with him safe with all the Roman Empire; for we honour and worship the Emperour as a man second from God, & solo Deo minorem, and inferiour onely to God: And in his *Apologetico*, he saith, Deus est solus in cuius solius potestate sunt reges, a quo sunt secundi, post quem primi, super omnes homines, ante omnes deos; it is God alone, in whose power Kings are kept, which are second from him, first after him, above all men, and before all gods; that is, all other Magistrates, that are called gods.

Tertul. in Apolog.

Athanasius, de summo regum imperio. q. 55.

Athanasius saith, that, As God is the King and Emperour in all the world, that doth exercise his power and authority over all things that are in Heaven, and in Earth; So the Prince and King is appointed by God over all earthly things: Et ille liberâ suâ voluntate facit quod vult, sicut ipse Deus; and the King by his own free-will doth whatsoever he pleaseth, even as God himself: And the Civilians could say but little more.

Simulachrum à similitudine dictum. Isidor.

Saint Augustine saith, Videtis simulachrorum templa, you see the temples of our Images, partly fallen for want of reparation, partly destroyed, partly shut up, partly changed to some other uses; ipsaque Simulachra, and those Images either broken to pieces, or burned and destroyed; and those Powers and Potentates of this world, which sometimes persecuted the Christians, pro istis simulachris, for those Images; to be overcome and tamed, non à repugnantibus, sed à morientibus Christianis, not of resisting, but of dying Christians; and the rest of the Fathers are most plentiful in this Theam: and therefore to the later Writers,

Aug. ad frat. Madaur. ep. 42. See the duty of Subjects: or a persuasion to Loyalty, which is a full collection of the Fathers to this purpose.

Card-Alan. in resp. ad Instit. Britannicam. c. 4.

Cardinal Alan saith, (but herein most untruly) that the Protestants are desperate men, and most factious; for, as long as they have their Princes, and Lawes, indulgent to their own wills, they know well enough how to use the prosperous blasts of fortune; but if the Princes should withstand their desires, or the Laws should be contrary to their minds, then presently, they break asunder the bonds of their fidelity, they despise Majesty, and with fire and sword, slaughters, and destructions, they rage in every place, and do run headlong into the contempt of all divine and humane things: which accusation, if it were true, then I confesse the Protestants were to be blamed more then all the people in the world. But, howsoever some factious, seditious, anabaptistical, and rebellious spirits amongst us, not deserving the name of Protestants, may be justly taxed for this intolerable vice: yet, to let you see how falsely he doth accuse us, that are true Protestants, and how fully we do agree with the Scriptures, and the Fathers of the purest age of the Church, in the Doctrine of our obedience to our Kings and Princes; I will onely give you a taste of what we teach; And to begin with the first reformer.

Sleidan. commentar. l. 5.

Luther saith, no man which stirreth up the multitude to any tumult, can be excused from his fault, though he should have never so just a cause; but he must go to the Magistrate, and attempt nothing privately: because all sedition and insurrection is against the Commandement of God, which forbiddeth, and detesteth the same.

Philip Melancthon saith, though it be the Law of Nature to expell force with force, yet it is no wayes lawful for us to withstand the wrong done

done us by the *Magistrate* with any force; yea, though we seem to promise our obedience upon this condition, if the *Magistrate* should command lawful things; yet it is not therefore *lawful* for us to withstand his unjust force with force: for though their *Empires* should be gotten and possessed by wicked men, yet the work of their government is from God, and it is the good creature of God; and therefore, whatsoever the *Magistrate* doth, no force ought to be taken up against the *Magistrate*.

Melancthon
apud Luther.
tom. I. p. 463.

Brentius saith; that the rule and government of a Prince, may be evil two ways.

The rule of a
Prince may be
evil two ways.

1. When he commandeth any thing against the faith of Christ; as, to deny our God, to worship *Idols*, and the like: and herein we must give place to the saying of the Apostle, *It is better to obey God, then men*; but in this case the subject must in no way rage, or rise, against his *Magistrate*, but he should rather patiently suffer any evil, then any way strike again; and rather endure any inconveniences and discommodities, then any ways obey those ungodly commands.

2. The Prince his government may be evil, when he doth, or commandeth any thing against the *publique* justice; of which kind are the *exaction* of our goods, or the *vexation* of our bodies; and in these kinds of injuries, the subject ought rather then in the former, to be obedient to his *Magistrate*; for if he steps forth to arms, God hath pronounced of such men, *He that smiteth with the sword, shall perish with the sword*.

Brentius in re
spon. ad artic.
rusticorum.

Cranmer Arch Bishop of *Canterbury*, together with the rest of the Bishops, and most famous Divines of this Kingdom, saith, If Princes shall do any thing contrary to their duties, God hath not appointed any superior Judge over them in this world, but they are to render their account to God, which hath reserved their judgement to himself alone; and therefore it is not lawful for any subjects, how wicked soever their Princes shall be, to take arms, or raise sedition against them; but they are to powre forth their prayers to God; in whose hand Kings hearts are; that he would enlighten them with his Spirit; whereby they might rightly, to the glory of God, use that sword which he hath delivered unto them.

Cranmer in
lib. de Christiā
ni hominis
instituitis.

Gulielmus Tindal, a godly Martyr of Christ; when Cardinal *Lancon*'s sonne did lead the Lambs of Christ by troops unto the slaughter; doth then describe the duty of subjects according to the strait rule of the Gospel; saying, *David spared Saul*; and if he had killed him, he had sinned against God; for in every Kingdom, the King, which hath no superior, judgeth of all things; and therefore he that endeavoureth, or intendeth any mischief or calamity against the Prince that is a Tyrant, or a Persecutor; or whosoever with a froward hand doth but touch the Lords anointed, he is a rebel against God, and resisteth the ordinance of God: as often as a private man sinneth, he is held obnoxious to his King, that can punish him for his offence; but when the King offendeth, he ought to be reserved to the divine examination and vengeance of God: and as it is not lawful upon any pretence to resist the King, so it is not lawful to rise up against the Kings Officer, or *Magistrate*; that is sent by the King for the execution of those things which are commanded by the King: for, as our Saviour saith *He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me*; And as he saith unto *Saul*, when he persecuted the servants of Christ, *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?* when as he was then in Heaven; farre above the reach of *Saul*; yet, because there is such a mystical union betwixt Christ and his Church, the head and members; as is betwixt man and wife; no man can be said to injure the one, but he must wrong the other: so, whosoever resisteth the Kings Lieutenant, Deputy, or any other *Magistrate*, or Officer that he sendeth, with Commission to execute his

Tindal, l. de
Christiani ho-
minis obedientia.

Acts 9. 4.

1 Sam. 10.

Whatsoever is done to any Messenger, is deemed as done to him that sent him.

* Saint Paul saith, God sendeth them strong delusions.

2 Thess. 2. 11. But what God sendeth justly as the punisher of their sin, the Devil sendeth maliciously, as the guider of them to Hell. *Barneſius in Tract de humanis Conſtitutis.*

Master Dod upon the Commandements.

Master Byfield upon 1 Pet. 2. 13.

Serenissimus Rex Jacobus, de vera lege libera Monarchia.

commands, resisteth the King himself; and all the indignities that are offered to the Kings Embassadour, or servant, that he thus sendeth, are deemed as indignities offered to the King himself; as we see, the base usage of David's servants by King Hanun, David revenged as an abuse offered unto himself; because the Kings person cannot be in all places, where justice and judgement, and many other offices and actions are necessarily to be done throughout the latitude of his Dominions; but his power and his authority, deputed to those his servants and officers that he sendeth, are as the lively representatives of the King, in every part of his Kingdome; and whatsoever favour, payment, neglect, or abuse, is shewed unto any of them; the same, in all Nations is accounted, and therefore punished or rewarded, as a service done unto the King himself; as our Saviour, when but the Tole gatherer came for the Tribute-mony, saith, Give unto Caesar, what belongeth unto Caesar.

And therefore it is but an idle, simple, most foolish, and frivolous distinction of men, to deceive children and fools; to say, They love and honour their King, and they fight not against their King, but against such and such, whom notwithstanding they know to be the Kings chiefest officers, and to be sent with the Kings Power, Commission, and Authority, to do those things that they do. This is such a foppery, that I know not what to say, to undeceive those that are so desirous to be deceived, when the Devil, * which knoweth how near their destruction hangeth over their heads, sends them strong delusions, that they should so easily, and so filly believe such palpable lyes, as to make them think, they love him dearly, whom they murder most barbarously.

Barneſius, a very godly and learned man, treating of the same Argument, saith in a manner the same thing; That the servants of Christ, rather then either commit any evil, or resist any Magistrate, ought patiently to suffer the losse of their goods, and the tearing of their members; nay, the Christian, after the example of his Master Christ, ought to suffer the bitterest death for truth and righteousness sake; and therefore (saith he) whosoever shall rebell under pretence of Religion, eterna damnationis reus erit; he shall be found guilty of eternall damnation.

Master Dod saith, that, where the Prince commandeth a lawful act, the subjects must obey; and if he enjoynes unlawful commands, we must not rebell, but we must be content to bear any punishment that shall be laid upon us, even unto death it self; and we should suffer our punishment without grudging, even in heart: and this he presseth by the example of the Three Children, and of Daniel that was a mighty man, and of very great power in Babylon, yet never went about to gather any power against his King, though it were in his own defence.

Master Byfield expounding the words of Saint Peter, *ut unusquisque*, as to the Supreme, saith, This should confirm every good subject to acknowledge and maintain the Kings Supremacy, and willingly to bind himself thereto by oath; for the Oath of Supremacy is the bond of this subjection; and this oath men must take without equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation: yea, it should bind in them the same resolution that was in Saint Bernard, who saith, If all the world should conspire against me, to make me complet any thing against the Kings Majesty, yet I would fear God, and not dare to offend the King, ordained of God.

I might fill a Volume, if I would collect the testimonies of our best Writers; I will adde but one, of a most excellent King, our late King James of ever blessed memory; for he saith, The improbity, or fault of the Governour, ought not to subject the King to them, over whom he

is

is appointed Judge by God; for if it be not *lawful* for a *private* man to prosecute the *injury* that is offered unto him against his *private* adversary, when God hath committed the sword of *vengeance* onely to the Magistrate, how much *lesse* *lawful* is it, think you, either for *all* the people, or for some of them to *usurp* the sword, whereof they have *no right*, against the *publique* Magistrate, to whom *alone* it is committed by God?

This hath been the Doctrine of all the *Learned*, of all the *Saints* of God, of all the *Martyrs* of Jesus Christ; and therefore not onely they that suffered in the first Persecutions under *Heathen* Tyrants, but also they that of late lived under *Queen Mary*, and were compelled to undergoe most *exquisite* torments, without number, and beyond measure; yet none of them, either in his former life, or when he was brought to his execution; did either *despise* her cruell Majesty, or yet curse this Tyrant-Queen, that made such havock of the Church of Christ, and causelessly spilt so much innocent blood; but being true *Saints*, they feared God, and honoured her: and in all obedience to her *authority*, they yielded their *estates* and goods to be spoyled, their *liberties* to be infringed, and their *bodies* to be imprisoned, abused, and burned, as oblations unto God, rather then, contrary to the *command* of their Master Christ, they would give so much *allowance* unto their consciences, as, for the preservation of their *lives*, to make any shew of *resistance* against their most bloody Persecutors, whom they knew to have their *authority* from that bloody, yet their *lawful*, Queen.

The obedient example of the Martyrs in the time of Queen Mary.

And therefore I hope it is *apparent* unto all men that have their eyes open, and will not, with *Balaam*, most *wisfully* deceive themselves; or with the *Sodomites*, grope for the wall at noon-day; that, by the *Law* of God, by the *example* of all *Saints*, by the *rule* of honesty, and by all other *equitable* considerations, it is not *lawfull* for any man, or any degree or sort of men, Magistrates, Peers, Parliaments, Popes, or whatsoever you please to call them, to give so much liberty unto their *misguided* consciences, and so farre to follow the desires of their *unlawful* affections, as for any cause, or under any pretence to withstand Gods *Vice-gerent*, and with *violence* to make warre against their *lawful* Kings or indeed, in the least degree, and lowest manner, to offer any *indignity* either in thought, word, or deed; either to *Moses* our King, or to *Aaron* our High Priest, that hath the care and charge of our souls; or to any other of those *subordinate* callings, that are *lawfully* sent by them to discharge those offices wherewith they are intrusted: This is the *truth* of God, and so acknowledged by all good men. And what Preachers teach the contrary; I dare boldly affirm it, in the name of God, that they are the *incendiaries* of Hell, and deserve rather with *Corah*, to be consumed with fire from Heaven; then to be *believed* by any man on Earth.

Numb. 24. 15. Gen. 19. 11.

The conclusion of the whole.

CHAP. X.

Sheweth the impudencie of the Anti-Cavalier: How the Rebels deny they warre against the King: An unanswerable Argument to presse obedience: A further discussion, whether for our Liberty, Religion, or Laws, we may resist our Kings; and a pathological disswasion from Rebellion.

Anti-Cavalier,
p. 17, 18, &c.

* Yet Tertul.
Cypr. (whom I
quoted before)
and R. ffen.
bist. Eccles. l. 2.
c. 1. and S. Au-
gust in Psal
1:4. and others
avouch, the
Christians
were far stron-
ger then their
enemies, and
the greatest
part of Julians
army were
Christians.

The Homily
against rebel-
lion, p. 390. &
301.

I Could insert here abundant more, both of the *Ancient* and *Modern* Writers, that do with *invincible* Arguments confirm this truth. But the *Anti Cavalier* would perswade the world, that all those *learned* Fathers, and those *constant* Martyrs, that spent their *purest* blood to preserve the pu- rity of religion unto us, did either *belye* their own strength, * or *besfoo* themselves with the *undue* desire of *over-valued* Martyrdome; but now they are instructed by a *better* Spirit, they have *clearer* illuminations to inform them to *resist* (if they have strength) the *best*, and most lawful authority that shall either *oppose*, or not *consent* unto them: thus they throw dirt in the Fathers face, and *dishonour* that *glorious* company, and *noble* army of Martyrs, which our *Church* confesseth, praiseth God; and therefore no wonder that they will *warre* against Gods *annointed* here on Earth, when they dare thus *dishonour* and abuse his *Saints* that *raign* in Heaven: but I hope the world will believe, that those *holy* Saints were as *honest* men, and those *worthy* Martyrs, that so *willingly* sacrificed their lives in defence of truth, could as well *testifie* the truth and be as well *informed* of the truth, as these *sedicious* spirits, that spend all their breath to raise *arms* against their Prince, and to spill so much *blood* of the most *faithful* subjects.

But though the authority of the *best* Authours is of *no* authority with them, that will believe none but themselves; yet I would wish all other men to read that *Homily* of the Church of England, where it is said, that God did never long prosper rebellious subjects against their Prince, were they never so *great* in authority, or so *many* in number: yea, were they never so *noble*, so *many*, so *stout*, so *witty* and *politique*, but alwayes they came by the overthrow, and to a *shameful* end. Yea, though they pretend the *red- dresse* of the Common wealth, (which *rebellion* of all other mischiefs, doth most destroy;) or *reformation* of religion, (whereas *rebellion* is most against all true religion) yet the *speedy* overthrow of all *Rebels* sheweth, that God alloweth neither the *dignity* of any person, nor the *multitude* of any people, nor the *weight* of any cause, as sufficient; for the which, the subjects may move *rebellion* against their Princes: and I would to God that every subject would read over all the six parts of that Homily against wilful rebellion, for there are many *excellent* passages in it; which, being *diligently* read, and *seriously* weighed, would work upon every *honest* heart, never to *rebell* against their lawful Prince.

And therefore the *Lawes* of all Lands being so plain to pronounce them *Traitors*, that take *arms* against their Kings, (as you may see in the *Sta- tutes* of England, 25 Edw. 3. c. 2. And as you know, it was one of the greatest Articles for which the Earl of *Strafford* was beheaded, that he had actually leavied warre against the King:) The Nobles and Gentry, Lords and Commons of both Houses of Parliament, in all Kingdomes, be- ing convicted in their consciences with the *truth* of this Doctrine, do in all their *Votes* and *Declarations* conclude and protest, (and I must believe them) that all the *levies*, *moneys*, and other provision of horse and men, that

that they raise and arm, are for the safety of the Kings person, and for the maintenance of his Crown and Dignity.

Nay, more then this, the very *Rebels* in this our Kingdom of Ireland, knowing how odious it is before God and man, for subjects to *rebell* and take arms against their lawful King, do *protest*, if you will believe them, that they are the Kings *souldiers*, and do *fight* and suffer for their King, and in defence of his Prerogatives.

But you know the old saying, *Tuta frequensque via est per amici fallere nomen*, The Devil deceiveth us soonest, when he comes like an *Angel* of light; and you shall ever know the true subjects best by their *actions*, farre better then by their *Votes*, *Declarations*, or *Protestations*; for, *Quid audiam verba, cum videam contraria facta?* When men do come in *sheeps* cloathing, and inwardly are ravening *wolves*; when they come with *boney* in their mouths, and *gall* in their hearts; and, like *Joab*, with *peace* in their tongue; and a *sword* in their hand; a *petition* to intreat, and a *weapon* to compell; I am told by my Saviour, that *I shall know them by their works*, not their words.

And therefore, as our Saviour saith, *Not he that saith, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdome of Heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father which is in Heaven*: So I say, not he that cryeth *peace, peace*, is the son of *peace*, but he that doth obey his Prince, and doth most willingly whatsoever he commandeth; or suffereth most patiently for refusing to do what he commandeth amisse: This is the true subject.

Well, to draw towards the end of this point, of our obedience to our Sovereign Governour, I desire you to remember a *double* story. The one of *Plutarch*, which tells us how the *tail* of the *Serpent* rebelled against the *head*, because that did *guide* the whole body, and drew the *tail* after it whithersoever it would, therefore the *head* yielded that the *tail* should rule; and then, it being *small*, and wanting *eyes*, drew the *whole* body, head and all, through such *narrow* crevices, clefts, and thickers, that it soon brought the *Serpent* to confusion. The other is of *Titus Livius*, who tells us, that, when the people of *Rome* made a *factious* combination to *rebell* against their Governours, *Menenius Agrippa* went unto them, and said, that on a time all the *members* conspired against the *stomack*, and alledged, that she devoured with *ease* and pleasure, what they had purchased with great *labour* and pain; therefore the feet would *walk* no more, the hands would *work* no more, the tongue would *plead* no more for it; and so within a while, the long fast of the *stomack* made *weak* knees, feeble hands, *dimme* eyes, a *faltering* tongue, and a heave heart; and then presently, seeing their former *folly*, they were glad to be *reconciled* to the *Stomack* again: and this *reconciled* the people unto their Governours.

I need not make any other application, but to wish, and to advise us all with the people of *Rome*, to submit our selves unto our *Heads*, that are our Governours, lest, if we be guided by the *tail*, we shall bring our selves, with the *Serpent*, unto destruction:

And to remember that excellent speech of *S. Basil*: The people through *ambition*, are fallen into grievous *Anarchie*, whence it happeneth, that all the *exhortations* of their rulers do no good: no man hath any list to obey, but every man would reign; being swelled up with *pride*, that springeth out of his ignorance: And a little after, he saith, that some sit no lesse *implacable*, and bitter examiners of things amisse, then *unjust* and malevolent Judges of things well done, so that we are more *brutish* then the very beasts; because they are quiet among themselves, but we wage cruel and bloody *warrs* against each other.

And let us never forget that the Lord saith, *Honour thy father and thy mother*; and I must tell you, that by *father* in this precept, you must not

That is, when the Commonalty guide the Nobility, and the Subjects rule their King.

Titus Livius, Decad. 1. l. 23

Basilins de Spiritu Sancto, c. ult. scil. 30.

An argument of obedience drawn from the fifth Commandment.

onely

1 Chron. 2. 24.

What we are,
and should be,
without King
or Priest.

Whether for
the liberty of
Subjects, we
can be war-
ranted to re-
bell.
In the di-
course of the
differences be-
twixt King and
Parliament.

The Liberties
of the Primi-
tive Church,
what they
thought.

What is often
aimed at un-
der the name
of the liberty
of the Sub-
jects.

Whether for
the preserva-
tion of our Re-
ligion, we can
be warranted
to rebell.

onely understand your *natural* father, but also the King, who is your *politick* father, and the father of *all* his subjects, and the Priest your spiritual father, and those likewise that *in loco patris*, do breed, and bring you up: and though *natural* affection produceth more love and honour unto those fathers that begat us; yet, *reason* and *religion* oblige us more unto the King, that is the *common* father of all, and to the Priest, that begat us unto Christ, then unto him that begat us into the world; for that without our *new birth*, which is ordinarily done by the office of the Priest, we were no Christians; and as good *unborn*, as *unchristened*, that is *unregenerated*: and without the King, that is *Custos utriusque tabule*, the preserver both of the *publick justice*, and of the *pure religion*, our fathers can neither bring us up in *peace*, nor teach us in the *faith* of Christ: and therefore if my father should plot any *treason* against the King, or prove a *Rebel* against him, I am bound in *all duty* and *conscience*, to preferre the *publick* before the *private*, and if I cannot otherwise *avert* the same, to reveal the plot to preserve the King, though it were to the *losse* of my father's life; and therefore certainly they that *curse*, that is, *speak evil* of their King are *curst*; and they that *rebel* against him, shall never have their *dayes long in the land*, but shall, through their own *rebellion*, be soon cut off from the land of the living.

For mine own part, I have often admired, why the subjects of King CHARLES should raise any *civil warre*, and especially turn their *spleen* against him. If any say, it is for their *liberties*: I answer, that I am *confident* His Majesty never thought to bring any (the *meanest* of his subjects) into *bondage*; nor by an *arbitrary* government, to reduce them into the *like* condition, as the *Peasants of France*, or the *Boores of Germany*, or the *Pickroes of Spain* are, as some do most *falsely* suggest: but that they should *continue*, as they have been in the *dayes* of his Father, of blessed memory, and of all other his most *noble* Progenitors, the *freest* subjects under Heaven. And I hope they desire not to be such *Libertines*, as those in the *Primitive Church*, who (because *Christian liberty* freed us from all *Jewish* Ceremonies, and all *typical Rites*, which were such a burthen, that *neither we nor our fathers could undergo*, and also from the *curse* and *malediction* of the *moral law*) would, under this *pretence* of *Christian liberty*, be freed from the *obligation* of all *lawes*, and give themselves the *freedom* to do what they pleased; for this would prove to be, not the *liberty*, but the *bondage*, and the *base slavery* of a people, that are not *governed* by *lawes*, but *suffered* to do what they please; because, that neither *God*, nor *good lawes* confine us, but for our own *good*: and he that forbids us to obey *impious* commands, bids us to obey all *righteous lawes*; and rather to *suffer*, then to *resist* the most *unrighteous* Governours. But I fear, that under the name of the *liberty* of the subjects, the *licentiousness* of the *flesh* is *aymed* at; because you may see by what is *already* come to *pass*, our *civil* dissention hath procured to many men such a *liberty*, that few men are sure either of their *life* or *estate*: and God *blesse* me from such a *liberty*, and send me rather to be the *slave* of Christ, then such a *libertine* of the world.

And if *religion* be the cause that moveth you here hereunto, I confesse this should be *dearer* to us then our *lives*; but this title is like a *velvet mask*, that is often used to cover a *deformed face*, & *decipimur specie relictis*: for as that worthy and learned Knight, Sir John Cheek, that was Tutor to King Edward the sixth, saith, If you were offered *Persecution* for *Religion*, you ought to *flye*, and yet you intend to *fight*; if you would stand in the *truth*, ye ought to suffer like *Martyrs*, and you would slay like *Tyrants*: Thus for *Religion* you keep no *Religion*, and neither will follow the *Counsel* of Christ, nor the *constancie* of Martyrs. And a little after, he demands why the people should not like that *Religion* which Gods Word estab-
lished,

blished, the Primitive Church hath authorized, the greatest learned men of this Realm, and the whole consent of the Parliament have confirmed, and the Kings Majesty hath set forth, is it not truly set out? Dare you Commons take upon you more learning then the chosen Bishops and Clerks of this Realm have? This was the judgement of that judicious man. And I must tell you that Religion never taught Rebellion; neither was it the will of Christ, that Faith should be compelled by fighting, but perswaded by preaching; for the Lord sharply reproveth them that built up Sion with blood, and Hierusalem with iniquitie: and the practice of Christ and his Apostles was to reform the Church by prayers and preaching, and not with fire and sword; and they presse obedience unto our Governours; yea, though they were impious, infidels, and idolatrous, with arguments fetched from Gods ordinance, from mans conscience, from wrath and vengeance, and from the terrible sentence of damnation. And this truth is so solid, that it hath the clear testimony of holy Writ, the perpetual practice of all the Primitive Saints and Martyrs; and, I dare boldly say it, the unanimous consent of all the orthodox Bishops, and Catholick Writers, both in England and Ireland, and in all the world, That Christian Religion teacheth us never with any violence to resist, or with arms to withstand the authority of our lawful Kings.

If you say, The Laws of our Land, and the Constitutions of this our Kingdom, give us leave to stand upon our libertie, and to withstand all tyrannie that shall be offered unto us, especially when our estates, lives, and religion, are in danger to be destroyed.

To this I say with *Laelius*, that *Nulla lex valeat contra jus divinum*, Mans lawes can exact no further obedience then may stand with the observance of the divine precepts; and therefore we must not so preferre them, or relye upon them so much, as to prejudice the other: and for our fear of the losse of estate, life, or religion, I with it may not be settled upon groundlesse suspitions; for I know, and all the world may believe, that our King is a most clement and religious Prince, that never did give cause unto any of his subjects to foster such feares and jealousies within his breast; and you know what the Psalmist saith of many men, *They were afraid, where no fear was*. And Job tells you, whom terrors shall make afraid on every side, and shall drive him to his feet; (that is, to runne away, as you see the Rebels do from the Kings Army in every place) and in whose Tabernacle shall dwell the King of fear: for, though the ungodly fleeth, when no man pursueth him; yet, they that trust in God are confident as Lyons, without fear; they know that the heart of the King is not in his own hand, but in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of waters, and he turneth it whithersoever it pleaseth him; either to save them, or destroy them, even as it pleaseth God: He ordereth the King how to rule the people.

And therefore, in the name of God, and for Christ Jesus sake, let me perswade you to put away all causelesse feares, and groundlesse jealousies, and trust your King; if not, trust your God; and let your will, which is sounehappy in it self, become right and equall, by receiving direction from the will of God; and remember what *Ulpian* the great Civilian saith, that Rebellion and disobedience unto your King, is *proximum sacrilegio crimen*, and that it is, in *Samuel's* judgement, as the sinne of witchcraft; whereby men forsake God, and cleave unto the Devil: and above all, remember the oath that many of you have taken, to be true and faithful unto your King, and to reveal whatsoever evils or plots that you shall know or hear to be contrived against his Person, Crown, or Dignity, and defend him from them, *Pro posse tuo*, to the uttermost of your power, So help you God. Which Oath, how they that are any wayes assistant in a warre against their King, can dispence with, I cannot with all my wit and learning

Sir John Cheek
in, The true
subject to the
rebell p. 4 & 6.

Micah 3. 10.

True religion
never rebel-
leth.

Whether the
Laws of our
Land do war-
rant us to re-
bell.

Laelius de pri-
vileg Eccles.
112.

Job 18. 11, 12

Prov 21. 1.
Bonav. ad sec.
eundam dist.
35. art 2. q. 1.

The remem-
brance of his
Oath should be
a terror to
the conscience
of every Rebel.

The Grand Rebellion.

1 Kings 20, 31.

The Authours
confidence of
the kings vi-
story.A rebellion,
that the like
was never
seen.

learning understand : and therefore return, O Shulamite; return, lay down thine arms, submit thy self unto thy Sovereign, and know, that as the Kings of Israel were merciful Kings, so is the King of England; thou shalt find grace in the time of need: but delay not this duty, lest, as Demades saith the Athenians never sate upon treaties of peace, but in mourning weeds, when by the losse of their nearest friends, they had paid too dear for their quarrels, so thou be driven to do the like: for (except the sinnes of the people require no lesse satisfaction, then the ruine of the Kingdom) I am confident, and am ready to hazard life and fortunes in this confidence, that the goodnesse of our King, the justnesse of his cause, and the prayers of all honest and faithful Ministers for him and our Church, will in the end give him the victorie over all those his rebellious enemies; that with lyes, slanders, and false imputations, have seduced the Kings subjects, to strengthen themselves against their Sovereign: and all the world shall see, that as Christ, so, in sensu modificato, this Vicegerent of Christ, shall rule in the midst of these his enemies, and shall reign untill he puts them all under his feet.

And because we never read of any rebellion (not this of Corah here, which of above six hundred thousand men had not many more then 250. Rebels: nor that of Absolon against David, who had all the Priests and Levites, and the best Counsellors, and a mighty Army with him, such as was able to overthrow Absolon and twenty thousand men in the plain field: nor Israel against Rehoboam, because they did but revolt from him, and not with any hostile Arms invade him: nor the Senate of Rome against Caesar, though he was the first that intrenched upon their libertie, and intended to exchange their Aristo-democracie into a Monarchie: nor any other that I can remember, except that Councel which condemned Christ to death) that was grown to that height, to be so absolute, and so perfect a Rebellion in all respects, as that a whole Parliament in a manner, and the major part of the Plebeians of a whole Kingdom, should make a Covenant with Hell it self, yea, and which is most considerable, that (as I understand the beginning of this rebellion in this Kingdom of Ireland was) the Commonalty therein should so fascinate the Nobility, as to allure them so long to confirm their Votes, till at last they must be compelled in all things to adhere unto their conclusions; that they whose power was formerly most absolute without them, must now be subordinate unto them, that the strength of the people may defend the weaknesse of the Nobility from that desert, which they merited by their simplicity, to be seduced to joyn with them to rebell against their King. Therefore, if any faction in any Parliament should thus combine against the Lord, and against his annointed, there is no question, but their reeduce ment to obedience, will make that Majesty, which shall effect it, more glorious to posterity, than were any of all his Predecessors.

And therefore I say again, Return, O Shulamite, return, and remember I pray thee, remember, lest my words shall accuse thy conscience in the day of judgement, that we are often commanded in many places of the Scriptures, to obey our Kings; but in no place bidden, nor permitted to rise up and assist any Parliament against our King. If thou sayest, Thou dost not do it against thy King, but against such and such that do abuse the King; I told you before, that whosoever resisteth him that hath the Kings authority, resisteth the King: and therefore the whole world of intelligible men laugheth at this gullery, and he that dwelleth in the heavens, shall laugh it to scorn; when with such equivocation men shall think to justify their rebellion; and I hope the people will not still remain so simple, as to think that all the Canon and the Musket shot which the enemies of a King

King should make at him, must be understood to be for the safety of his person.

And as neither private men, nor any Senate, nor Magistrate, nor Peers, nor Parliament, can lawfully resist, and take Arms against their King; so neither Synod, nor Counsel, nor Pope, have any power to depose, excommunicate or abdicate; or to give immunities to Clergy, or absolution to subjects, thereby to free them from their duty and due allegiance, and to give them any colour of allowance to rebell, and make warre against their lawful King. And this point, I should the more largely prosecute, because the natives of this Kingdome are more addicted to the Pope and his Decrees, then any others of all the Kings Dominion. But the bulk of this Treatise is already too much swelled, and I hope I may have hereafter a fitter opportunity to enlarge this Chapter: and therefore till then, I will onely referre my Reader unto *Pareus*, *John Bede*, and abundance more, that have most plentifully written of this Argument.

That the Pope hath no power to licence any man to make war against the King.

Pareus in Rom. 13.

John. Bede, in the Right and Prerogatives of Kings. And the Treatise intitled, *God and the King*.

And so much for the persons against whom they rebelled, *Moses* their King, and *Aaron* their High-Priest, or chief Bishop; both these the prime Governours of Gods people, whom they ought by all laws to have obeyed, and for no cause to have rebelled against them.

CHAP. XI.

Sheweth what these Rebels did: How by ten several steps and degrees (1. Pride. 2. Discontent. 3. Envy. 4. Murmuring. 5. Hypocrisie. 5. Lying. 7. Slandering. 8. Rayling. 9. Disobedience. 10. Resistance.) they ascended to the height of their Rebellion; and how these are the steps and the wayes to all Rebellions, and the reason which moveth men to rebell.

3. **WE** are to consider, *Quid fecerunt*, what these Rebels did. *Cajetan* 3. Part. What saith, *Zelati sunt*. *Tirinus* saith, *Irritaverunt*. The vulgar Latin these Rebels saith, *Emulati sunt*. Our vulgar English saith, *They angred Moses*: and our last English saith, *They envied Moses*. And indeed the large extent of the original word, and the diversity of the Translation of it, sheweth the greatnesse of their iniquity; and the multiformity or multiplicity of their sin: And therefore that you may truly understand it, you must look into the History*, and there you shall see the whole matter; the conception, birth, strength, and progresse of their sin: for,

1. This sinne was begotten by the seed of *Pride*; they conceived an opinion of their own excellency. Excellency, that bewitcheth men to rebell, thinking that they are inferior to none, equall to the best, if not superior unto all; and therefore they disdained to be governed, and aspired to the government of Gods people: And then *Pride*, as the father, begat *Discontentment* as his eldest sonne; they liked not their own station, but would faine be promoted to higher dignity; and because *Moses* and *Aaron* were settled in the government before them, and they knew not how either to be adjoynd with them, or advanced above them; therefore discontent begat *Envy*, and they began to pine away at their fecility; and so our last English reads it, *They envied Moses*.

2. This sinne being thus conceived in the womb of the heart, at last it commeth forth to birth at the mouth; for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh: and they begin to murmur and mutter among them-

Pride the Beginning of rebellion.

Private meetings do often produce mischief.

a Sam. 15. 3. 4.

themselves, and, as *Rebels* use to have, they have many *private* meetings and conventicles among themselves, where they say, We are all good, we are all holy, and They are no better then we; and, as *Abfolon* depraved his fathers government, and promised justice and judgement, and golden mountains unto the people, if he were *King*: so do they traduce the present government with all scandalous imputations, and professe such a reformation, as would make all people happy, if they were but in *Moses* place, or made over him, or with him, the *Guardians*, and *Protectors* of *Common-wealth*.

And so now you see this ugly monster, the son of *Pride* and *Discontentment*, is born into the world, and spreads it self from the inward thought, to open words. Then *Moses* hears the voyce of this infant, which was not like the voyce of *Jacob*, but of the *Serpent*, which spitteth fire and poison out of his mouth.

And therefore lest this fire should consume them, and these mutterers prove their murderers; *Moses* now begins to look unto himself, and to answer for his brother: he calleth these *rebels*, and he telleth them, that neither he nor his brother had ambitiously usurped, but were lawfully called into those places; and to make this apparent to all *Israel*, he had these *rebels* come out of their Castles to some other place, where he might safely treat and conferre with them; and that was to the *Tabernacle* of the Lord: that is, to the place where wisdom and truth resided, and was from thence published and spread to all the people, and there the Lord should shew them whom he had chosen.

The wisdom of *Moses*.

And here I do observe the care and wisdom of the Prophet, that at the first appearance of their design, would presently begin to protect his brother, before their rebellion had increased to any strength; for had he then delivered *Aaron* into their hands, his hands had been so weakened, that he had never been able afterwards to defend himself; to teach all *Kings* to beware, that they yield not their *Bishops* and *Priests* unto the desires of the people, which is the fore-runner of rebellion against themselves: for as *King Philip* told the *Athenians*, that he had no dislike to them, but would admit them into his protection, so they would deliver to him their *Orators*, which were the fomenters of all mischief, and the people were mad to do it; till *Demosthenes* told them, how the *Wolf* made the same Proposition unto the *Sheep*, to become their friends and protectors, so they would deliver their *Dogs*, which were the cause of all discontent betwixt them; and the *Shee* being already weary of their *Dogs*, delivered them all unto the *Wolves*, and then immediately the *Wolves* spared neither *Sheep* nor *Lambs*; but tore them in pieces without resistance: even so, when any *King* yieldeth his *Bishops* unto the peoples Votes, he may fear ere long, to feel the smart of this great mistake.

Therefore *Moses* wisely delivereth not his brother, but stoutly defendeth him, who he knew had no wayes offended them; and offered, if they came to a convenient place, to make this plain to all the people,

But as evil weeds grow apace, and lewd sons will not be kept under, so the more *Moses* sought to suppress this sinne, the faster it grew, and spread it self to many branches; from secret muttering, to open railing; from inward discontent, to outward disobedience. They tell them plainly to their faces, they will not come, to *Castris*, from their strong holds, they accuse them falsely, that *Moses* their Prince aymed at nothing but their destruction; and to that end, had brought them out of a good land to be killed in the wilderness, and contemning them most scornfully in the face of all the people, whatsoever *Moses* bids them do, they resolve to do the contrary.

The witty tale of *Demosthenes* to save the *Orators*: and to assure all *Kings*, that if *Aaron* tongue, and the *Prophets* pen, perswade not the conscience to yield obedience, *Moses*'s power, and *Josua*'s sword may subdue the people to subjection but never retain them long without rebellion.

Evil men grow worse, & worse.

Vers. 12.

Vers. 13.

The Grand Rebellion.

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So now *Moses* well might say with the Poet,

Quocunque aspicio, nihil est nisi pontus, & ather.

*Moses is in a
strait.
Fluſſibus hic
tumidus, aubi-
bus ille mi-
nax.*

And therefore it was *high* time this *evil* Weed should be rooted out, or else the *good* corn shall be choaked; these *Rebels* must be destroyed, or they will destroy the *Governours* of Gods people; and *Moses* now must wax angry, *Nam debet amor laesus irasci*, otherwise his *meekness* had been *stupidness*, and his *mercy* had proved little better then *cruelty*; when as to spare the *Wolfe*, is to spoil the *Sheep*: and, because these *great Rebels* had with *Absolon*, by their *false* accusations of their *Governours*; and their *subtle* insinuations into the affections of the people, *stole* away the *hearts* of many men; therefore *Moses* must call for *aid* from *Heaven*, and say; *Exsurgat Deus*, And let him that hath sent me, now defend me: So God must be the *decider* of this *disſention*, as you may see he was in the next verse.

And by this you find, *Quid fecerunt*, what these *Rebels* did; and how their sin was not *Simplex peccatum*, but *Morbis cumulat*; a very *Chaos*, and an heap of confused iniquity: for here is,

- | | |
|----------------|------------------|
| 1. Pride. | 6. Lying. |
| 2. Discontent. | 7. Slandering. |
| 3. Envy. | 8. Rayling. |
| 4. Murmuring. | 9. Disobedience. |
| 5. Hypocrisie. | 10. Rebellion. |

The ten fold
fin of rebels.

A Monster indeed, that is a ten-headed, or ten-horned beast.

1. *Pride*, which bred the *distraction* in the *Primitive Church*, and will be the *destruction* of any *Church*, of any *Common-wealth*, was the first seed of their rebellion; for the *humble* man will easily be governed, but the *proud* heart, like a sturdy *Oak*; will rather *break* then *bend*.

2. *Discontent* was the second step, and that is a most vexatious vice; for though contentation is a rare blessing, because it ariseth either from a fruition of all comforts, as it is in the *glorious*, in *Heaven*; or a not desiring of that which they have not, as it is in the *Saints* on earth; yet discontent is that which annointeth all our joys with *Aloes*: for though life be naturally sweet, yet a little discontent makes us weary of our lives, as the *Israelites*, that loved their lives as well as any, yet for want of a little water, say, *O that we had dyed in Egypt*. And *Haman* tells his wife; that all the honour which the *King* and *Queen* shewed unto him, availed him nothing, so long as *Mordecai* refused to bow unto him.

The poyson of
discontent.

Hester. 5. 13.

And discontent may as well invade the *biggest*, as the *lowest*; for as none is so bare, but he hath some benefits; so none is so full, but he wanteth something: as the *Israelites* had *Manna*, but they wanted *water*; and when they had *water*, they wanted *flesh*; and this want made them discontented; so these *Rebels* had the dignity to be *Levites*, and to be *Peers*; of high places, and heads of all their families, which was more then they deserved; but they wanted the honour to be *Priests*, and to be *Kings*, the chief *Governours* of Gods people, which they desired; and therefore were discontented, because their conceit was insatiable, and their desires unsatisfied.

The common
condition of
man to be
ever wanting
something.

3. As *Pride* makes men discontented to be inferior unto any; so *Discontent* makes them alwayes to envy their superiours: and therefore *Envy* is the third head of this monster, and the third step unto rebellion; a most hateful vice before God and man, That I should pine away with grief, because God is gracious unto another; and I must be angry with God, because he will not be guided by me in the disposing of his favours: and therefore Saint *Augustine* calleth this a *devillish* vice, which caused *Cain* to kill *Abel*; the *Patriarchs* to sell *Joseph*; the *Medes* to molest *Daniel*; and the *Nobility*

3 Envy.

How mon-
strous a sin is
Envy.

Gen. 4. 8.
Acts 7. 9.

Cyprian, in
Serm. de Li-
voro.

of *Jury* to persecute good King *David*, and to crucifie the sonne of *David*, *Christ* himself; *Et ideo periere, quia maluerunt Christo invidere quam credere.*

And yet herein I must commend *Envy*, that, as the Poet saith,

— Sit licet injustus *Livor*,

Though it be *unjust* to others, yet is it very *just*, to destroy them first that would destroy others; as the *envy* of these *rebels* did, *Sampson*-like, pull down the house upon their own heads; and will, most *likely*, bring destruction unto those that follow them in rebellion.

4. *Murmuring.*

4. *Murmuring*, is a secret discontented *muttering* one to another of things that we *dislike*, or persons that we *dislike*; and the very word in all languages seems as *barsh* unto our ears, as the sinne is *hateful* unto our souls: for in *Greek* it is called *μυρῶς*; in *Latin*, *Murmurare*; in *English*, to *Murmure*; in *Brittish*, *Grwgnach*; a *sad* word, and a *sowre* sinne: therefore the wise man saith, *Beware of murmuring, which is nothing worth*; and yet this sinne was frequent among the *Israelites*, (three times in three Chapters) that they could never leave it, till, as *Saint Paul* saith, they were destroyed of the destroyer.

Exod. c. 15.
c. 16. c. 17.

1 Cor. 10.

5. *Hypocrisie.*

5. *Hypocrisie* is, when a man seems to be what he is not; for, as *Saint Hierom* saith, *Qui foris Cato, intus Nero, hypocrita est*; he that talks of *peace*, and prepares for *warre*; that protesteth *loyalty*, and yet hates his *King*; that in his words will advance the *Church*, but in his actions will overthrow the *Church*-men; that commends all *piety*, but commits all *iniquity*; that will not swear for a *Kingdom*, but deceive for a penny; that pretends the *safety* of the *Kings* person, but purloyneth away all his *power*; that will bend his knee, and say, *Haile King*, but will spit in his face, and crown him with *thorns*, he is an *hypocrite*: So these *rebels* say, they are all *holy*, they love all their brethren, they hate *usurpation*, and cannot endure the tyranny of these *Governours*; but indeed, though they cryed, *Templum Domini, Templum Domini*, all for the *King*, and all for the *Church*; all for *Moses*, and all for *Aaron*; yet notwithstanding this voyce of *Jacob*, they had the hands of *Esau*, and they would have brought *Moses* and *Aaron* to confusion, as they brought themselves to destruction.

Job 40. 6, 7.
8, 9.

This is the property of an *Hypocrite*, and therefore *Job* speaking of an *hypocrite*, saith, (and it is exceedingly well worth the observing) *Though his excellency mount up to the heavens, and his head reach unto the clouds, yet he shall perish for ever like his own dung; they which have seen him, (that is, they which came out to see his pomp and his greatnesse, and have admired at the greatnesse of his glory) shall say, Where is he? or, How chance he doth not ride on with his honour? Job* answereth, *The eye which saw him, shall see him no more; that is, in the like Majesty, neither shall his place any more behold him: for, He shall flee away as a dream, and shall not be found; yea, he shall be chased away as a vision in the night.* And our Saviour knowing as well the cruelty, as the subtlety of *hypocrites*, biddeth us to beware of *hypocrites*: as the Poet saith,

Math. 7. 15.

— ut atri limina *Ditis*.

Hypocrisie,
how odious
it is.

Shun *hypocrites* as the gates of *Hell*, and believe their actions rather than their protestations: for, as in the Old Testament *Sodom* and *Gomorra* are the patterns of all *beastnesse*, so in the New Testament the greatest sinners are threatened to have their portion with the *hypocrites*.

6. *Lying.*

6. *Lying* must follow *Hypocrisie* at the heels: for, were it not for the
beaps

heaps of lyes that hypocrites spread abroad, the world could not possibly be so easily seduced by their hypocrisie; and I read it in a Sermon of a learned Divine, That now adayes some phanatique Sectaries of desperate opinions, and despicable fortunes, (whom the Church and State find to be a malignant party), having little else to do, make it their trade to lye both by whole sale, and retayle; they invent lyes, and vent lyes; they tell lyes, and write lyes, and print lyes; yea, I may adde, and more palpable lyes, and more abominable, then either Bourn or Butter ever published of the affairs of Germany; and this they do as confidently, and impudently, as if they were informed by that lying spirit, which entred as a *Voluntier* into *Abab's* Prophets; and by lying, and raising false rumours, they beget jealousies and feares in the people, and by blowing the coales which themselves kindled, and enlarging the difference betwixt King and Parliament, they set all in a combustion, and bring all into confusion: and that which grieves me most, he saith, that they are Preachers, which in the exuberancie of their mis-grounded, and mis-guided zeal, do both preach and pray against publique peace, as inconsistent with the Independencie, or rather *Anarchie*, that they ayme at.

7. Slandering may be coupled unto their Lying, because we can slander none with that which is truth; therefore these Rebels say, *All the Congregation is holy*, and that is a lye; when there can be no holinesse in the Rebels: and, *The Lord is among them*, which is another lye; for he will forsake all those that forsake him: then they say, *Moses and Aaron take too much upon them*, which is an apparent slander; and they adde, that they lifted up themselves above the Congregation of the Lord, which is another slander, as false as the Father of lyes could lay upon them; for I shewed unto you before, how truly they were called, and how justly they behaved themselves in their places; but as *Absolon* knew well enough, that to traduce his Father's Government, was the readiest way to insinuate, and to winde himselfe into a good opinion among the people, and to make the King odious unto his subjects; so these, and all other Rebels, will be sure to lay load enough of lyes and slanders upon their Governours; and so the namelesse Authour of the *Sovereign Antidote*, *Goodwin*, *Burroughs*, and abundance more, such scandalous, impudent, lying libels, have not blushed (which a man would think the brazen face of Satan could not chuse but do) so maliciously, and reproachfully, to lay to his Majesty's charge, the things which (as the Prophet saith) he never knew; and which all they that know the King, do know to be apparent lyes, and most abominable slanders against the Lord's Vicegerent: but,

Goodwin in his Anti-Caval. Burroughs in his Sermon upon, The glorious name of the Lord of Hosts.

Quid domini facient; audent cum talia fures?

You know the meaning of the Poet, and you may know the reason why these grand Lyars, these impudent slanderers, do so impudently bely so good a King, so pious; and so gracious a Majesty; for, Lay on enough, *Et aliquid adharebit*, and throw dust enough in their faces; and let the Governours be never so good, the King as milde, and as unreprieveable as *Moses*, and the Bishops like *Aaron*, the Saints of the Lord; yet some thing will stick in the opinion of the simple, that are not able to discern the subtilty of those distractors.

And as they diminish and undermine the credit and reputation of the best Governours, by no other engine then a lying tongue, and a false pen; so with the same instruments they do magnifie their own repure, and further their unjust proceedings, by deceiving the most simple with such equivocal lyes, as any sensible man might well wonder, that they should be so insensibly swallowed down; as, when they say, They fight

A strange equivocation.

for

The tale of an
Anabaptist.

for him whom they shoot at; and they are for the King, when with all their might and main they strive to take away his power, to pull the sword out of his hand, and to throw his Crown down to the dust; which is so strange a kind of equivocation, as might well move men, with Pilate, to ask *What is truth?* which we can never understand, if any of these things can be true: which (as one saith most truly) is one of the absurdest gulleries that ever was put upon any Nation; much like that Anabaptist which I knew, that beat his wife almost to death, and said, He beat not her, but that evill spirit that was in her.

Therefore the Lord hateth this abominable sinne, because it is impossible the people should be so soon drawn into rebellion, if they did not credit these defamations: But the wife man tells us, that *Stultus credit omni verbo*; therefore no wise man will believe those false and wicked slanders, that such malicious Rebels do spread abroad against their King, Prince, or Priest, or any other Governour of Gods people.

8. Rayling.

8. After they had thus slandered these good men, they fell to open rayling against them, as you may see, Num. 16. 13, 14. For now they had eaten shame, and drunk after it; and therefore they cared not what they said; and so now we find how the Rebels deal with our King, and with our Bishops too; with our Moses, and with our Aaron; for here in Ireland they rebell against their Sovereign, because he is no Papist, and will not countenance the Papists as they desire: And in England, they rayle at him, and rebell against him, because they say, He is a Papist, and doth connive at Popery, and hath a design to bring in Popery into the Kingdome, which is as flat a lye as the father of lyes hath ever invented. So the Bishops here are driven out of all, (as my self am expelled, *edibus & sedibus*, and left destitute of all relief) because we are no Papists, but do both preach and write against their errors, as much as any, and more learnedly then many others. And in England we are persecuted, and driven to flee from place to place, or to take our place in a hard prison, (as my self have been often forced to flee, and to wander in the cold and dark long nights) because we are Papists, and Popishly given: Good God! what shall we do, whither shall we go, or what shall we say? for,

Nusquam tuta fides, — nec hospes ab hospite tutus.

We cannot confide in the confiders, to whom we are become malignant enemies for speaking truth; neither dare we trust in the followers of the publique faith, nor in the professors of the Catholique faith; whereof, men maliciously rejecting their goodly Bishops, rebelliously fighting against their lawful King, and mortally wounding their own souls, have made a shipwrack. But, If they called the Master of the house Beelzebub, if they said he was a glutton, and a drunkard, what wonder if they say these things of us? and if Christ the King of Kings was crucified between two Thieves, what marvel if this servant of Christ, our King, be thus pressed, opposed, and abused betwixt two rebellious factions? And when we see our Saviour, and our King thus handled, it is lesse strange to find the Bishops and the Priests persecuted and crucified betwixt two heretical and tyrannical parties. Well, Jerusalem, Jerusalem, that killest the Prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee, take heed lest the King of peace shall say unto thee, *Verily, thou shalt see me no more, till thou sayest, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.*

9 Disobedi-
ence.

9. When they were grown thus impudent, from bad to worse, both over shoes and over boots, then Disobedience must needs follow; and therefore now putting on their brazen foreheads, they tell Moses plainly, *We will not come to thee; we will do nothing that thou wilt, but will crosse*

cross thee in all that thou intendest : this is our most peremptory resolution.

And so we see, that, *Nemo repentē fit pessimus*, but the wicked grow worse and worse : first you must lend, then you must give, if not, we will take; or if you deny your goods, we will have your bodies : so at first, what soever we do, it is for the King; and, because this is so palpable a mockery, that as every man knoweth, they that fight against the Earl of Essex, and his Army, do warre against the Parliament; so they that fight against the Kings Army, do as certainly war against the King; then we grow so impudent, as to justify any rebellion against our King; as in England, Goodwin, and that seditious Pamphleter, in opening *The glorious name of the Lord of Hosts*, do but a little lesse : For which application of Gods glorious name, and abusing the holy Scriptures, to such abominable transgression of Gods holy Precepts, to instigate the subjects to warre against their Sovereign, and to involve a whole Kingdom into a detestable distraction : I do much admire that they are not apprehended, and transferred to the Kings Bench Barre, to be there arraigned, and condemned to be punished according to their deserts.

10. When these Rebels had proceeded thus far, then contrary to the loyal obedience which they owed unto their Prince, and which the people promise unto Joshua, they ascended to the height of that odious rebellion, which may not unfitly be called

10. Rebellion.
See the place.
Joshua. 1. 15.
17. 18.

Monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum,

and is (as *Thucydides* saith). All kind of evill; *Et qui facit, peccatum non facit, sed ipse totus est peccatum*: and therefore *Samuel* saith; that Rebellion is as the sinne of Witchcraft; when men do confederate to give their souls unto the Devill; for now these Rebels are ready to take arms against *Moses*, and they had reduced all civill order to a confused partition, deposed and destroyed their Governours, if the Governour of all the world, by whom Kings do reign, and who hath promised to defend them, had not prevented the same from Heaven.

And the reason why they did all this; and proceeded thus farre against *Moses* and *Aaron*, is intimated in the words of my Text, *Emulato sunt*, because they would emulate or imitate *Moses*, that is, to play the *Moses*, or play the King, and play the part of the chief Priest themselves; for this is certain, that none will envy, murmure at, slander, and disobey his King so farre, as to make an open rebellion against him; but they that in some sort would rule and be Kings themselves; especially when they shall see, so farre to debilitate their Prince, as that he shall be no wayes able to make resistance; for they think, If Treason prosper, 'tis no Treason: what's the reason? if it prosper, who dares call it Treason? and none would disobey their Bishops or chief Priests, but they that would, and cannot be Bishops themselves; because pride and ambition are the two sides of that bellows, which blowes up disobedience and rebellion.

The reason of
their rebellion
is intimated
in the text
the 10.

But they that are bad servants, will prove worse Masters; they that will not learn how to obey can never tell how to rule; and if *Moses* were, as these Rebels suggested, a Tyrant; yet the Philosopher tells us; we had better endure one Tyrant, then, as they were, 250. Tyrants. And the Homily of the Church tells us, that contrary to their hopes, God never suffers the greatest treasons or rebellions for any long time to prosper. Therefore, when under loyal pretences, we see nothing but studied mischiefs, and most crafty endeavours to innovate our government, or to imbroyle the Kingdom in a civil warre, that so they may fish in a troubled water; let us never be so stupid, as to secure them in these actions, to produce

The Grand Rebellion.

our *discredit* for our simplicity, and *destruction* for our disloyalty; but rather let us leave them as Delinquents, to the justice of our Lawes, and the mercy of the King; and this will be the readiest way to effect peace and happiness to our Nation.

CHAP. XII.

sheweth where the Rebels do hatch their Rebellion: The heavy, and just deserved punishments of Rebels: The application, and conclusion of the whole.

4. Part. Where they did lat this.

Our houses are our Castles

Basilus de Spiritu Sancto, cap. ult.

How the Parliament Re- have in- ed them- s in Ire-

li. be- rich selve Land.

4. WE are to consider, *Ubi fecerunt*, where they did all this; in *castris, non in templis*; that is, in their own houses, not in the house of God: for in Gods house we teach obedience to our Kings, and beat down rebellion in every Kingdom; this is the Doctrine of the Church. But in our houses, in our cubins and corners, in private Conventicles, they teach rebellion, which is the doctrine of those Schools. And these Schools are called *Castra*, Tents, or Castles; because indeed every man's house is his Castle, or his Fort, where he thinks himselfe sure enough; so did these Rebels, and they would not come out of them: neither Moses the King could compell them, nor Aaron the Priest could perswade them, to come out of their Castles, and forsake their strong holds, which their guilty consciences would not permit them to do: and so all other rebels will never be perswaded to forsake their places of strength, untill God pulleth them, as he did these Rebels, out of their holes: for, were it not for these *Castra*, the Cities and Castles that they possesse, they could not so (like subtle Foxen) run out and in, to nullifie the property, and so captivate the liberty of the Kings faithful subjects, as they do; for, though they do all this under those fair pretences, for the defence of the true religion, the maintenance of our liberties, and the property of our estates; yet for our Religion, it is now amongst us, as it was in the days of Saint Basilus de Spiritu Sancto, cap. ult. Every one is a Divine; and then *Non, sed unusquisque suam, &c.* All the bounds of our forefathers are transgressed, foundation of doctrine, and fortification of discipline is rooted up; and the innovators which never had any other imposition of hands, but what they laid upon themselves, have matter enough to set forward their sedition: And for the other pretences, I dare proclaim it to all the world, that mine own experience believeth, the liberty of the subjects, and the property of our goods, and the true Protestant Religion, could not possibly be more abused, then it hath been by them that come, in the name, and for the service of the Parliament: and therefore I would to God, that all the oppressions, injustice, and imprisonments, that have been made since the beginning of this Parliament, were collected and recorded in a Book of remembrance, that all the world might see and read the justice and equity of our Parliament, and the iniquity, oppression, and rapine of them, that to enrich themselves, deprive us of our estates and liberties, and that under the Parliaments name. For I hear, that as many have been impoverished, so many both the Lords and Commons in this Kingdom of Ireland, that, before the conjunction of these malevolent martial Planets, were very low at an ebbe, and their names very deep in many Citizens books, have now wiped off all scores, paid all their debts, and clad themselves in Silks and Scurlet, but with the extorted moneys, and the plundered goods of the loyal

loyal subjects: I hope it is not so in England.

Yet, as *Platina* tells us, that when the *Guelphes* and the *Gibelines*, in the City of *Papia*, were at civil discord; and the *Gibelines* promised to one *Faccinus Cain*, all the goods of the *Guelphes*, if he assisted them to get the victory, which he did; and after he had subdued the *Guelphes*, he seized upon the goods of both; and when the *Gibelines* complained that he brake his Covenant, to pillage their goods, *Cain* answered, that, *Themselves were Gibelines*, but their goods were *Guelphes*, and so belonged unto him: So both in *England* and *Ireland*, I see the *Parliament-Forces*, and the *Rebels*, (I hope contrary to the will of the *Parliament*) make little difference betwixt *Papist* and *Protestant*, the well-affected and disaffected; for, they cannot judge of their *affections*, but they can discern their *estates*, and that is the thing which they thirst after; *Hand ignotacano*.

But you will say, These are miseries unavoidable; accidents common to all warre, when neither side can excuse all their followers.

I answer, *Woe* be to them therefore that were the first suggesters and procurers of this warre, and cursed be they that are still the incendiaries, and blow the coales, for the continuance of these miserable distractions. I am sure, his Majesty was neither the cause, nor doth he desire the prolonging thereof for the least moment; but, as his royal Father was a most peaceable Prince, so hath he shewed himself in all his life, to follow him *passibus æquis*, and to be a Prince of peace: though, as the God of peace is likewise a man of warre, and the Lord of Hosts; so this peaceable Prince, when his patience is too much provoked, can (as you see) change his pen for a sword, and turn the mildness of a Lamb into the stoutness of a Lyon; and you know what *Solomon* saith, that *The wrath of a King is the messenger of death*, especially when he is so justly moved to wrath. And so much for the particulars of this Text.

2. Having fully seen the ugliness of this sin, you may a little view the greatness of the punishment: for,

Although I must confesse, we should be slow to anger, slow to wrath, yet when the *Magistrate* is disobeyed, the *Minister* despised, and *God* himself disclaimed, it makes our hearts to bleed, and our spirits angry within us: yea, though the King were as gentle, and as meek as *Moses*, the meekest man on earth; and the *Bishops* as holy as *Aaron*, the Saint of the Lord: yet such disobedience and rebellion, would anger *Saints*, for so *Tertullian* saith, *Irritaverunt, They angered Moses in their Teints, and Aaron the Saint of the Lord*: Nay more than this, they angered *God* himself, so saith that *fire* was kindled in his wrath; and is burned to the bottom of hell. And as these rebels were *Lindi* and *Levites*, *Clergy* and *Laitie*; so *God* did proportion their punishments according to their sinnes: for the *Levites*, that were to kindle fire upon *Gods* Altar, and should have been more heavenly, and those two hundred and fifty men which usurped the Office of the *Priests*; He sent fire from heaven to devour them; and the *Nobility* that were *Lay-Lords*, the Prophet tells you, *For he smothered and swallowed up Dathan, and covered the Congregation of Abiram*. A most fearful example of a just judgement: for to have seen them dead upon the earth, as the *Egyptians* upon the shore, had been very lamentable; but to see the earth opening, and the graves devouring them quick, was most lamentable, and so strange, that we never read of such revenges taken of *Assauals*; never any better deserved: and which is more, *Saint Basil* saith, *qui descendunt in infernum damnatorum*, they fell into the cryptic of the damned; which doleful judgement, though they well deserved it, yet I will leave that undetermined.

Platina's story of the Guelphs and Gibelines.

2. The punishment of these rebels.

Tertullian in 2. Psal.

Basilus hom. 9.

And if these rebels, proceeding not so farre, whatsoever they intended, as to offer violence, and to make an open warre against Moses, were so beavily plagued for the Embrio of their rebellion, what tongue shall be able to expresse the detestation of that sin, and the deserts of those Rebels, that by their subtilty and cruelty, would bring a greater persecution upon the Church, then any that we read since the time of Christ, and by a desperate disobedience to a most Gracious King, would utterly overthrow a most flourishing State? A rebellion and persecution; the one against the King, the other against the Church, that in all respects can scarce be paralleld from the beginning of the world, to this very day.

2 Chron. 36
17.

And therefore except they do speedily repent with that measure of repentance, as shall be in some sort proportionable to the measure of their transgression, I fear God in justice will deal with them as he did with the Jews, deliver them into the hand of their Enemies, that will have no compassion upon young man or maiden, old man, or him that stoopeth for age; or rather as he did with Pharaoh King of Egypt, deliver them up to a reprobate sense, and harden their hearts, that they cannot repent, but in their folly and obstinacy still to fight against Heaven, untill the God of heaven shall overthrow them with a most fearful destruction; the which I pray God, they may foresee in time, and repent, that they may prevent it, that God may be still merciful unto us, as he useth to be to those that love his Name.

And so much for the words of this Text.

The applica-
tion of all,

Now to Apply all in brief: if God shall say to any Nation, *I will send them a King in my wrath, and give them Lawes not good*: let them take heed they say not, We will take him away by our strength: for we have read, that He hath authority to give us a King in his displeasure, but you shall never read, that we have authority to disobey him at our pleasure, and to say, *Nolumus hunc regnare super nos*: or, if any do, let them know, that he which set him up, and settled him over them, is able to protect him against them; and they that struggle against him, do but strive against God; and therefore they have no better remedy, then to pray to God, which hath the hearts of all Kings in his hand; that he would, as the Psalmist saith, *Give the King his judgements, and his righteousness unto the King's Son*, that he would either guide his heart aright, and direct his feet to the way of peace: or as he hath sent him in his fury, so he would take him away in his mercy. But for our selves of these Islands we have a King, and I speak it here in the sight of God, and as I shall answer for what I say at the dreadful judgement, not to flatter him that hears me not, but to inform those of you that know him not so well as I, that had the happinesse to live with my ever honoured Lord, the Noble Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, 16, or 17 years in the Kings house, and of them 6, or 7 years in the Kings service, He is a most just, pious, and gracious King; and I believe, the best Protestant King that ever England or Ireland saw, neither Popishly affected, nor Schismatically led to disaffect, but most constantly resolved to be a true Defender of that true Protestant Faith, which is established by Law in the Church of England, and he is such a King, of so unblemishable a life, so spotlesse in all his actions, so clement, and so meek towards all men, and so merciful towards his very enemies, that the mouth of Envy cannot truly take him, nor malice it self disprove him in any thing. Yet we know, that as Moses the meekest among men, and David the best of Kings, were sore afflicted, slandered, and persecuted, not a little, by many of their own obliged subjects; yea, and the best Kings have had the greatest troubles; so this good King, hath had for his trial a great part of the like usage, I know not by whom, neither

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neither do I intend here to accuse others, but to instruct you, and by what I shewed out of this Text, to teach you *above all*, to take heed of disobedience and Rebellion towards your King: and to let you understand, that what *priviledges* in the New Testament are acknowledged to be due to *Heathen Princes*, and what *prerogatives* the Spirit of God hath in the Old Testament warranted unto the Jewish Kings, and what the universal Law of Nature, hath established upon all the *supreme Governours*, do all of them appertain by *unquestionable* right unto his most sacred Majesty; and yet His Majesty, out of His *incomparable* goodnesse, insisteth not to challenge *all* these, but vouchsafeth to accept of *those* Rights and Prerogatives, which are undoubtedly afforded him by the Lawes of His own Lands: and these come farre short, scarce the moiety of the other; because we know, if our Historians have not deceived me, how many of them were obtained, by little better then by force and violence, compelling Kings to consent unto them; whereas Lawes should be of a freer nature.

And therefore of all the Nations round about us, besides, that God hath intrusted Him with us all, we have *most* reason to intrust him, and to give credit unto his Majesties many Protestations (too high to be forgotten by him, or *misdoubted* by us) for his resolution, to maintain the Liberty of his Subjects, the *just Priviledges of Parliaments*, and the *true established Religion* in the Kingdome of England: and likewise to rule over us according to our *Laws*, in this Realm of Ireland. And we have *least* reason to rebel and take arms against him; and therefore let us not be perswaded by any means by any man to do it, because God will preserve his annointed, and will, as you see, *plague* the Rebels; but let us pray for our King, and praise God night and day, that he which might have given us a bramble, not only to *tear* our flesh, but also to set us all on fire, hath given us such a *Cedar*, such a *gracious*, and a *pious* King; and, if either *forreign* foes, or *domestique* Rebels, do presse him so, that he hath need of us, let us adde our help, and hazard our lives to defend and protect him that protecteth us; and suffereth all for the protection of Gods service, as it was established in the purest time of Reformation, and for the preservation of our *Laws* from any corrupt interpretation, or arbitrary invasion upon them, by those *factious* men, that under fair, yet false pretences, have, with wondrous subtilty, and with most subtle hypocrisie, seduced so many simple men, to partake with them, not onely to overthrow the true Religion, to impease the Church of Christ, that hitherto hath continued glorious in this Nation, and by trampling the most learned under feet, to reduce Popery into this Kingdom, and to bring in *Atheism* or *Barbarism* into our Pulpits, when they make their Coach-men, and Trades-men, like Jeroboam's Priests, the basest of the people, to become their Trencher-Chaplains, and the teachers of those poor sheep, for whom the Son of God hath shed his precious blood, but also to change the well-setled government, and to subvert the whole fabrick of this famous Common-wealth, either by their tyranny, or bringing all into an *Anarchie*; for if we have any regard of any of these things, either true Religion, or ancient Government; a gracious King, and a learned Clergy; a glorious Church, and a flourishing Kingdom; we ought not to spare our goods, or be niggards in our contributions to help his Majesty: yea, as *Debora* saith, To help the Lord against the mighty; Or, if we be cold and carelesse herein, penurious and tenacious of our worldly pelfe, preferring our gold before our God; or fearing gracelesse Rebels more then we love our gracious King: It may fall out, as *Saint Augustine* saith, *Quod non capit Christus, rapit fiscus*; or as it did with the *Carthaginians*, who because they would not assist *Hanniball* with some reasonable proportion of their estates, they lost all

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unto the Romans, and with the Constantinopolitans, that for denying a little to Paleologus, lost all unto the Turkes; so we may be robbed and pillaged of all, because we would not part with some; and I had rather the King should have all I have, then that the Rebels should have any part thereof. Therefore I hope I shall perswade all good men to honour God with their riches, and to assist His Majesty to the uttermost of their powers, even to the hazard, and to the losse both of liberty and life. And doing this, our God which is the King of Kings, will blesse us, and defend us from all evill, and make us Kings and Priests, to live with him for ever and ever, through Jesus Christ our Lord: To whom, with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all praise, and glory, and dominion, from henceforth for evermore. Amen. Amen.

[Hezek. 4. 16, If I perish, I perish. Yet.
[Esdas 4. 41, The truth is great, and will prevail.]

Jehova Liberatori.

The



TO THE
KINGS
 Most Excellent
MAJESTY.

Most Gracions Sovereign,



Hough the wisest man in all the Kingdom of Persia saith, Great is the truth and stronger then all things; Yet, the father of lies hath now plaid his part so well, that, as the Prophet saith, Truth is fallen in the Street, and Equity cannot enter in; And your Majesty, whom

the God of Truth hath anointed his sole Vicegerent, to be the Supreme Protector of them both, in all your Dominions, hath accordingly lifted up your Standard against their Enemies; and I may truly say of you, as *Menewensis* saith of that most Noble King *Alfred*.

*Si modò victor erat, ad crastina bella parabat.
 Si modò victus erat, ad crastina bella parabat.*

Neither do I believe, that *Lucan's Verse* can be applied to any man better than to your Majesty:

— *Non te videre superbum
 Prospera fatorum, nec fractum aduersa videbunt.*

The Epistle Dedicatory.

As the height of your glory and prosperity never
swelled your Pious heart; so your greatest crosses and
adversities never dejected your Royal spirit; But as the
Prophet saith of the Captain of the hoast of the Lord, so
I say to you that are his Liestenant, Ride on with your
honor, or, ride prosperously, Because of the word of truth,
of meekness, and righteousness, the people shall be sub-
dued unto you; and because the King putteth his trust in
the Lord, and in the mercy of the most Highest, he shall not
miscarry; especially, while he fighteth, as he doth, the
battail of the Lord, in defence of the Church of Christ,
who hath promised to be his shield and buckler, which is
the daily faithful prayer of

Your Majestie's most loyally

devoted Subject, and

most faithfully

obliged servant

Gryffith Oflory.

the God of I have hath appointed his sole Vicegerent to
be the Supreme Protector of them both, in all your
Dominions, hath accordingly lifted up your stan-
dard against their Enmities; and I may truly say of
you, as Moses saith of that most Noble King
Moses.

The

Si modo ergo erat, et creatus bellis paratus.
Si modo erat, et creatus bellis paratus.

Neither do I believe that I can be ap-
plied to any man better than to your Majesty:

Prospera fortuna, neque fortuna adversa, ut
Prospera fortuna, neque fortuna adversa, ut

THE
DISCOVERY
OF
MYSTERIES.

OR,

The Plots and practices of a prevailing
Faction in this present Parliament, to
overthrow both Church and State.

CHAP. I.

*Sheweth the Introduction; the greatness of this Rebellion;
the Original thereof; the secret plots of our Brownistical
faction; and the two chiefeſt things that they aimed at to
effect their Plot.*



Have long wandered in a region of Rebellion, a-
mong seduced Subjects, and disappointed Peers;
and now at last, after I had passed the raging
Seas; and very hardly escaped the storms and
dangers of the surging waves, I am arrived in my
native Soyle: where I find my self incommoded
with far greater storms and more violent winds
then ever I thought could be on any Land; for
though that *Grand Rebellion*, which you may find
lately described, was both magis & mira, very
great and very grievous; such as I supposed could not be excelled by
any humane malice; yet now (me thinks) I hear this Spirit saying unto
me as he did unto Esai, *Son of man stand up, and I will show thee greater
abominations; and a Rebellion far greater and more odious then this of
Popish, Irish, or any other Sect or Nation of the World hath hitherto pro-
duced; and therefore I may now say with the Poet,*

Barbara

The Parliaments Plots

Barbara Pyramidum sileat miracula Memphis.

Let proud *Babylon* cease to boast
Of her *Pyramid's* stately spires;
This Rebellion is more strange,
Surmounting all infernal fires:
No age the like hath ever bred,
Nor shall when these Rebels be dead.

The seed and
original of
this Rebel-
lion,

So now I fear
more the secret
enemies both
of Church and
State, than may
luck in Court,
then those
that lie in the
Earl of Essex's
his Camp.

The seed of it was unseasonably sown in the Northern storm; and the Original of those Boreal blasts (either *why* or by *whom* those spirits were raised) is not so well known to me; therefore how *justly* the King did undertake the quarrel, I will not at this time determine; or with what equity the Scots made their approach into England, it is not my purpose to discuss: yet I must needs say, that our English Sectaries, and *Amsterdam* Recusants, which hated our Church and loved not our King, *justum, quia justum*, only because he is so good, too good for them, did from hence *arripere ansam*, take hold of this opportunity, by procuring those to proceed that were coming on, and discouraging the others of the Kings side, that were Cowardly enough (to say no worse) of themselves, to betray both King and Kingdom into the hands of the Invaders. So the good King was now with King David brought into a strait, either to take counsel and follow the advice of those secret Sectaries, and the masked enemies both of the Church and State, that as yet insensible unto him, were such, in the bosome of his Court; and most slyly aimed at a further mischief then his Majesty could have imagined, as now it appeareth by the consequences of this Parliament; or, else to hazard the dangers that his then open foes were like to bring upon his people: And I assure my self, *eyes of flesh*, that cannot pierce into the mysteries of the hearts and our secret thoughts, could see no further, nor make any better election then His Majesty did; that is, to call a Parliament, which the hearts of all the Kingdom called and cried for; and which, in former times, by the wise institution and right prosecution thereof, was found to be the Pancreston, or, as the Weapon-salve, an antidore to cure all the diseases, and to heal all the bleeding wounds of this Kingdom, (though of late we have sensibly felt the unhappy ending of some of them, which perhaps may be some accidental cause of some part of this unhappiness:) here was His Majesties fair mind, and an act of special grace; for which all His Subjects ought most thankfully to shew themselves Loyal unto Him, when He preferred their safety before the prosecuting of his own resolutions.

But, *Decipimur specie reſſi*, we are many times deceived by the shadow of the truth, and betrayed under the vizard of virtue; for, as God produceth light out of darkness, and good out of evil; so wicked men, like the spiders, do suck poyson from those flowers, whence the Bees do extract honey; and these subtle-beaded Foxes (whereof many of them had unduly got themselves elected into the House of Commons, and there factionously combined themselves together to do their great exploit, to overthrow the Government both of Church and State, and minded to make the Parliament-House like *Vulcan's* Forge, where they intended to contrive their Iron-net, that should be able to hold fast all sorts of people, from him that sitteth upon the Throne, to him that wallowed in dust and ashes) turned the hopes of our redresses to our extream miseries, when, in stead of redressing our abuses, they intended principally to work our ruine in our just apprehension, though perhaps our happiness in their own mistaken conception.

And

And, as the Apostle saith, *Known unto God are all his works from the beginning*, and he hath eternally decreed, how, and by what means, to bring them all unto perfection; so the Devil, being God's Ape, and the wicked treading in his steps; do first mold their designs, and intentions in the Idea of their own brains, and conclude the works they would have done in their own conceits; and then they frame to themselves the means and wayes, whereby they are resolved to produce and perfect all those mis-happen-embryes that they conceived; and so these factious men, this brood of vipers, that would gnaw through the bowels of their mother, from the first convention of this Parliament had resolved upon their plot, and contrived among themselves, what great good work they would by such and such means bring to passe.

And that was (as I hope this subsequent discourse will make it plain to all, that will not be wilfully blind) the subversion of the ancient government both of this Church and Kingdom; and to introduce a new Ecclesiastical Discipline, and to frame a new Common-wealth, much like, if not worse than that of our neighbours in the Low-Countries.

The design & plot of the faction of Separatists.

Gratum opus agricolis; a brave exploit; and a great work indeed, beyond the adventure of *Junius Brutus*, that expelled the Kings, but left the Priests alone; that purged the corruption of the Royal Government, but meddled not with the Religion of their Bishops and Prophets: and beyond the undertaking of *Martin Luther*, that pulled down the pride of the Pope, and all that *Romish* Hierarchy; but ventured not to trample upon the Scepter of Kings, and the Imperial Government, which he held Sacred, and inviolably to be obeyed; For, these men perceiving how God had so wisely ordered these Governments among his people, to assist each other, that the one can neither stand nor fall without the other, (as it is fully and truly shewed in the *Grand Rebellion*); therefore as *Caligula* wished that the people of *Rome* had but one neck, that so he might dispatch them all, and *istis*, with one stroke; So these men would overthrow both Government, and destroy both King and Priest, both Church and State, at one time, with one clap, with one thunder-bolt: And so they should be famous indeed, though it were but like the fable of *Herostatus*, that burnt the Temple of *Diana*; or of *Rebilac*, that killed the King of *France*; or of *Nero*, that destroyed his mother; or *Oedipus* that murdered his own father; for a man may be as notoriously famous for transcendent villainies, and nefarious impieties, as another is for his rare virtues, and super-eminent deeds of piety; As in History *Thersites* is as well known for his base Cowardice, as *Achilles* for his heroic Valour: And in the Scripture, *Judas* for his Treachery is as notoriously known, as *Saint Peter* for his Fidelity. Therefore these men go on with this great Design; and to effect the same, I find that they aimed at these two special things.

1. To take away all the lets and impediments that might hinder them.
2. To secure unto themselves all the helps and furtherances that might advantage them. For,

They aimed at two things.

1. As a Vineyard that is well hedged, or a City strongly fenced with walls and bulwarks, cannot easily be laid waste and spoiled, before these defenses be destroyed; so the wilde Boars cannot devour the grapes of God's Church, and swallow down the Revenues of her Governours; and the Rebels cannot pull the Sword out of their Sovereigns hand, and lay his Crown down in the dust; so long as the means of their preservation are intire and not removed: Therefore these men endeavour to eradicate all the impediments of their Design. And they saw four great Blocks, that were as four mighty Mountains, which their great Faith (their publick faith being not yet conceived) must remove, before they could plant their new Church;

2. To remove the impediments of their design.

The Parliaments Plots

Four impediments of their Design.

Church; and subvert the old Government of this Kingdom: and those were;

1. The Earl of Straffords Head.
2. The free judgement of the Judges.
3. The power of dissolving the Parliament.
4. The Bishops votes in the House of the Lords.

For, as the heavenly Angels could do nothing against Sodom, while righteous Lot was in it; so these earthly angels, the messengers of Abaddon, can never effect their ends, to overthrow the Church and State, to make them as Sodom, full of all impurity and villany, until these four main stops be taken away: And therefore;

CHAP. II.

Sheweth the eager prosecution of our Sectaries, to take off the Earl of Straffords head. How he answered for himself. The Bishops right of voting in his cause. His excellent vertues, and his death.

1. Impediment.

The Earl his Charge.

THEY get Master Pym, the grand father of all the purer sort, and a fit instrument for this Design, in the name of the House of Commons, and thereby of all the Commonalty of England, to charge Thomas, Earl of Strafford, of High-Treason; A high charge indeed, and yet no less a crime could serve the turn, to turn him out of their way; because nothing else could subdue that spirit, by which he was so well able to discover the plots, and to frustrate the practices of all the faction of Sectaries; for as the Jews were no wares, sufficient to answer Saint Stephen's arguments, but only with stones; so these men saw themselves unable to confute his reasons, and to subdue his power, but only by putting him to death, and cutting off his head, for that fault which Pym alleadged he had committed.

How sought to be proved.

But then, I demand, How this great charge of High Treason shall be made good against him? It is answered, That England, Scotland, and Ireland, and every corner of these three Kingdoms must be searched, and all discontented persons that had at any time any Sentence, though never so justly pronounced against them, by him that was so great a Judge, yet conceited to be otherwise by themselves; must now be encouraged and countenanced by the faction, and most likely by this grand Accuser, to say all that they know, and perhaps more than was true, against him; for what will not envy and malice say? or what beast will not trample upon the Lion, when they see him groveling and gasping for life in an inevitable pit, and, it may be, compassed with so many raskie dogs (I mean his enemies, and discontented witnesses) as were able to tear more than one Lion all to pieces? So by this means they are enabled to frame near thirty Articles against him, *ut, cum non profint singula, multa juvent*, that the number might amaze the people, and think him a strange creature, that was so full of heynous offences, and so compassed with transgressions.

The Earl his Answer.

But, *Si satis accusasse, quis innocens?* If accusations were sufficient to create offenders, not a righteous man could escape on earth; therefore, the Law condemneth no man before he be heard, what he can answer for himself: And the Earl of Strafford coming to his Answer, made all things so clear, in the judgement of the common-hearers, and answered to every Article so well, that, his enemies being Judges, they much applauded his abilities, and admired

admired at his *Dexterity*, whereby he had so *finely* untied those *Gordian* knots, that were so *foully* contrived against him, and, as his *friends* conceived, had fairly escaped all those *iron-nets*, which his adversaries had so *cunningly* laid, and my popular country-man, with the rest of the more learned *Lawyers*, had so *vehemently* prosecuted to insnare him in the links and traps of guiltiness; and, in brief, the Lords, who as yet were *unpoisoned* by the leavened subtilty of this bitter Faction, could find not any one of all those Articles to be Treason, by any *Law* that was yet established in this Land, *sic te servavit Apollo*; So God delivered him, as he *thought*, and his friends *hoped*, out of all these troubles.

Yet, as a rivulet stopped, will at last prove the more violent, *viresque acquirit ibidem*, and recollect a greater strength in the same place; so rage and malice, *bindered* of their revengeful desires, will turn to be the more implacable; *Quia malitia eorum exccecavit eos*, Because the malice of men bewitcheth them, and hath no end, till it makes an end of its hated foe; therefore those men, that hated and maligned the Earl (like the *Jews*, that because their *tongues* could make no reply to the just defence of the holy Martyr, *gnashed upon him with their teeth*, and *stopping their ears*, ran upon him with one accord, all at once) because they had no *Law*, nor learning, to make those Articles Treason, they say with the Poet,

The nature of malice.

Acts 7. 51.

Hac non successit, alia aggrediemur via;

Seeing we failed herein, we will attempt another way: And to that end, they frame a *Bill* of Attainder against him; and this, if it passe by the *major* part of both Houses, and have the *Royal* assent, will bring him to his just deserved death; And herein, I will not say, they shewed themselves worse than the *Jews*, because that, when their malice was at the *biggest* pitch against Christ, they said, *We have a Law*, and by our *Law* he ought to die; and these *baters* of the Earl, seeing they had no *Law*, will have a *Law*, to be made, that shall bring him unto his death; because the *House* might have reasons, which my sense cannot conceive.

Yet some of his friends have said, that, after a former prosecution according to *Law*, to make a new *Law*, where there was none before, to take away a man's life, is almost as bad as the *Romancy-Law*, that I read of, to hang him first, and then judge him afterward, to which I assent not: and not many less than 60. worthy Members of the House of Commons would never yield to passe that Bill; and it had a greater rub among the Lords, where, it is thought not upon any slight conjectures, it had never passed, but that this rub must be taken away by a new device; for that the *Faction* judging some of them might be more *timorous* than *malicious*, and remembering, that *primus in orbe deos fecit timor*, Fear is a powerful passion, that produceth many strange effects, the Apprentices and Porters, Water-men and Car-men, and all the rascal rout of the ragged Regiment were gathered together by some *Cbedorlaomer*, and came, as they did against Christ, with swords and staves, without order, with great impudency, to awe them, and to cry for Justice against him; and this was done, and done again, and again, until the business, that they came for, was done: A course, not prevented, that may undo all Justice, and bring us all to be undone.

The rubs of the Bill how taken away.

And yet all this will not do this deed, until the King passeth his assent; for as yet the new *Law* of Orders and Ordinances without the King, was not hatched; And the good King, having so graciously, so indefatigably taken such care and such pains, in his own Person every day, to hear and search out the particulars, was so just, and of such tender and religious conscience, that he was not satisfied (as men conceived) with the weight of those reasons that

The Kings great pains to search out the truth.

were produced, to passe the same. Therefore here I find another *Stratagem* used, such as *Hannibal* could not invent, to effect this *hard* task : What ? To perswade *mildness* to become *severe*, or to cause a *just*, and most clement Prince, so full of mercy, so prone to pardon where there is a fault, and so loth to punish, but where he must (by the Law of Justice), the *greatest* fault, to yield to put him to death, that was in many things so excellent in his life. The task was, to procure his assent to passe this Bill ; and how shall this be done ? As the *Man of God* could not be perswaded by any man, but by a *Man of God*, a Prophet by a Prophet ; so now the Bishops that were good men, men of conscience, and set apart by God to resolve and satisfie weak and tender consciences, are thought fit to be sent unto this good King, to perswade him, (as men supposed) that, to prevent a *greater* mischief, he might *justly* passe this Bill ; and either 6. or 4. of the *prime* Prelates, are requested by the Lords, to go unto the King, to assay how far they can prevail with him herein : And so they went ; and how they dealt with His Majesty, I do not fully understand, but am informed by some that went, that they assured Him, he ought to satisfie himself in point of Law by his Judges, and of State by his Council : And how they did any otherwise, in any other thing rectifie his Conscience, in point of Divinity, which belonged unto themselves, I cannot tell.

But, though I think no man can *justly* lay the least tittle of blame upon the *just* King, no, not the Earl himself, as himself professed, for yielding to such, and so earnest perswasions of I know not how many reverend Bishops, wise Counsellours, grave Judges, and the flower of all his people, to passe that Bill whatsoever it was :

The Bishops
right to vote in
any cause:

Yet, to say what I conceive, with their favour, of my Brethren the Bishops, in the prosecution of this cause ; I am perswaded, that they had no reason to withdraw themselves from the House, and to desert their own Right, when the Bill, or the Judgement, was to passe against the Earl, upon this slight pretence, alledged against them, by the *haters* of the Earl, and no lovers of the Bishops, That a *Clergy-man* ought not to have any Vote, or to be present, at the handling of the cause of blood or death ; for they might know full well, when my Lords grace of York did most *clearly* manifest this truth: that the first intibition of the Clergy, to be present and assistant in *causa sanguinis*, or *judicio mortis*, in the Canon of *Innocent* the third (as I remember, for I am driven to fly without my Books) was most *unjust*, only to tie the Bishops to his *blind* obedience, to the *apparent* prejudice of all Christian Princes, by denying this their service unto them ; and it is no wayes *obligatory* to bind us, that are, by the Laws of our Land, not only freed, but also *injoynd* to abandon all the *unjust* Canons, that are repugnant to our Laws, and derogatory to our Kings, and to renounce all the *usurped* authority of the Pope : For, I would fain know, what *Scripture*, or what reason Pope *Innocent* can alleadge, to exclude them from doing that good service, both to God and their King, which in all reason they can, or should be better able to do, than most others. And I am sure, that neither in the old, nor in the new Testament, nor yet in the *Primitive* Church, until these *subtile* Popes began thus to inroach upon the Rights of Princes, to take away the *Prerogatives* of Kings, and to *domineer* over the consciences of men, this exclusion of them from the *biggest* act of Justice was never found ; For, did not *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Samuel*, *Eliab*, *Elizew*, *Jaborda*, and others of the Priests and Prophets of the old Testament, and *S. Peter* also the Prince of the Apostles in the new Testament, judge in the case of blood, and pronounced the sentence of death against Malefactors ? As when *Ananias* and *Sapphira* were suddenly brought unto their end, by the judgement of the Apostles ; and if they be able and fit to judge of any thing, then why not of this ?

The Prophets
and Apostles,
judged in the
case of life and
death.

If you say, because they are the Advocates of *mercy*, the procurers of *pardon*, the Preachers of *repentance*, and men that are made to *save* life, and not to put any one to death, or to bring any man unto his end :

I answer, That they are therefore the *fittest* men to be the Judges both of life and death : For who can *better* and more *justly* judge me to death, than he that doth *most* love my life ? it is certain he will not condemn me without *just* cause ; even as God, that is *veritas* *divinus*, the Father of *mercy*, and even *mercy* it self, is the *fittest* and most righteous Judge that can be found both of death and damnation ; because his *mercy* and goodness towards his creatures will not permit his *severity* against sin, though never so *detestable* to his purity, to do the least *injustice* to their persons ; so our love of *mercy* and pity, will not suffer us to do any thing that shall transcend the Rules of *justice* and equity ; And as our inclination to *mercy* prohibits us to condemn the innocent, so our love to *justice*, and our charge to preserve it, will not permit us to justify the wicked ; for, the Scripture teacheth us, That *he which justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the innocent*, that calleth the *evil* good, and the *good* evil ; that spareth *Agag*, and killeth *Naboth* ; are both alike abominable unto the Lord.

Clergy, how fit to be Judges.

And therefore notwithstanding this unjust *Canon*, I never find in any of our Histories, that the Bishops did ever *withdraw* themselves, and quit their *Votes* in this case, either before or after, save only from the 10th year of *Richard* the 2d, unto the 21th year of the reign of the same unfortunate King : which they did, not because they could not *justly* be present ; but because they had *just* reasons to be absent, as you may find it in the *Annals* of his time : Therefore I know not how to palliate their *facility* of yielding way to those *Non-Canonical* Lords, to produce those *non-obliging* *Canons*, which they abhorred in all that made not for the *furtherance* of their design, to exclude them from doing *this*, which was one of their chiefest duties ; for who knoweth not the Lord *Say*, and Lord *Brook*, and others of the Lords, to hate *all* *Canons*, even the old *Canons* of the *Apostles*, as *inconsistent* with their new Rules of Independent Government ; and yet herein, to exclude the Bishops *Votes*, in the judgement of this man, and the passing of this Bill, which being admitted, might perhaps have turned the scales, they will take hold of the *unjustest* Law, and alleadge one of the *worst* of *Canons*, a Canon against *reason*, and most repugnant to the *best* of God's Properties, which though they be all *equall* in themselves, *summè & perfectissimè*, yet are they not so perceived by us ; but *his* *mercy* is over all his works.

Non-Canonical Lords.

But you will say, Was this man so *just*, that he was *unjustly* condemned to death ? Did all men so *untruly* complain against him ? And was he *good*, notwithstanding all the *evil* that was proved against him ?

I answer, That I dare not, and I do not say, that he was *unjustly* adjudged to death, or that the Bill it self was *unjust* ; But this I assure my self, that he was a *very* *wise* and understanding man, and indued with *very* *rare* Heroick-vertues, and most *excellent* graces ; as, among the rest, with those *two* *incomparable* indowments, that cannot *easily* be found among *many* of the Nobles of this World.

The Earle's Vertues.

1. *Faithfulness* to his Prince, to whom (as I conceive) he shewed himself a *true* servant, and most *Trusty* in his greatest employments, save in what was (and I know not that) *justly* proved against him ; and, I believe, he would never have taken *Arms*, as some others of the Lords do now, against his Sovereign.

2. *Love* unto the Church and Church-men ; to whom, though others think it their glory to *oppress* them, and a vertue to *condemn* them ; yet he was a *true* Friend, a most *Noble* Benefactor, and most *just*, unto his death, as

his very last speech unto his *dearest* Son, doth sufficiently testify unto all posterity; which speech was to this effect, (and I would to God it were indelibly imprinted in the memory of all our Nobility) That, as he regarded his *father's* blessing, or expected a *blessing* from God upon what his father left him, so he would be careful never to *take away*, or in any wise to *diminish* any part or parcell of the goods or Patrimony of the Church; which if he did, would prove a *Canker*, to waste and consume all that he had.

How a Malefactor may be unjustly condemned.

Yet, it may be, he was (which in truth I cannot imagin) as the Philosopher saith of *Marcus Antonius*, a man of that composition, that his *vices* did equalize, if not exceed his *virtues*, and his offences cloud all his graces, and obscure all his glory; And as the saving of one mans life, cannot save him from suffering, that doth unjustly put another man to death; so the rarest *Virtues* cannot justify the man that committeth so many horrible offences, as his accusers conceived this man did; to which it may be well replied, That a *notorious* Malefactor (though I apply not this to him) may be *unjustly* condemned: and so he may be *justly* condemned, and *unjustly* executed; as when he is not condemned for the fault committed, or condemned not according to the Law which condemneth that Fact; For though a *Murderer* deserveth death, yet any one may not presently be the death of that *Murderer*, nor the Judge condemn him for robbery: And though I should commit many offences worthy of death, yet if the Law doth not condemn me, I ought not to die for any of them. For, as the Apostle saith, *Where there is no Law, there is no sin, because sin is the transgression of the Law*: Therefore the Earl of *Strafford* might be an evil man, and do many things that in the sight of God and good men, were worthy of death; Yet, if our Law made not those crimes *Capital*, or if the Law made them *Capital*, and not *Treason*, we ought not for *Treason* to adjudge him unto death: So in sum the result is this, That he might justly deserve death, and yet be very *unjustly* condemned to death. And it seemed to some of his friends, that so he was; especially because they had no plain *unquestionable* Law, but were fain, in some kind, to make a Law, to take off his head; and when his head was off, this new manner of proceeding should end, and be no Law for any other that came after: And a *Declaration* must be made, That the course prosecuted for his punishment, shall not afterward, be drawn into an *Example*; it must be produced for no *Pattern*, but for him alone and none other; lest perhaps, if the same course should be still practised, the contrivers of this Plot, might have the like payment to fall ere long upon their own heads. Therefore, some say, this may well draw a *suspicion* upon the justice of the Sentence, though I will not censure any man for any injustice therein.

Complaint to the House of Commons. p. 6.

The Earle's words at his death.

But, as the Earl said at his death, which he undertook like a good Christian, full of *Charity*, and no less *Piety*, it was an ill *Omen* to this Nation, that they should write the *Frontispiece* of this Parliament, with letters of *Blood*; which, if *unjustly* done, or *unduly* prosecuted, I fear may, with *Abels* blood, cry for vengeance in the ears of God, against the Contrivers of this mischief, to produce our miseries: And the God of Heaven doth only know, how much of the blood of this Kingdom must be squeezed out, to expiate all the *mis-proceedings*, and the fearfull projects of our people. God Almighty turn his anger from us, and let not the righteous perish with the wicked, not the sins of some few be laid upon us all.

This was the first impediment that was to be removed, before they could proceed any further in this Tragedy, and thus it was most artificially acted. And I say, He was a great, and a very great, impediment of their design,

design, which made me the *larger* in the prosecution thereof; because he was a person of that great *ability*, and so great *fidelity* both to the Church and State; and the taking off of his head, made a very *wide* gap for our enemies to enter into the Vineyard of Christ, and a large breach into the City of God, to deface the *Church*, and to destroy this Kingdom.

CHAP. III.

Sheweth, how they stopped the free judgment of the Judges; procured the perpetuity of the Parliament; the consequences thereof, and the subtle device of Semiramis.

2. **T**He next Let that might hinder their design, was, the great learning, The second long experience, and free judgment of the grave Judges, to declare impediment what is *Truth*, and what is *Law* in every point; for these men being *skilful* of their design. in the Laws and Statutes of our Land, knew how *contrary* to the same, and how *repugnant* to the fundamental Constitutions of our Government, the erecting of a *new Church*, and the framing of a *new Common-Wealth* would be; and their *judgment*, being to be inquired in any emergent Doubt, might prove very *prejudicial* unto their plots, and a *hinderance* of their Design, except it were diverted by some course.

Therefore to stop this stream, to put a *gag* in their mouthes, to *imprison* all truths that might make against them, and to make these Judges How they stopped the free judgment of the Judges. *yield* to whatsoever they do, or at least not to *contradict* any thing they say, they get many of them to be accused of High-Treason; and they do but *accuse* them, and not *proceed* to any trial against them, which was a *pretty* plot of their policy; because that hereby they kept *them*, and the rest of their fellow-Judges (that had any *finger* in the mis-sentencing of the Ship money, and were therefore in the same *predicament*, and to be under the same *Censure*) under the lath, and to be still *silent*, for very *fear* of their proceeding against them: for they saw by many presidents, that those men which *favoured* their design, or *contradicted* not their waies, were *winked* at by this Faction, though they were the greatest Delinquents; and therefore *redimere se captos*, to free themselves out of the hands of these men, they might conceive it their *safest* course to gain-say none of their conclusions; which was a Plot of no small value to further their design, by this removal of this second impediment.

3. The third Let that stood in their way to make stop of their impious The third impediment of their design. design, was the *Royal* power to *dissolve* the present Parliament, as formerly to dissolve any other, which they knew to be an *inseparable* flower of the Crown; *Timor undique nostris*, this brought them in fear on every side, lest, if they were too soon discovered, they might suddenly be prevented, and their plot might prove abortive, *Like the untimely fruit of a woman, that periseth before it seeth the Sun*; or as the apples of *Sodom*, vanishing when they are touched, into Nothing; or, at the best, but to *stinking* blasts: Therefore to escape this rock, they sail about, and like cunning Water-men, they look towards you when they row from you; their eyes and mouthes are one way, when their hearts and minds are another way; for they tell the King, that the *discontinuance* of Parliaments hath produced abundance of distempers in this State, and a world of grievances both in the Church and Common-wealth: besides they say, what the King and every man else saw to be true, That the Scots were entred into

The fair pretences for the continuance of the Parliament.

our *Land*, and settled in the *bosom* of this Kingdom; and though perhaps if some things had been better looked into, we mought at first most easily have kept them out; yet now, *duvius ejicitur, quam non admittitur hostis*, it was too late to shut the door, and it is not so easy to expel and drive them out, except we made them a bride of gold to pass over the river, and so to go homewards again.

And this cannot be done without a great deal of money; which monneys though the *Parliament* should grant them, (as we are most willing to do, to free your Majesty from these *guests*, and to prevent the dangers of an intestine war); yet they cannot suddenly be levied and collected, as the times and occasions now required; therefore it must be borrowed to supply our present necessities; and lenders we shall find none, except we can shew them a way how they shall be repaid again; and the experience we have lately had in these latter years, of so many *Parliaments* so unhappily and suddenly dissolved, puts us out of all hope to find any way to secure their debts, except your Majesty will pass an *Act*, (for as yet they durst not say they needed not His assent to what they did) that this *Parliament* shall not be dissolved, until it be agreed upon by the consent of both houses.

How the King was seduced by their pretences.

This and the like weretheir fair pretences, like the *Sirens* voyces, very sweet, and very good; and the good King that ever spake as he thought, could not think that His great Council, whom He trusted with all the Affairs of His Kingdom, meant any otherwise then they said, or looked any further then they shewed Him; He never dream'd that they intended to have an everlasting *Parliament*, and so perfidiously to over-reach both the King and the Kingdom.

But though our *gracious* King (being not so much versed with the dissembling subtilty and serpentine windings of wicked hypocrites, that are to be removed from the King, and expelled out of his House) supposed all them to mean sincerely, and to deal fairly as they seemed to do; yet I do admire that the wisdom of the Kings Council, (but that they, which, as the Apostle saith, are not ignorant of the devices of Satan, are not permitted by these men to be of His Council) could not espy what mischief might lurk under this fair shade, or what might be the Consequences of such a *Parliament*, that is inconsistent with a Monarchy, and therefore must in a convenient time be ended, or else will make an end of all Monarchical Government; Why then might not a year or two, or three, (or more, so the years were limited) suffice to determine all businesses, but that the life of this *Parliament* should be endless, and the continuance thereof undetermined? This is beyond the age of the Council of Trent, that they say lasted above forty years; for I presume, if some of the contrivers of this Design might have their desires, the youngest of us should hardly see the Dissolution of this *Parliament*, Til the earthly Houses of our *Tabernacles* be dissolved; for it is likely they could be well contented, as one saith, to make an Ordinance that both Houses should be a Corporation, to take our Lands and Goods to themselves and their successours, and when any of that Corporation dieth, toties quoties, the survivor and none else should choose a successour to perpetuity; so they should be Masters of our Estates and disposers of all we have (as they are now) for ever.

What the faction could be contented with. Complaint p. 19.

The plot of Semiramis.

And therefore, this was a Plot beyond the Powder-plot, and beyond the device of *Semiramis*, that with a lovely face, desired her husband, she might rule but three daies, to see how well she could manage the State, and obtaining her request, in the first thereof, she removed all the Kings Officers, in the second she placed her own minions in all the places of Power and Authority, (as now the faction would do, such as they confide in,

in, in all places of strength) and in the third day she cut off the Kings head, and assumed the Government of all the Kings Dominions into her own hands; for not *three daies*, nor *three years* will serve their turn, for fear they shall not have *ability* in so *short* a space, to finish all their *strange* intended projects; and therefore, that they might not be *hindered*, their request is *unlimited*, that the Parliament should not be *dissolved*, till both Houses gave consent, which they were contented should be *ad Græcæ Calendas*.

Yet God that knew best, what *punishments* were due to be inflicted for their former Actions, and for all the *subtle* Devices of their hard hearts, gave way for this also, that this *third Impediment* of their projects might be removed; that so at last, their sins, like the sins of the *Amorites* by little and little growing unto the full, might undergo the *fullest* of Gods vengeance, which as yet, I fear, was not *fully* come to pass; for till the Parliament was made *perpetual*, the things that they have done since, were absolutely *unimaginable*; because that while it was a *dissolvable* body, they durst not so *palpably* invade the *known* rights, either of King or Subjects; whereas now, their Body being made *indissoluble*, they need not have the *same* apprehension of either, having strengthened themselves by a *Bill* against the one, and by an *Army* against the other; and therefore all the *dissolutions* of Parliaments from the beginning of them to this time, have not done half that mischief, as the *continuance* of this one hath done hitherto: and God only knowes what is to *succeed* hereafter.

How the faction hath strengthened it self.

But seeing themselves have *publickly* acknowledged in their Declarations, that they were too blame, if they undertook *any* thing *now*, which they would not undertake, if it were in His Majesties power to dissolve them the *next* day, and they have since used this means, which was given them to *disburthen* the Common-Wealth, of that debt, which was thought *insupportable*, to plunge it *irrevocably* into a far greater debt, to the ruine of the whole Kingdom; to *change* the whole frame of our Government, and subjecting us to so *unlimited* an arbitrary power, that no man knows at the *sitting* of the House, what he shall be worth at the *rising*; or whether he shall have his *liberty* the next day, or imprisonment. Many *wise* men do say, they see no Reason that this trust being *forfeited*, and the faith reposed in them *betrayed*; the King may not *immediatly* re-assume that power of dissolving them, into his own hands again, and both our *unjustly* abused King, and our much injured people, declare this Act to be voyd, when as *contrary* to their own Faith and the trust of the King, they *abuse* it to overthrow the *Fundamental* Laws of this Kingdom; though I could *bear-tisly* with; that because it still carrieth the *Countenance* of a Law, the faction would be so *Wise* to yield it to be *presently* dissolved by a Law.

What many wise men do say.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Sheweth the abilities of the Bishops; the threefold practice of the Faction to exclude them out of the House of Peers; and all the Clergy out of all Civil Judicature.

The fourth impediment of their design.

4. **T**Here was *one* stop more that might hinder, or at least *hardly* suffer their plots to succeed according to their hearts desire; and that is, the *Bishops* Votes in the *Upper House*, nay they cannot endure to call it so, but, in the *House of the Lords*; for they *rightly* considered therein these two special things.

{ 1. Their Number, } { Which are *two main* things to stop
 { 2. Their Abilities. } { and hinder many evils: For,

1. They had *Twenty six* Voyces, which was a very *considerable* number; and might stop a *great* gap, and stay the stream, or at least *moderate* the violence of any unjust prosecution.

The abilities of the Bishops.

2. They were men of *great Learning*, men of *Profound* knowledge both in *Divine* and *Humane Affairs*, and men *well* educated, *a cunabulis*, that spent all their time in *Books*, and were *Conversant* with the *dead*, that feared not to speak the truth, and have wearied themselves in reading *Histories*, comparing *Laws*, and considering the *Affairs* of all *Common* wealths; and so were *able*, if their modesty did not *silence* them, to discourse *de quolibet ente*, to untie every *knot*, and to explain every *riddle*; and being the *immediate* servants of the living *God*, set apart as the *Apostle* speaketh, to offer *Sacrifice* and to administer the *Sacraments* of *God*, to prepare a people for the *Kingdom of Heaven*, it ought not, and it cannot be otherwise *imagined*, by any child of the *Church*, that is a true believer, but that they are men of *Conscience*, to speak the *truth* and to do *justice* in any cause, and betwixt any parties more then most others, especially those *young* *Lords* and *Gentlemen*, whose years do want *experience*, and the course of their lives, some in *Hawking* and *Hunting*, and others in *Dicing* and *Bowling*, and visiting *Black-Friars* Play-house, or perhaps in worse exercises, doth sufficiently shew how *weak* their judgment must needs be in *great Affairs*, and how imperfect their conscience is as yet in holy things, I hope not to be *preferred* before these grave and Reverend men.

Pardon me good Lords for so plainly speaking truth.

And therefore, lest these *grave* men should prove *great* hinderances of their *unjust* proceedings, before any of their *worst* intentions be *well* perceived; there must be an exclusion of them from *Parliament*, and from those *Lords*, whose consciences and knowledge they may then the better captivate, and bring them the sooner to *side* with them, for to effect their *great* Design. And it is a *world* of wonders to see, with what *subtly* and industry, with what *Policy* and Villany, this one work must be effected. It would fill a volume to collect the *particulars* of their *Devices*; I will reduce them to these three heads.

A threefold practice against the Bishops.

1. They used all means to render them *odious* in the eyes of all people.

2. They brought the *basest* and the reffuse of all men, water-men, porters, and the *worst* of all the apprentices, with threats and menaces, to thunder forth the *death* and destruction of these men.

3. Upon a *pretended* treason they caused twelve of them, besides the Arch-Bishop that was in the *Tower* before, to be clapt up at *once* into prison; where they kept them in that *strong* house, until they got it Enacted that

that they should be excluded from the Upper-House, and both they and their Clergy should be debarred from the Administration of any secular act of Justice in the Common-Wealth.

1. They endeavoured to make them odious unto the people two waies.

1. To make them odious two waies.

1. Way.

The Ministers why persecuted.

1. In making that Order (or giving that notice unto the people) that any man might exhibit his complaint against Scandalous Ministers, and he should be heard; which invitation of all discontented sheep to throw dirt in their Pastor's faces, was too palpably malicious; for our Saviour told us, *We should be sent as sheep into the midst of Wolves*, but here is a sending for the Wolves to destroy the Shepherds; and it came to pass hereby, that no less then 900 complaints and petitions were brought in a very short space, (as I was informed by some of their own House, that feelingly disliked these undue proceedings) against many Learned and most faithful Servants of Jesus Christ; that were therefore hated, because they were not wicked; and persecuted because they were conformable to the Laws of the King and the Church. And the rest of our calling that were factious and Seditious, were both countenanced and applauded in all their Seditious courses, and the more they railed against our Church-Government, the more they were favoured by these enemies of the Church-Governours. As to instance in both particulars (as you may find in the Author of the *Sober Sadness*, p. 33.) Master Squire, Master Stone, and Master Swadlin, whom they have imprisoned, and scarce allowed them straw to lye on. Master Reading, Master Griffib, Master Ingoldsby, Master Wilcocks, and many others, having done nothing worthy of death or of bonds, are inserted into the black bill of Scandalous and superstitious Ministers, only for Preaching Obedience to Sovereign-Authority, and other points consonant to the Holy Scriptures; and those that are scandalous indeed, as Doctor Burgesse the ring-leader of all Sedition, Doctor Downing that is reputed as variable as was Doctor Pern, Master Calamy that is little better, Master Harding a most vicious man, Master Bridge a Socinian, and Master Marshall, not free from the suspicion of some unjust persuasions of the weaker Sex, and many more such factious men are not only dispensed with, for all faults, but also rewarded and advanced for their infidelity to God, and disloyalty to His Vice-gerent: This the Author of the *Sober Sadness* affirmeth of them.

2. By framing Petitions themselves (as it is conceived) in the name of thousands of people, from Cities and Countries, that either never saw or never knew what was in them, against Episcopacy and Episcopal men; and then exhibiting the said petitions unto themselves, and the rest of their seduced brethren, to instigate others of their own faction, that affected not Episcopacy, and those offenders that by their Ecclesiastical censure were justly punished, and yet thereby unjustly provoked to hate them, to frame the like petitions against this Apostolical function, and to make the World believe how odious these Reverend men were in the judgment of so many millions of men, which were indeed most ignorant and simple, and which God knows, and themselves afterwards confessed, knew not what they did, nor to what end their hands were purloined from them; under fair pretences, that were alleadged for the Reformation of some abuses, but were subscribed to most scandalous Petitions, which the poor men utterly renounced, when they understood how unchristianly they were seduced: So strange were their plots to make the Bishops odious.

Petitions against Episcopacy, how unjustly produced.

And yet you must not think, that these courses are more strange than true; for our Saviour tells his Apostles, that were men beyond excep-

tions, full of inspirations, and abundantly indued with the gifts of sanctification, *They should be hated of all men for his names sake*; and, if you look into the sufferings of Saint Paul, and the most horrible imputations that were so scandalously raised against the Holy Fathers, you need not admire so much to see these men suffering such things at the hands of sinners, to be made the scorn of men, and as the off-scouring of the people, as they were not long since, when the Bishops and the most learned Preachers might pass with more honour, and less contempt, at Constantinople among the Turks, or in Jerusalem among the Jews, than in the City of London among this brood of Anabaptists.

2. How the
scum of the
people threaten them.

2. After they had thus brought them upon the Stage, and used them thus strangely without cause, they get *Ven and Manwaring*, and others of the same Sect, to gather together the scum of all the Prophanest rout, the vilest of all men, and the out-cast of the people, such, as *Job* saith, *are not worthy to eat with the dogs of the flock*: and as they came before for the Earl of Straffords head, so now again, they must come in great numbers, without order, without honesty, against all Law, and beyond all Religion, with swords and staves, and other unfashionable though not inconsiderable weapons, to cry, *No Papists, no Bishops*, and if they had added, *No God, no Devil, no Heaven, no Hell*, then surely these men had obtained (if the Parliament could have granted their requests) the summe of their desires; and they would have thought themselves better than either King or Bishop: but as yet they go no farther, than, *No Papist, no Bishop*; and by this they put the good Bishops in great fear, and well they might be possess of that fear, *qui cadit in fortem & constantem virum*: for mine eyes did see them, and mine ears did hear it said, *What Bishop soever they met, they would be his death*, and I thanked God they knew not me to be a Bishop. Then they set upon Saint Peters Church of Westminster, burst part of the door to pieces, and had they not been most manfully withstood by the Arch-Bishop of York his Gentlemen, and the Prebends Servants, together with the Officers of the Church, they had entred, and likely ransacked, spoyled, and defaced all the Monuments of the Ancient Kings, broken down the Organs, and committed such Sacrilege and prophanation of that Holy place, as their fellow Rebels have done since in Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester, and other places, whereof I shall speak hereafter; the like was never seen among the Turks and Pagans; and after these things, what rage, cruelty, and barbarity they would have shewed to the Dean and Prebends, we might well fear, but not easily judge; I am sure, the Dean was forced to hire Armed Souldiers to preserve the Church for many daies after; for, seeing these riotous Tumults could not as yet obtain their ends, they came, nay, they were brought again and again, and they justled and offered some violence unto the Arch-Bishop's Grace, as he went with the Earl of Dover into the Parliament House: which made him and the rest of his brethren justly to fear what might be the issue of these sad beginnings, which they conceived must needs be very lamentable, if timely remedy were not applied, to prevent these untimely frights and unchristian tumults.

Their furious
assault upon
Saint Peters
Church in
Westminster.

Therefore when no Complaints either to the House of Lords or Commons could produce any safe effects, but rather a frivolous excuse than a serious redress, that they came to petition against the Government, and not to seek the destruction of the Governours, the Bishops were inforced (and, in my judgment, flesh and blood could take no better course in such a case, in such distress, and I believe it will be found wisdom hereafter) to make their Petition for their security, and Protestation against all Acts as null, (they might have added, to them and whom they represented) that should be enacted in their unwilling absence, while they were

were so violently hindered from the House; and, it may be, some word might pass in this Protestation, that might be bettered, or explained by another word; yet, on such a suddain, in such a fright, when they scarce had time to take Counsel of their pillows, or to advise with their second thoughts (*qua semper sunt saniores*), To watch for iniquity, to turn aside the just for a thing of nought, to take advantage of a word, or to catch men for one syllable, to charge them with High Treason to bring them unto death; so many Reverend Bishops to such a shameful end, was more heavy than ever I find the Jews were to the old Prophets, or the Pagan Tyrants unto the Primitive Fathers; nor do I believe you can Parallel the same charge in any History: yet

Esay 29. 26;
21.

3. For this one necessitated Act of the Bishops, the House of Commons do suddainly upon the first sight thereof, charge twelv of them with High Treason; they were not so long in Condemning it, as the Bishops in Composing it; and accordingly the Lords commit them unto Prison. And if this was Treason, I demand, why could they not prove it so to be? Or if it was not, why should such an House, *Flos & Medulla regni*, the greatest and the Highest Court of Justice, from which (the King consenting with them) there lieth none appeal, but only to the Court of Heaven, accuse them of High Treason? I would not have that Court to charge a man with any thing that were not most true, for certainly, whosoever unjustly compasseth my death is justly guilty of death himself, when as the Poet saith,

3. How they
were committ-
ed to Prison.

*Lex non justior ullis,
Quam necesse artifices arte perire sua.*

It may be they would have us to believe this Treason was not proved, nor the charge so fully followed as they intended, out of some mercy to save their lives; but I could sooner believe, they rejoiced to see them fear, and were glad of their mistake, that they might charge them, and by such a charge cast them into prison, that so they might the more easily work their Design, to cast them out of the Parliament, which now they have soon effected, and procured an Act for their exclusion.

And you must know, that to cast out from doing good, or serving God, is a work of the Devil, and not of God; so the wicked Husbandmen did cast out the right Heir of the Vine-yard, out of his own inheritance; so the Jews did cast out the blind man, and all that professed Christ out of their Synagogue. But you may better judge of this good Act, by these consequences which are like to be the fruits thereof.

The conse-
quences of
this Act.

1. Hereby they are all made incapable to do any good, either for Gods honour, or their neighbours benefit, by executing justice, or pronouncing judgment, in any cause in any temporal Court: and justice which long ago hath fled to Heaven, and wanders as a stranger here on earth, must be countenanced and entertained only by the sons of men, by secular Lords and Gentlemen: and the Spiritual Lords the Servants of God, and messengers of Heaven must have nothing to do with her; not because they are not as well able as any other to do justice, but, because the others cannot endure to let them see it, for fear they should hinder their injustice; and therefore justice and judgment are like to speed well on earth, when their chiefest friends are banished from them, and it may be worldlings, oppressors, or most ignorant youths, rather than any just understanders of their natures, must be their Judges.

1. Made inca-
pable of doing
any good.

2. Hereby they are made unable to defend themselves or their calling from any wrong; their respect was little enough before, and their indignities were great enough; and yet now we are exposed to far greater miseries, and to unresistable injuries, when a Bishop hath not so much Authority as a Constable, to withstand his greatest affronts.

2. Made un-
able to defend
themselves.

But *hac Libacus est*, this is that which the Devil and his great *Atreides's*, his prime Champions to enlarge his Kingdom would fain have, our *Souls* to remain among Lions, and all the means or defence to be taken from us, our enemies to be our Judges, and our selves to be murdered with our own weapons. In the time of Popery there were many Laws *de immunitate Clericorum*, whereby we were so protected, that the greatest Prince could not oppress us, as you may find in the Reign of King John, and almost in all our Histories: and when we renounced the Pope, God made Kings our nursing Fathers, and Queens our nursing Mothers, and we, putting our selves under their protection, have been hitherto most graciously protected: but now by this Act we are left naked of all defence, and set under the very sword of our Adversaries, and, as the Psalmist saith, *They that bated us are made Lords over us*, to call us, to affeet us, to undous.

3. Debarred of that right that none else arc,

3. Hereby they are made more slavish than the meanest Subject, and deprived of that benefit and privilege which the poorest Shoemaker, Tailor, or any other Tradesman or yeoman, hath most justly left unto him: for, to be excluded, debarred, and altogether made incapable of any benefit is such an insupportable burden, that it is for upon no mans shoulders but upon the Clergy alone, as if they alone were either unworthy to receive, or unable to do any good.

4. Made more contemptible than all others,

4. Hereby they are made the unparalleled spectacle of all neglect and scorn to all forraign people; for I can hardly believe the like Precedent can be shewed in any Age, or any other Nation of the World, no not among the very Infidels or Indians; for, in former times, the Bishops and Clergy-men were thought the fittest instruments to be employed in the best places of greatest trust, and highest importance in the Common-Wealth: and Kings made them their Embassadors, as the Emperour *Valentinian* did *Saint Ambrose*. *Anthon* own *Chronicles* relate how former times respected the Clergy; and how our Kings made them both their Counsellors, and their *Treasurers*, *Chancellors*, *Keepers of the Great Seal*, and the like Officers of the chiefest concernment, as *Ethelbert* in the year of Christ 605. saith, *I Ethelbert, King of Kent*, with the consent of the Reverend Arch-Bishop *Augustine*, and of my Princes, do give and grant, &c. And the said *Ethelbert* with the Queen and his Son *Badbold*, and the most Reverend Prelate *Augustine*, and with the rest of the Nobility of the Land solemnly kept his Christmas at *Canterbury*, and there assembled a Common Council, *tam cleri quam populi*, as well of the Clergy as of the People; And King *Adelstan* saith, *I Adelftan the King* do signify unto all the Officers in my Kingdom, that by the advice of *Wulfstan* my Arch-Bishop, and of all my Bishops, &c. In the great Council of King *Tia*, An. 712. The Edicts were Enacted by the Common Council and consent, *omnium Episcoporum, & Principum, Procerum, Comitum, & omnium sapientum seniorum, & populorum totius regni*, & per preceptum regis *Ina*: And in the second Charter of King *Edward the Confessor*, granted to the Church of *Saint Peter* in *Westminster*; it is said to be, *Cum concilio & decreto Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, Comitum, aliorumque suorum Optimatum*, With the Counsel and Decree of the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Earls, and other Potentates. And so not only the Saxon Kings, but the Norman also, ever since the Conquest, had the Bishops in the like or greater esteem, that they never held Parliament or Council without them. And surely these Princes were no Babes that made this choice of them, neither was the Common-Wealth neglected, nor justice prejudiced by these Governours. And whosoever shall read *Mores gentium*, or the pilgrimage of *Master Purchas*, *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and the rest of the Greek and Latin Histories, I dare assure him, he shall find greater honour given, and far less contempt cast upon

Ut refert in
tractatu suo de
Episcopatu. P.
616.
M. Thayer
Sir Henry Spel-
man. p. 118.
Idem. p. 403.
Idem. p. 119.

How former
times respected
the Clergy.

upon the Priests and Flamins, the Prophets of the *Sybs*, than we find of this *Faſion* left to the Servants of the Living God; who are now delt with all worse, than *Pharaoh* dealt with the *Israelites*, that took away their straw, and yet required their full tale of Bricks; For these men would rob us of all our means, and take away all our *Lands*, and all our *Rights*, and yet require not only the full tale of Sermons and Services, as was used by our *Predecessours*, but to double our *files*, to multiply our pains, and to treble the Sermons and Services, that they used to have of our forefathers, more than ever was done in any Age since the first Plantation of the Gospel; And when we have done, with *John Baptist*, the utmost of our endeavours, like a *ſhining* and a *burning* lamp, that doth waste and consume it self to nothing, while it giveth light to others; they only deal with us, as *Carriers* use to do with their pack-horses, hang bells at their ears to make a *melodious* noise, but with little provender lay heavy loads upon their backs; and when they can bear no more burdens, take away their *Bells*, withdraw their *praises*, call them *Jades*, exclaim against their *laziness*, and then, at last, turn them out to feed upon the Commons, and to die in a ditch; And thus we have now made the Ministers of Christ to be the Emblems of all misery, and in pretending to make them more glorious in the sight of God, we have made them most base in the eyes of all men.

How the Clergy are now used.

And therefore the consequence of this Act, is like to prove most lamentable, when the people, considering how that hereby, we are left naked of all comfort, and subject to all kind of scorn and distress, and how that this being effected, is but the *Prolegium* of a far greater mischief; they will rather with no great cost, make their children of some good Trade; and their children will chuse so to be, than with such great cost, and more care, and yet little hope, to bring them up to worse condition than the meanest of all Trades, or the lowest degree of all rusticks; When as they can challenge, and is shall not be denied them, to have the *priviledges* of the Law, and a property in their goods, which without their own consent, yielded in their persons or their representours, cannot be taken from them: And the Clergy only, of all the people in this Kingdom, shall be deprived of the right and benefit of our great Charter, which so many famous Kings and pious Princes have confirmed unto us; and when we have laboured all the dayes of our lives, with great pains, and more diligence, to instruct our people, and to attain to some competency of means to maintain our selves, and our families, we shall be in the power of these men, at their pleasure, under the pretence of Religion, contrary to all justice, to be deprived of any part of our freehold, when we shall have not one man of our own Calling to speak a word in our behalf, on no Seat of Justice throughout the whole Kingdom.

The Clergy alone are deprived of *Magna Charta*.

O terque quaterque beati, Quis ante ora patrum contigit oppeteret! O most miserable, and lamentable condition of Gods Ministers! I must needs speak it, though I should die for it; and if some did not speak it, I think the stones would cry against it, and proclaim it, Better for the Clergy, were their hope only in this world, never to have been born, or at least never to have seen a Book, then to fall into the hands, and to be put under the censure of these men that do thus love Christ, by hating his Ministers; who as I said before, by this one Act are made liable to undergo all kind of evils, which shall not only fall upon the present Clergy, (for were it so, our patience should teach us to be silent) but also to the increase of all prejudices to the Gospel, more than my fore-sight can expresse, in all succeeding Ages.

This Act more prejudiciall to the future times than now.

And therefore I may well say with *Jeremy*, Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this? And we need not wonder, that such plagues, calamities, and distresses, have so much increased in this Kingdom ever since

Jer. 5.9.29.

the passing of this Act, and yet the anger of the Lord is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still; and I fear, his wrath will not be appeased, till we have blotted this, and wiped away all other our great sins and transgressions, with the truest tears of unfained repentance.

How the King hath been used ever since this Act passed,

These are like to be the consequences of this Act: And yet our good King, who we know loved our Nation, and built us a Synagogue, and was (as I assure my self) most unwilling to passe it, was notwithstanding overpersuaded (considering where thirteen of the Bishops were, even in prison, and in what condition all the rest of them stood, in question whether all they should stand, or be cut down root and branch) to yield His assent unto the Act; though, if the case in truth were rightly weighed, not much lesse prejudicial to his Majesty, than injurious to us, to be thus deprived of our right, and exposed to all miseries, by excluding us from all Civil Judicature. And I would to God the King and all the Kingdom did continually consider, how his Majesty was used ever since the confirmation of this Act; for they no sooner had excluded the Bishops and Clergy out of their right, but presently they proceeded, and prosecuted the Design ever since, to thrust out the King from all those just Rights and Prerogatives, which God and Nature, and the Laws of our Land, have put into his hands, for the Government of this Kingdom: neither was it likely to succeed any otherwise, as I have fully shewed; and I would all Kings would read it, in the Grand Rebellion.

That the Act should be annulled.

But I see no reason why it may not, and why it should not, be retralled and annulled, when the Houses shall be purged of that Anabaptistical, and Rebellious Faction, that contrived and procured the same to Passe; for these three special Reasons:

1. Reason:

1. Because, that contrary to all former Precedents, that Bill for their exclusion, was (as it is reported) at the first refused, and after a full hearing among the Lords, it was by most Votes, by more than a dozen voices, rejected: And yet, to shew unto the World, that the Faction's malice against the Bishops had no end, and their rage was still implacable; at the same Session, and which is very considerable, immediately as soon as ever they understood it was rejected, the House of Commons revived it, and so pressed it unto the Lords, that (if I may have leave to speak the truth) contrary to all right, * it must be again received; and while the Bishops were in prison, it was, with what honour I know not, strangely confirmed.

* For I conceive this to be an approved Maxim, That no Right, nor proved forfeited by some offence, can be taken away without wrong:

2. Reason.

In his Majesties answer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons. 16. of July. p. 8.

2. Because this Bill had the Royall assent, after that a most riotous tumult, and many thousands of men, with all sorts of Warlike weapons, both on land and water, most disloyally had driven His Majesty to flee from London, that most Rebellious City, not without fear, for his own safety, even for the safety of his life, as himself professeth. And when they had so cunningly contrived their Plot, as to get some of the Kings servants and friends, that were about him, and employed in the Queens affairs, to perswade Her Majesty to use all her power with the King, for the passing of this Bill, or else Her journey should be stayed, as formerly they had altered Her resolution for the Spaw; and at Rochester she should understand the sense of the House to stop Her passage unto Holland, whereas the passing of this Bill, might make way for Her passage over: And many other such frights and fears, they put both upon the King and Queen, to inforce Him, full sore against his will, as we believe, to passe this harsh Bill, for the exclusion of the Spiritual Lords out of the House of Peers, and of all the Clergy, from all Secular Judicature.

But Master Pym will tell us, as he did, that it was the opinion of both Houses, There was no occasion given by any tumults, that might justly cause His Majesties departure.

To whom I answer, with the words of Alderman Garraway, If the Houses had declared, that it had been *lawful* to beat the King out of Town, I must have sat still with wonder (though I should *never* believe it): but when they declare matters of *Fact*, which is equally within our own knowledge, and wherein we cannot be deceived, as in the things we have seen with our eyes; if they dissent from *truth*, they must give me leave to differ from them. As if they should declare, They have paid all the money that they owe unto the City, or that there * was no *Crosse* standing in Cheapside, we shall *hardly* believe them.

Ald. Gar. speech
at Guild-hall.

* For now I
understand it is
pulled down.

And therefore, seeing we all remember, when the *Alarm* was given, that there was an attempt from Whitehall upon the City, how *hardly* it was appeased, and how no *Babies* thought the *Design* of those subtle heads that gave that *false* Alarm was no *lesse*, than to have caused Whitehall to be pulled down; and they that *loved* the King, and saw the *Army* both by *land* and *water*, which accompanied the persons accused, to Westminster the next day after His Majesties departure, (as if they had passed in a *Roman* Triumph) conceived the danger to be so great, that I call *Heaven* to witness, they *blessed* God that so *graciously* put it in the Kings heart, rather to *pass* away over-night, though very late, than *hazard* the danger that might have ensued the day following.

The meaning therefore of both Houses may be. That there was *nothing* done, which they *confessed* to be a tumult; And no marvel; Because they received *incouragement*, as we believed, from their defence; and no reproof, that we found was made, for this indignity offered unto the King. But if I be *constrained*, and in danger, it is not enough for me, that I am *voted* free and safe; For if that, which looks, as like a tumult, as that did; or, as the representation of my face in the truest *Glas*, is like my face, doth come against me and incompasse me about, though I may be, perhaps, in *more* safety; yet I shall think my self in *great* fear, and in no *more* security, than His Majesty was at *Edge-bill*.

3. Because, as the *viewer* of the *Observat.* hath very well expressed it, No Act of Parliament can prevail to *deprive* the King of His Right and Authority; as an *Attainder* by Parliament could not bar the *Title* to the Crown from descending on King Hen. 7. Nor was an Act of Parliament disabling King Hen. 6. to re-assume the Government of his people, of any force; but, without any *repeal* in it self, frustrate and void. 7. Rep. 14. *Calvins* case; an Act of Parliament cannot take away the *protection* or the *Subjects* service, which is due by the Law of Nature. 11. rep. *Sur de la Ware* case. *William de la Ware*, although disabled by Act of Parliament, was nevertheless called by Queen *Elizabeth* to sit as a Peer in Parliament; for that it seems the Queen could not be barred of the *service* and counsel of any of Her Subjects. 2. H. 7. 6. a *Statute*, that the King by no *non obstante* shall dispence with it, is void; because it would take a *necessary* part of Government out of the Kings hand. And therefore I see not how *this* Act can *deprive* the King of the *service* and counsel of all his Bishops and Clergy, but that it is void of it self, and needeth no *repeal*; or if otherwise, yet seeing that besides all this, 13. of the Bishops were shut in prison when this Act passed, and their protestation was made long before this time, and it was so unduly framed, so illegally prosecuted, and with such compulsive threats and terrors procured to be passed; I hope the *wisdom* of the next Parliament, together with their *love* and respect to the Church and Church-men, will nullifie the same.

3. Reason. p. 7.

CHAP. VI.

sheweth the Plots of the Faction, to gain unto themselves the friendship and assistance of the Scots; And to what end they framed their new Protestation; How they provoked the Irish to rebell, and what other things they gained thereby.

And thus the *Secularies* of this Kingdom, and the Faction in this Parliament, have by their craft and subtilty prevailed to have all the chiefest impediments of their Design to be removed: So now the hedge is broken down, and all the Boars of the Forrest may now come into the vineyard, to destroy the vine, and to undermine the City of God: But, *into their counsels let not my soul come.*

2. The furtherances of their Design were five.

2. When they had taken away these stops and hinderances of their projects, they were to recollect and make up the furtherances, that might help to advance their Cause, for the founding of their new Church, and the establishing of their famous *Democratical* Government, and popular Commonwealth. And these I find to be principally five.

1. The gaining of their Brethren of Scotland, to become their fast and faithful friends.

2. The framing of a *Protestation* to frighten the *Papists*, and to insnare the *simple*, to be led as they listed to prosecute their Design.

3. The condemning of our late *Canons*, as abominable in their judgement, and inconsistent with their Religion.

4. The appointing of a new *Synod*, the like whereof was never heard in the Church, since *Adam*, to compose such *Articles* as they liked, and to frame such *Discipline* as should be most agreeable to their own dispositions.

5. The settling of a *Militia*, a word that the vulgar knew not what it was, for to secure the Kingdom, as they pretended, from those dangers that they feared, that is, from those *Jacks* of Lent, and men of *Clouts*, which themselves set up as deadly enemies unto the Church and State; but indeed insensibly to get all the strength of the Realm into their own hands, and their Confederates; that so they might, like the *Ephori*, bridle the King, and bring him as they pleased, to abolish, and establish, what Laws and Government they should propose; whereby, perhaps, he might continue King in Name, but they in Deed.

These were the things they aimed at, and they effected the first three, before they could be discryed, and their Plots discovered; but in the other two, they were prevented, when God said unto them, as he doth unto the Sea, *Hitberto shalt thou go, and no further, here shalt thou stay thy proud waves*: And therefore, I am confident (and I wish all good Christians were so) that their purposes shall never succeed, nor themselves prosper therein, while the World lasteth; because God hath so mercifully revealed so much, so graciously assisted our King, and so miraculously, not only delivered him from them, but also strengthened him against them, contrary to all appearing likely-hood, to this very day; which is a sufficient argument to secure our faith, that we shall by the help of our God, escape all the rest of their destructive Designs.

But to display their Banners, to discover their Projects, and to let the World see what they are, and how closely and yet cunningly, they went about to effect their work; I will in a plain manner set down what I know, and what

what I have collected from other Writings, and from men that are *fide digni*, (for one mans eyes cannot see all things, nor *infallibly* perceive the Mysteries of all particulars) for to *confirm* the faithful Subjects in their due obedience, both to God, and their King, and to *undeceive* the poor seduced people, that they perish not in the contradiction of *Corah*.

1. It is *believed*, not without cause, with far greater probabilities than a bare suspicion, that our own *Anabaptistical* Sectaries, and this *Faction*, were the first inviters of those angry spirits (that *conceived* some cause to be discontented, and were glad of *secret* entertainers) to enter into the bosom of this Kingdom. Whatsoever those our Brethren of *Scotland* did, I will bury it according to their Act, in oblivion; neither *approving*, nor yet *blaming* them for any thing. But for any *Subject* of *England*, to interchange *Messages*, and to keep *private* intelligence, with any that seem to be in Arms against their King, and the invaders of his Dominions, to *animate* them to come, and advance forward; to *refuse* their Sovereigns *Service*, and the *Oath* of their fidelity, which was tendered unto them; and to *hinder* the Kings Souldiers to do their duties, either by denying to go with him, or refusing to *fight* for him when they went, (which if some men were brought to their *Legal* tryal, I believe, would be more than sufficiently proved against them) can be no lesse than *heinous* Crimes, perhaps, within the compass of high Treason.

The indeering of themselves unto the Scots. Our Sectaries the inviters of the Scots to England.

Or were these things but our *jealousies* and fears, which do wear the garments of Truth; yet their *proceedings* in Parliament do add more fuel unto the fire of our suspicion; as, for our men, whom we have chosen to *plead* for us, and to *treat* with them, to respect them more than us, to *enrich* them, by impoverishing us, giving them no lesse than 300000. l. who had entered into our Land, and brought upon us such *fears*, of I know not how many mischiefs that might succeed; and not only so, but also, (to shew what *love* they bare to them, and how *little* regard they had of us, their *Native* Brethren, that put such trust and confidence in their fidelity, as to commit all our fortunes and liberties into their hands) paying *weekly* such a Pension for their provision, (besides the maintenance of our own Army, which were forced to carry them their monies, when themselves were unpaid) as in a *short* time was able to exhaust *all* the wealth of this Kingdom; and yet for all his Majesties continual calling upon them to *dispatch* their discharge, and to *finish* the Treaty, for the good of both Kingdoms, keeping them here so exceeding long, and making so *very much* of them, (which in truth we envied not, but admired what it meant, when we saw with what continual *feastings* they were entertained in *London*, and their lodgings frequented as the Kings Court) till all the people began to *murmur*, and to wax weary of so great a charge, and such a burden, as they knew must at last light upon their shoulders; which must needs be matters worthy of our best examinations.

How they behaved themselves towards the Scots:

But as yet the common people that seeth no further than the *present* tense, and the outside of things, did *little* know, what many wise men did then foresee, that these men aimed further than they seemed to do, and delayed the busynesse *purposely* till they had attained many of their desires, and had fully *endeared* themselves into the affections of the Scots, that (if need required, that they could not effect *all* the residue of their design as they intended, which now could not so *suddenly* be brought unto perfection,) they might recall them here again to assist them, to do that by *force*, which by their craft and subtilty they should fail to do; as now by their sending for them, going unto them, and alleadging the Act of Pacification for their assistance, to *withstand* their King and to *overthrow* our Church, it is apparent to all the World, how *perfidiously* they dealt with God and man, and how *treacherous* their thoughts were from the beginning,

Why they detained them here so long:

The Parliaments Plots

both to the King and Kingdom. Yet, As we found our Brethren of Scotland (howsoever these men behaved themselves in their secret intentions) to have carried themselves none otherwise than as wise, rational, and religious men, in all the Treaty; So I assure my self, they will hereafter still continue, both faithful unto God, and loyal unto their King; and, as they perceived not their intentions at the first, so they will not now join with them in any Association of Rebellion to withstand their own Liege Lord, and to change the established Laws and Religion of our Kingdom; but will rather live in peace and happiness in their own Land, than by forsaking their enjoyed quietness, to involve themselves in the unhappiness of a desperate War in another Country.

2. The compelling of all people to take their new framed Protestation.

* Which word is like the &c. in the Canonical Oath.

2. After they had thus endeared themselves unto their Brethren of Scotland, they framed a Protestation, to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully they might, with their lives, powers, and estates, the True Reformed Protestant Religion, his Majesties Royal Person, Honour, and Estate, the power, and privilege of Parliament, the lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, and every person that should make the Protestation, in whatsoever he should do in the lawful pursuance of the same; and to their power, and as far as lawfully they might, to oppose, and, by all good means, endeavour to bring to condign punishment, all such as shall either by force, practice, counsels, plots, conspiracies, or otherwise * do any thing to the contrary of any thing in the said Protestation contained; and neither for fear, hope, nor other respect, to relinquish this Promise, Vow, and Protestation.

In which Protestation, though no man can espy the least shadow of ill, *prima facie*, at the first reading thereof; yet if you look further, and search narrowly into the intentions of the composers, the frame of the Protestation, and the practice of these Protestors, ever since the framing of it, you shall find that *Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne*: these men are no Changelings, but as like themselves as ever they were; For,

1. To terrifie the Papists, & to raise a Rebellion in Ireland.

1. As it was intended, so it succeeded; it terrified the Papists, and made them so desperate, as almost to despair of their very Being, as concerning the place where, or the manner how, they should live; Which thing, together with many other harsh and hard proceedings against many of them, and the small countenance which they shewed unto a very moderate Petition that the Papists exhibited unto them, hath driven abundance of them into Ireland, (whom I saw my self) and there consulting with the Irish (which were then also threatened by the Agents of this Faction there, that ere long they should be severely handled, and brought to the Church whether they would or no, or pay such a *Mulct* as should make them poor) what course they should take in such a desperate condition, wherein they were all like to be ruined, or to be rooted out of all the Kings Dominions, they concluded what they would do; To defend themselves by a plain Rebellion. So this course against them hath been the leading-card (as some of them confessed) of that great Rebellion; which being kindled (as some Sectaries in England expected) they thought they would so much the more weaken the King, by how much the more combustion should be raised in each one of his Dominions: And therefore notwithstanding all the Kings gracious Messages, and wishes unto the House of Commons (which I wish all men would remember, how affectionately he desired it) to hasten to relieve that bleeding Kingdom, yet still they protracted and neglected their redresse; and at last, passed such Votes, made such Orders, and procured such Acts, as rather respected themselves, and their posterity, to get all the land and goods of the Rebels to themselves, that were the Adventurers, than the relieving of us that were distressed, and would (as I told some of the House of Commons) rather increase the

the Rebellion, than any wayes *quench* that destroying flame. And this was (as it succeeded, and, as you see hereby, most likely intended) a most detestable Plot, for the *kindling* of that Rebellion, and *continuing* of that bloody War in Ireland, without which, they knew this Rebellion in England could never have gained so much strength as it hath.

2. By their large *expression* of what Religion they protested to defend : not the Protestant Religion, as it is *established* by Law, and *expressed* in the 39. Articles of the Church of England ; but as it is *repugnant* to Popery, and taught perhaps by *Burton, Burges, Goodwin, Burrows*, or the like *Amsterdamian* Schismatics, they opened the gap so *wide*, and made Heaven-gate so *broad*, that all *Brownists, Anabaptists, Socinians, Familists, Adamites*, and all other *New-England-brood*, and *Out-landish* Sectaries whatsoever, that opposed Popery, might return home, and joyn with them, as they have done since, to *overthrow* our established Church and State. And this Plot, to increase their own *strength*, was as *craftily* done, and is as *detestable* as the other, which, to weaken the King in England, caused a Rebellion in Ireland.

2. To gain all Sectaries to their side.

3. By their *illegal* compelling, and forcible inducing of all the people in the Kingdom to take the same, or to be adjudged ill-affected and popish ; and after the Lords had rejected the imposing of it, they by their *Declaration*, which shewed, That what person *soever* would not take it, was unfit to bear *Office*, either in Church, or Common-wealth, prevailed in this Plot so, that they descryed the number of their own Parey, they understood their own strength, and they perceived thereby *many* things, which they knew not before ; for now they had with *David*, *numbered Israel*, and, so far as the wit and policy of the Devil had instructed them, they had searched into the *secrets* of all hearts.

3. To descry their own strength.

4. Having *compelled* the people to take it, they have hereby *insnared* all the *simpler* sort and tender consciences to stick unto them, when they *sell* them, and *presse* it upon their souls, That they have made a *Protestation* to maintain the *Priviledges* of Parliament, and the *Liberty* of the Subject, and therefore they are *bound* to adhere to the Parliament to the *uttermost* of their power ; and so by this *equivocall* Protestation, they have *seduced* thousands into their Rebellion, and led them *blindfold* unto destruction.

4. To insnare all the simpler sort to adhere unto them.

But to let you see, not the *sincerity* of their hearts, but the *mystery* of their iniquity, by this their *Protestation* ; you shall never find them *urge* it unto others, or *remembering* it themselves, For the defence of the Kings *Person*, *Crown*, or *Dignity*, or for the liberty of any Subject, but only *such* Subjects as will be Rebels with them : For, how can they be said to defend any of these, when they do their *very* best to *destroy* His Person, and deprive him of all his *Royal* Dignities ? and to plunder and imprison all *true* Subjects for being *true* Subjects unto their King ? Whereby you see, how these *Rebels* are likewise *perjured*, and have weaved this Protestation like a *Spiders* web, through which themselves might passe when they pleased, and like *Vulcans* Net, to catch the simpler sort, to adhere most *eagerly* to their *Designs* ; and so it is but a circle of all subtilties, and not unwittily questioned, *An protestatio Parliamentaria deterior sit juramento cum, &c.* For if there be any thing enjoyned to be done by that Protestation, which was *unlawful* to be done before the Protestation was taken, it is no more to be *justified* by that Act, than any other unlawful thing is by a *rash* and wicked vow ; and it ought not to be urged to do mischief ; and if there be *nothing* to be enjoyned thereby, but what was *every* mans duty before, there was but *small* need to draw any argument from any Protestation ; but if they intended to draw men from the *duty* of allegiance to which they were legally sworn, &c.

That the rebels are all perjured.

Priviledges of
Parl. multiply-
ed, and are like
Pharaohs kine.

all men understood, to do somewhat which the *ignorant* did not understand, then such a *voluntary* Protestation might do the deed; for they have protested to maintain the *Priviledges* of Parliament. And yet the *wisest* of us now may *justly* protest, we cannot tell what *those* Priviledges are, or how far they should *extend* in the judgement of the House of Commons; for they are *multiplied* like the Rats of Egypt: And as Pharaohs lean Kine, did eat up all his fat Cows; so these *meager* Priviledges have eaten up all our *goodly* Laws. And therefore, the *unlimited* universality of these Priviledges in the Protestation, extending it self as far as the & cetera in the Canonical Oath, was but a *mischievous* plot in the Contrivers, to catch the simple to adhere unto them; And it is a *madness* in any man that hath *legally* sworn to defend the King's Person, Crown, and Dignity, which he knoweth, and hath *irregularly* protested to maintain the Priviledges of Parliament, which he knoweth not, immediately to draw his sword against his *known* Sovereign, or to Rebel against his well-known lawful Authority, in the behalf of some thing, he knoweth not what, but is told by these men, It is a *Privilege* of Parliament. O ye *unwise* among the people, When will you understand; Who hath bewitched you, that you should not believe the truth?

CHAP. VII.

Sheweth how the Faction was enraged against our last Canons. What manner of men they chose in their new Synod. And of six special Acts of great prejudice unto the Church of Christ, which under false pretences, they have already done.

3: The condemn-
ing of our
last Canons.

3. **F**OR the Canons, that were last made, I must confess, my self, and many others of my Brethren, were *very* averse unto our sitting, to make any at that time; yet many Reasons were shewed us, that we might sit (and we had the Judges of the Common-Laws opinion under their hands shewed us; for the *legality* of our sitting) and conclude such Canons as might be for the *glory* of God, and the *good* of his Church; but of those that are made, though I assure my self, the *worst* of them, is not so ill as they *alledge*, nor *near* so bad as *most* (I might say the *best*) of their *illegal* Orders; yet, there were many of us that never gave our votes to passe them; and though not for any *offence* that we saw in them, yet, for the *scandall* that might be taken at them, we *heartily* wished they had never been so zealously propounded at that time.

But the *Sectaries* of London, and the *prevalent* Faction in Parliament did, with open mouth, spend much time to the *no small* prejudice of the whole Kingdom, and made many *long* Speeches to exclaim against them, as against a *Bundle* of superstitions, that obscured the *purity* of our Religion, an *introduction* unto Popery, and an *intolerable*, unheard of the like, invasion upon the liberty of the Subjects, that revived again the *Papal* Tyranny, which, contrary to our *Fundamental* Laws, have incroached to make *Canons* and *Constitutions* to bind our Consciences; whereupon they *censure* them, and condemn them out of their house, and the House of God, out of the Church and *Common-wealth*: and not only so, but also the *Contrivers* of them, and *Consenters* to them, they terrifie, and threaten to adjudge them, sometimes with a *præsumptio*, to have forfeited *all* their goods and possessions, and sometimes to be *fin'd*, (as we were at last) with such a *heavy* Multitude, as, in all other mens judgement, did far exceed the *pretended* offence, especially of us that never consented to them.

And

And yet we find, not only in *Lindwood*, and others of our Canonists, but also in the book of *Martyrs*, and the rest of our English Histories, that the *Arch-Bishops*, within their Provinces, have at several times made Canons and Constitutions, for the *Regulating* of all the people committed to their charge, without any suspicion of the least violation of our laws; but the *Faction* say, *Sic volumus*, and the Houses of Parliament understand what is Law better then I do, and therefore accordingly (before the makers of them were called to make their answers, by what *Authority* they made them, or by what Law they could justify them) they reject the Canons and censure their makers. Yet notwithstanding their distast of them, it is conceived by some, that the *Clergy* having His Majesties writ to be convoked, and leave to compose such Canons, as they thought fit to be observed, for the *Honor* of God, the discharge of their duty, and the good of the Church, and having the *Royal* assent and approbation to all that they concluded; (which is all that I find the *Statute* provided in this case requireth) though they should be defective, or perhaps offensive, in some circumstances; yet if they be not legally abrogated, after a full hearing of all parties, and the *Kings* consent to reject them, as it was to approve them, they are still as binding, and in as full force as ever they were; though, for mine own part, I will not undertake the task, to make that good, which as both the Houses have condemned them; but I say:

4. This *Scandal* taken against these *Canons*, made way for the *faction* to call for a new *Synod*, or Assembly of Divines, for the rectifying of things amiss, as well in *Discipline* as in *Doctrine*; And in this new intended *Synod*, the Divines are nominated, not according to the rules and Canons of the Church, and the Customs of all Nations, since the first *Synod* or Council of the Apostles, by Divines, that can best judge of their own abilities, as when the spirit of the Prophets is subject to the Prophets: but, fearing the *Clergy* would have sent men that were too *Orthodoxal* for their faith, they deprived them of their rights, and, forgetting their *Protestation* to defend the right of the Subject, the choice is made by themselves, that are *Lay* men, and *Young* men, and many of them perhaps *Prophane* men, or at least not so religious, nor so judicious as they ought to be, for a business of this nature, of so great concernment, as the direction of our souls to their eternal bliss.

And now they being nominated, we know most of them what they are; men, not only justly suspected to be ill disposed to the peace of our Church, and too much addicted to innovation, to alter the *Government*, to reject and cast away the Book of Common Prayer, to oppose *Episcopacy*, and to displace the grave and godly *Governours* of Gods Church; but also apparently fashioned to the humours of these their own Disciples (who are to be the only judges of their determinations) that (although some few Canonical men, and most *Reverend*, *Learned*, and *Religious Bishops*, and others, for *fashion* sake, to blind the World, are named amongst them; yet, when, as in a *Parliament*, so in a *Synod*, the most desperate *faction*, if they prove prevalent to be the major part, will carry any thing in despite of the better part, they shall stand but as *Cyphers*, able to do nothing) they might abolish our old established *Government*, erect their own new invented *Discipline*, and propagate their well affected *Doctrine* in all Churches; for you may judge of them by their compeers, *Goodwin*, *Burrows*, *Arrow-Smith*, and the rest of their ignorant, factious, and schismatical Ministers, that together with those intruding *Mechanicks*, (who without any calling either from God or man, do step from the *Butchers* board, or their *Horses* stable, into the *Preachers* Pulpit) are the *bellows* which blow up this fire, that threateneth the destruction of our Land, like *Shebah's* trumpet, to summon the people unto Rebellion, and

4. The appointing of a new framed *Synod*.

Lay-men choosers of the *Clergy*, as if a shepherd did choose pretious *stones*.

What manner of men they have chosen.

What Synod
they should
have chosen.

like the red Dragon in the Revelation, which gave them all his payson, and made them eloquent, to disgorge their malice, and to cast forth floods of slanders after those that keep Loyalty to their Sovereign, and to belch forth their unsavory reproaches against those that discover their affected ignorance, and Seditious wickedness, in defence of truth; and are the Instruments of this faction, to seduce the poor people to the desolation of the whole Kingdom, if not timely prevented by their repentance, and assistance to enable him whom God hath made our Protector to defend us against all such transcendent wickedness. And these are the main ends for which they summoned such a new Synod of their furious and Fanatick teachers, upon whose temper and fidelity, I believe, no wise man that knows them would lay the least weight of his souls felicity. Whereas if they desired a Reformation of things amiss, and not rather an alteration of our Religion and the abolition of our now settled Government, they would have called for such a Synod as was in Queen Elizabeths time, when the 39 Articles of our Religion were composed, and such as they needed not to be ashamed to own in future times, nor the best refuse to associate the rest, for the illegality of their election; for if there be any scandalous Governours, (as we deny not but there may be a Cham in the Ark, a Judas amongst the Apostles, and perhaps an unjustifiable Prelate among the Bishops, as there was a proud Lucifer among the Angels) or if they think it necessary to correct, qualify, explain, or alter some expressions or ceremonies in our Liturgy, and Book of Common-Prayer, we are so far from giving the least offence to weak Consciences, that we heartily wish a lawful Synod, which may have a full legal power, as well to remove the offences, as to punish the offenders, and to establish such Laws and Canons, as well against Separatists and Schismatics, Anabaptists and Brownists, as against Recusants and Papists, and such as may be for the Glory of God, and the peace of our Church; which was our sole intention in the last Synod.

But seeing their Plot was rather to establish a new Church than to redress the defects of the old, and to countenance and advance those bounties that schismatically rent our Church in pieces, and most wickedly defile the pure Doctrine of the same, by degrading and displacing the grave Governours thereof, I will (to give you a taste of what fruit you are like to reap from them) very briefly set down the sum of these two points.

Two points
handled.
1. What they
have already
done in the
Affairs of our
Church.
1 Cor. 5. 5.
1 Tim. 1. 20.
1. Opened a
gap to all li-
cenciousness.

1. What they have already done.

2. What Discipline and Doctrine are like to ensue, if they should be enabled or permitted to erect their new Church; for, (as you may find it in the Remonstrance of the Commons of England to the House of Commons.)

1. Under colour of Regulating the Ecclesiastical Courts, (Courts that have been founded by the Apostles, and had alwaies their Authority and Reverence among Christians, even before the Secular power (when the Emperours became Christians) had confirmed them) they have taken away (in respect of the coercive part thereof, which is the life of the Law, and without which the other part is fruitless) all the Spiritual jurisdiction of Gods Church; they have taken away Aarons rod, and would have only Manna left in Gods Ark; so that now the crimes inquirable and censurable by those Courts, though never so heinous, as Adultery, Incest, and the like, cannot be punished; Heresies, and Schisms, which now of late have abounded in all places, can no waies be Reformed, and the neglect of Gods service can as hardly be repaired, when as the Ministers cannot be enforced to attend their Cures, the Church-officers cannot be compelled to perform their duty, and the Parishioners cannot be brought by our Law to pay their Tythes and other necessary Duties; which things

(all

are all so considerable that all Christians ought to fear how lamentable will be the end of these sad beginnings; for, my self have seen the House of God most unchristianly prophaned, the Church-yard and the dead bodies of the Saints so rooted and miserably abused by Hogs and Swine, that it would grieve meer men, that scarce ever heard of God; to see such a barbarous usage of any holy place; and when the Ministers have given a seven-nights warning to prepare for the blessed Eucharist, and the Communicants came to partake of those holy mysteries, they were fain to return home without it, for want of Bread and Wine to administer it; and yet now, the Church-Governours have not any power to redress any of these abominable abuses.

2. Under shew of Reforming the Church Discipline, and bettering the Government thereof, they have voted down those very Governours, the Bishops and their Assistants, the Deans and Chapters, whose function was constituted by the Apostles, and hath from that time continued to this very day; As the most Learned Arch-Bishop of Armagh, Bishop Hall, Master Mason, Master Tayler, and that worthy Gentleman Master Ttheyer, and others have sufficiently shewed to all the World.

2. Voted down all the Governours of Gods Church.

3. Under the pretence of expunging Popery, which Bishop Jewel, Bishop Parry, Bishop Babington, Bishop Bilson, Bishop Morton, Bishop Davenant, Bishop Hall, and abundance more of the Reverend Bishops have consulted, expelled and kept out of our Church, more than any, yea than all their schismatical Disciples, whose Learning was no waies able to answer the weakest Arguments of our Adversaries, the Service Book that is established by Act of Parliament, and was by those holy Martyrs, that lost their lives, and spilt their blood in defence of the Protestant Religion, and defiance of Erroneous Popery, so Divinely and devoutly composed, as all the Reformation can bear witness, and I am well assured, the whole flock of these Convocants shall never be able, without this, to make any neer so pious; must be totally cried down, and hath been in many places, burned, used to the uncleanest use; and teared all to pieces; And to let you see their abomination herein, I must crave patience to transcribe, that it may the more generally pass, the Speech of Alderman Garraway, where he saith, pag. 7. Did not my Lord Maior (that is, Pennington) first enter upon his Office with a Speech against the Book of Common Prayer? Hath the Common Prayer ever been read before him? Hath not Captain Pen said, that his Wife could make prayers worth three of any in that Book? O Masters! There have been times, that he which should speak against the Book of Common-Prayer in this City, should not have been put to the patience of a Legal-Trial; we were wont to look upon it as the greatest treasure, and the Jewel of our Religion; and he that should have told us, he wished well to our Religion, and yet would have taken away the Book of Common-Prayer would never have gotten credit. I have been in all the parts of Christendome, and have conversed with Christians in Turkey; why, in all the Reformed Churches there is not any thing of more Reverence than the English Liturgy; not our Royal Exchange, nor the Navy of Queen Elizabeth, is so famous as this; in Geneva it self, I have heard it extolled to the skies. I have been three months together by Sea; and not a day without hearing it read twice; the honest Mariners then despised all the World but the King and the Common-Prayer Book; he that should be suspected to wish ill to either of them, should have made but an ill voyage; and let me tell you, they are shrewd Youths, those Sea-men; if they once discern that the person of the King is in danger, or the Protestant professed Religion, they will shew themselves mad bodies before you are aware of it; I would not be a Brownist or an Anabaptist in their way, for ——— And yet, these men have so basely abused, and are so violent

3. Vilified our Service-book.

Alderman Garraway, p. 7.

How the Mariners esteem the Liturgy.

lent to abolish this excellent Book and Divine Liturgy, that *Many will not believe it though it should be told unto them*: I would they did but read that *Act* of Parliament which is prefixed unto the same, to see if they regarded either the Law of God or Man, the Religion of the Clergy that composed it, or the Wisdom of the Parliament that confirmed it.

4. Abused the images and pictures of the Saints and other holy things.

4. Under colour to shew their hatred to *Idolatry*, they have broken down the glass-*Windows* of many Churches; shot off the heads of the *Images* of the *Blessed Virgin*, and of our dear Saviour, represented in her lap, upon the porch of *Saint Maries* in *Oxford*; thrown away the *Pictures* of *Christ*, and of other his *Holy Apostles*, and Gods *blessed Saints*, into the Rivers; taken the Ministers *Surplices* to make *Frocks* to preserve their cloathes when they dressed their Horses; and in *Worcester* they have done what I am ashamed to speak, and would loathe any modest ear to heare; made the *Pulpit*, and (not far from the Town) the *Font* their house of office, as I was informed by one of the *gravest Doctors* and *Prebends* of that Church; thrown down the *Organs*, which cost above fifteen hundred pounds, and taken the Pipes, and Copes of the *Prebends*, and gone round about the Streets, with the Copes on their backs, and the Pipes in their hands, dancing the *Morrice-dance*; So in *Winscomb* in *Glocestershire*, they brake down the *Organs*, and made that Church their *Slaughter-house*, when they killed certain Sheep that they had stolen, and dressed the same upon the *Communion Table*; and in *Lincoln-Minster* the Souldiers brought their Horses into the Quire, laid their hay upon the *Holy Table*, and made the House of God a *Stable* for their Horses, that did now eat their hay where the Christians did use to *Communicate* the *Body* and *Blood* of *Christ*; so that these men give their Saviour no better entertainment now in his glory, than the *Jews* did when he came in his *Humility*, but he shall be still kept low, and a *Stable* shall be good enough for his *Mansion*; yet, as in *Canterbury* they did but little less, so in *Winchester* they added this to their former prophanations, to take the ashes of those *Saxon Kings*, that were kept in certain Urns, and threw them about the ground, as if death it self could not appease their rage.

Luk. 2. 7:

Sava sed in manes manibus arma dabant.

It would fill a whole volume to relate all the *Villanies* that they did of this kind, the consideration of which *prophane* usage of *Holy places*, made a worthy Gentleman *Pathetically* to set down these fervent speeches; I would to God we had not cause to complain of the *Horrid* and barbarous attempts of divers among us (Christians I can scarce call them) against some the mother-Churches, * who as if they had studied to affront the Almighty to his face, and purposely with *Manasses* to anger him, have not spared to *prophane* those goodly Structures, and *irreligiously* and *Anti-christianlike* to deface the *Instruments* there prepared and employed in the service of the great God: at the very thought whereof, I tremble and stand amazed, and can hardly believe the Christian World in any age (no not under the *Goths* and *Vandals*) can parallel it with an example of like abominable and *Atheistical Villanies*, yet to this day uncensured: and I am heartily sorry that it should be told in *Gath* or *Ascalon*, in any forraign Nation, that our English People should have any such Sect amongst them, so voyd of all humanity, so destitute of all thoughts of a Deity, and so full of all incredible impieties. And therefore I must use the words of the Prophet *Jeremy*, Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord? Or, shall not my soul, be avenged on such a Nation as this? Or, is it any wonder, that there are such Wars, such bloody Wars, such

* *Canterbury, Worcester, Winchester, Chichester, and many others.*

Master Theyer in his Treatise of Episcopacy. p. 50, 57.

5. 9. 29.

Such barbarous rapines, and that these miseries do still continue amongst us, when we not onely proceed to commit, but also to defend and justify these and the like abominable wickednesses, and have pleasure in them that do them? for, *It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.*

5. Under the colour of advancing the true Protestant Religion, they have branded the best Protestants, (even those that have most learnedly, both preached, and written against the Church of Rome, and all her erroneous tenets, and were not long since registred in the classe of Puritans, and for that cause kept under water) for Papists, and superstitiously Popish, and so Malignants, and opposers of the true, to be established, Religion; and they have encouraged and promoted to the Livings and Lively-hoods of the most Orthodox and Canonical men, Anabaptists and Brownists, and other Sectaries of most desperate opinions, that (as Saint Bernard saith of the like, *Multiplicati sunt super numerum*;) As the Caterpillers overspread all the Land of Egypt, so these are multiplyed in every corner, without number; and these tares have almost choaked all the Wheat in Gods field, and do preach most desperate Doctrines, destructive both to themselves, their Profelytes, and all the truest Protestants throughout all this Kingdom; when as Sedition and Rebellion, besides their other damnable Doctrines condemned by the Church, must ever be at one end of their Sermons, and published in their Pamphlets; As for instance, you may find in the bloody books, and fiery writings, of the darling Secretaries of the red Dragon, that warreth against the Saints, Stephen Marshal, Master Bridges, Jo. Goodwin, Burroughs, and the rest of the Locusts, * that are sent out of the bottomlesse pit to seduce the people of God, and to lead them headlong unto perdition.

But, let me advise the Servants of Christ, to remember their Saviours words. *To beware of false Prophets*; they shall deceive many, and many, love to be deceived by them; those whom God hath given up, that they should believe a lye; *Qui insatiati seducuntur, & seducti judicabuntur*; but you that desire to escape their snares may know them by their fruits; which are, Rebellion against their King, and Rayling against their Governours, Perjury against God, by the breaches of those Oathes, which in the face of the Church they have taken, both to the King, and to their Superiours; and a wilful perverting of the sacred Scriptures, to the perdition of their Profelytes; besides many other bitter fruits, that, worse than any Aconite are able to poyson any Christian soul, that do but taste of their Philtra's: or, if you will believe these Apples of Sodom, to be as sweet as they seem fair, then remember by what marks the Prophets and Apostles tell us that we may know them; 1. *Such as run before they be sent*, as Weavers, Tailors, and the like, that never had any calling or Authority to enter upon this sacred Function. 2. *They went from us, but are not of us*; such as were called, but then forsook their first love, and apostated from the Church; and, like ungracious children, did throw dirt in their mothers face, or, like the brood of Vipers, do labour to gnaw out her bowels; and here let the world judge, whether we went from them, or they from us; whether we or they apostated from that Oath and profession which all and every one of us did make, when we entered into holy Orders.

3. These false Prophets, saith the Apostle, *be dead simple, or silly men, captives*; just as their Master first seduced Balaam, and the woman, so do these; and because they have less worth than man attain to the height of their ambition, you may see most of them by women raised to great fortunes, that their pride disdaineth to be obedient; or if they fail of such wives, yet are they swelled with envie, which is as rebellious in these, as pride is in the other.

Rom. 1. 32.
Heb. 10. 34.

Branded the true Protestants, and advanced Anabaptists.

* Quae glomerantur in unum
Innumera pestes
Erebi, Claud.

Math. 7. 15.

Thess. 2. 10.
The Author's advice.

Three notes by which we may know the false Apostles.

1. Note.
Jer. 23. 31.

2. Note.
1 John 2. 19.

3. Note.
2 Tim. 3. 8.
Gen. 3. 1. 6.

6. Under

6 Ordered to
take away all
the revenues
of the most
worthy Clergy.

*Sublatis studi-
orum premiis,
ipsa studia pe-
reunt, C. Tacit.
1 Reg. 12. 31.
Matth. 15. 14.*

8. Under the pretence of making our Clergie more *spiritual* and Apo-
stolique, they have voted away most of our *temporal* estates, the *Lands* and
Lordships of the Bishops, Deans, and Prebends, and the *Pluralities* of
those persons that possessed double Benefices, and made their *Order* that
no man should pay any *rent*, or any *dues*, unto any of the forenamed per-
sons. And by this taking away the *free-hold* of the Clergy now in present,
(which they hold with as *good right*, and by the *same Law*, as the best
Lord in *England* holdeth his Inheritance) and by this discouragement of
Learning for the time to come, they thought to make our Clergy *Angeli-
cal*; but have proved themselves, I will not say, *diabolical*, but most in-
jurious unto the Church of Christ, by committing an *Ad* of as great in-
justice, and as prejudicial to the Common-wealth, as can be found among
the Pagans. For what can be more *unjust*, or more inhumane, than to
take away my *Lively-hood*, which is my very life, in mine old age, with-
out any offence of mine, for which I had laboured all the dayes of my
life? And what consequence can this produce, than (that which succeed-
ed in the like case, in *Jeroboam's* time, when he robbed the *Priests* and
Levites of their Inheritance) *ignorance* and barbarity, and the *basest* of
the people to be the Preachers of Gods Word, whereby *the blind do lead
the blind*, untill both do fall into the ditch; as I can testifie, some of our
greatest Nobility intended to make their sonnes *Priests* and *Bishops*, while
the *glory of Israel*, and the *beauty* of our Church remained *un-obscu-
red*, and now, *contempt* and poverty being enacted and ordered to be
their *portion*, those resolutions are vanished; and the *Universities* can
bear me witnesse, the *lowest* Gentry are not so well contented to under-
take this highest calling. These, and many other things *eiusdem farinae*,
of the same mold, they have already done, to *overwhelm* the ship of Christ
under the waves of this turbulent Faction. And these *prophanations* of
Gods divine Service, and the *violations* of the Sepulchres of the dead
(whose ashes and bones, like *canes sepulchrales*, they have disturbed in
their graves) and those unheard-of *sacrediges* on Gods Priests and portion
are so *equally* practised, that it is almost hard to judge which are *greater*,
either their *impiety* towards God, their *inhumanity* towards the dead, or
their *injustice* towards the living.

CHAP. VIII.

*Sheweth what Discipline or Church-government our factions Schis-
maticks do like best. And twelve principal points of Doctrine,
which they hold as twelve Articles of their faith: and we are to
believe the same, or suffer; if this faction should prevail.*

3. What disci-
pline and do-
ctrine the new
Synod is like
to set up.

2. **F**OR the discipline and the doctrine that they would establish, they
have not yet, and I believe they can never fully agree what they
shall be; their desire is first to overthrow the old, and then they will take
care, and consult how to devise a new; but I could wish they would let
the old alone till they could agree to produce a better.

Yet, because their *blind zeal* is so violent, to have their own unjust de-
sires, to destroy the vine-yard of Christ root and branch, I, that have served
seven years, a Lecturer, among them, in the heart of London, and was con-
versant with the purest of these holy brethren, and thereby understood most
of their *Anabaptistical*, and ridiculous tenets, and what discipline they
best liked, will here draw you a model of their *Utopian*, or New-England
Church

Church, which they would transport hither, to obscure the glory of old England.

1. For their discipline and government: Some would have the *Scottish* 1. Their discipline, and that form of Government, which old furious *Knox* hath first brought among them, and is fully described by that Reverend Arch-Bishop *Bancroft*; Others like better of the *Geneva* Assemblies, instituted by *M. Calvin*, and continued by *Theodore Beza*, two worthy members of that Church, or the discipline of the *Hugonots* in the new French Reformation, which differeth but a little from the other; But most of them like better of the manner of *Amsterdam*, where every Church is independent, and every *Pastour* is a *Pope* in his own Parish; and to that purpose, you may remember how vehemently they have lately most foolishly written * for this * As *Smith*, *Independent* Government; and how the *Lord Say*, and the *Lord Brooks*, two leading Captains of that faction, have often protested they would dispense with all sorts of Religions, so they might freely exercise their own; and that such a toleration ought to be granted, to all others; because their *Independencie* cannot otherwise consist; for he that is accountable to none, will use what Religion he pleaseth, without controule; and therefore they support their own Army by men of all Nations and Religions, nor their grand Adversaries the *Papists* excepted, but of fifty or sixty Souldiers that billeted in *Adibrop*, there were no less than three or four *Papists* amongst them.

But how unsutable these Governments would prove to stand with our *English* Nobility, and Gentry, (besides the novelty of them, and how farre dissonant they are to the *Apostolique* discipline) I will appeal to their own judgement, when every undiscreef Parson, and poor Vicar, shall be able, upon every discontent to excommunicate the best man in his Parish, and as we have seen some of them debarring whom they pleased from the holy Table; because their great anger, or little judgement, conceived them to be unworthy. When as the Church deemed it fitter that none of her children should undergo the least indignity for any personal distaste, but upon due examination of witnesses, a full hearing, and a just censure in open Court; which course if it be neglected, should be rather punished in the offenders, than the discipline dissolved, the Governours removed, and a new fantastical fancie erected.

2. For the Doctrines of these men, they are like the poetical fiction of those Sisters, *facies non omnibus una, Nec diversa tamen*; I did once intend, while I lived amongst them to collect a whole Volume of them; but Satan then prevented me, and plotted my destruction for mine intention: yet now, I will set down these few, out of those many, which I then observed.

1. Though *Moses* saith, *The secret things belong to the Lord our God, but the things revealed, belong to us and our children for ever*: yet these men are all *Gnostiques*, they know very much, even of the secrets and counsels of God, and they are sure who shall be saved, and who shall be damned; and, as men of the *Cabinet-counsel* of God, broach their illusions for divine revelations, and perswade the people, that what they say, or do, is all from God; and therefore that this War which they prosecute, was preordained of God for the destruction of the wicked, to whom they formerly preached their damnation, and thereby have caused many silly soules most desperately to end the miseries of their wretched life, by putting themselves to an untimely death.

2. They onely, as the elect of God (which shall be the sole heires of heaven) are the *Lords Proprietaries* of all this worldly wealth, and the rest, who are probates being enemies unto God, have no right unto any of Gods creatures; and therefore they think they may lawfully take away the goods of

those reprobates, whom now they call *Malignants*, and they have as good warrant for it, as ever the *Israelites* had to spoil the *Egyptians*; for they tell us, that *Saint Paul*, which knew right from wrong, tells them plainly, *1 Cor. 3. 22, 23* that *whether they be things present, or things to come, even all are yours, and ye Christ's, and Christ God's*; but they understand not that men have a double right unto these worldly goods. 1. As *Christians*, and so God as a merciful Father, hath provided all things for them. 2. As the *Creatures* of God; and so God, as a faithful Creator, openeth his hand, and filleth all things living with plenteousnesse; and maketh his Sun to shine upon the just, and upon the unjust; and so the wicked have as good an interest in their estates as the godly; and besides, God hath not given them the power to distinguish, who are the elect, or who are reprobates.

That there is a double right to the things of this world.
Psal. 104. 28.
Matth. 5. 45.

And therefore if we have any regard of our goods, that God hath given us, we have great reason to look about us: for these are the greatest *Cheaters* in *Christendome*, and as they have made us *Malignants*, so they will make us reprobates when they please, that they may enjoy those things that we have.

3. They think themselves free from all sin
Numb. 23. 21.
Tit. 1. 15.

To the unbelieving, nothing is pure.
Titus 1. 15.

Matth. 9. 12.

Jer. 22. 24.
Ezek. 33. 15.

4. They allow the women to offend while their husbands sleep.
Joh. 11. 11.
1 Cor. 7. 39.

5. They justify many kinds of lyes, and equivocations.
Gen. 12. 13.
Acts 23. 5.

3. Because *Balaam* saith, *God bebold no iniquity in Jacob*; and the *Apostle* saith, *To the pure, all things are pure*; they teach their *Profelytes*, that in them, which are the *holy Brethren*, there is no sin; and their adultery, drunkenesse, cozenage, and the like odious crimes, are no crimes, because God loving them so tenderly, as a fond mother seeth no fault in her untoward child, so he takes no notice of any offence that they commit; but for the ungodly, their *Prayers* are sinnes, their *Alms* are odious, and whatsoever commendable duty they do perform, God accounteth their best actions to be heinous transgressions, and to adde the more weight of punishment to their damnation; which *Doctrine* how abominable it is to God, and how destructive to all men, to make these *holy Brethren*, and their sanctified Sisters senselesse in all sinnes, incapable of repentance, when the whole hath no need of the *Physitian*; and to discourage all other ignorant men from doing good duties, when the performance of them shall multiply their stripes; is so apparent to all men, that I need not stand to confute it: for, if *Coniah*, (though he were the *Signet upon my right hand*, or, as the apple of mine eye) doth offend, I will cut him off; and, if the wicked forsake his wickednesse, and do that which is just, love mercy, and speak truth, he shall be accepted, and the Lord will not call light darknesse, nor good evill, in any one.

4. Because our Saviour saith, *Our friend Lazarus sleepeth*; when as indeed he was dead; and the *Heathens* say, *Sleep is a *ὑπνός* Saviors*, the brother of *Death*: they take this colour to hide their adulteries, that while the husband sleepeth, the wife is as free from him as if he were dead, a foolery so ridiculous, that the naming of it, is a sufficient confutation of it, and yet you shall hardly withdraw our *London-Anabaptists* from it.

5. Because *Abraham* said that *Sarah* was his Sister, and *Saint Paul* said, *I wist not brethren, that he was the High Priest*; they hold it as an Article of their Creed, that for officious lyes and equivocations, being for the furtherance of their cause, the good work which they pretend, they may, and ought to use them, to swallow them down like water, they make no bones of them; and therefore it is dangerous to treat, and weaknesse to give credit, without sufficient pledges, to the faith of these men; whose profession may as lawfully deceive us, as their Religion teacheth them to destroy us: and I believe the experience which his Majesties Officers had of them in the performance of their promises and conditions of departure from *Winchester*, *Reading*, and other Townes surrendred unto them, may sufficiently confirm this equivocal point of their Publique faith.

6. Because

6. Because the Lord straitly charged the *Israelites* to root out the wicked *Canaanites*, and the rest of those *curst Nations*; and translated the Kingdom of *Israel* from *Saul* unto *David*, because he spared *Agag*; and our Saviour bids us, *succidere ficum*, to cut down that *unprofitable tree* which bare no fruit: they are so filled with such *unmerciful cruelty* towards all those they term wicked, and judge *Malignants*, that they had better fall into the hands of *beaten Tyrants*, than of these their holy brethren, who embruing their hands in the blood of so many faithful Christians, do sing with the Psalmist, *The righteous rejoyce when they see this vengeance, they shall wash their feet in the blood of the ungodly*: for, at *Solomon* saith, *The tender mercies of the wicked are meeke cruelty*. And I believe the first inventers of that Design to root out all the *Papists* in *Ireland*, and to get that *Ad* to purchase all the *Lands* of the *Rebels*, had tasted too much of this bitter root of such destructive Doctrine; whereby you see how the Religion of these men robbes us of our *Estates*, keeps no faith with us, and takes away our lives.

7. Though among the works of God, every flower cannot be a *Lilly*, every beast cannot be a *Lyon*, every bird cannot be an *Eagle*, and every Planet cannot be a *Phabus*; yet in the School of these men, this is the doctrine of their to be new erected Church, that with God there is no respect of persons, and neither Circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision; but whether they be bond or free, masters or servants, Jew, or Gentile, *Barbarian*, *Scythian*, a country-Clown, or a Court Gallant, rich or poor, it is all one with God, because these *Titles of Honour*, *Kings*, *Lords*, *Knights*, and *Gentlemen*, are no *entities* of Gods making, but the creatures of mans invention, to puffe him up with pride, and not to bring him unto God; and therefore though for the bringing of their great good work to passe, they are yet contented to make the *Earl of Essex* their General, and *Warwick* their Admiral, and so *Pym* and *Hampden* great Officers of State; yet, when the work is done, their Plot perfected, and their Government established, then you shall find, that, As now, they will eradicate *Episcopacie*, and make all our Clergie equall, as if all had equally but one talent, and no man worthier than another; so then there should be neither *King*, *Lord*, *Knight*, nor *Gentleman*, but a parity of degrees among all these holy brethren. And to give us a taste of what they mean; as the *Lords* concurrence with them enabled them to devour the *Kings* power; so they have since, with great justice, prevailed with the House of *Commons* to swallow up the *Lords* power, and have most fairly invaded their priviledge, when they questioned particular Members* for words spoken in that House, and then the whole House, when they brought up and countenanced a malicious and seditious Petition, which demanded the *Names* of those *Lords*, that consented not with the House of *Commons* in those things, which that House had twice denied.

8. Because our Saviour saith, *Seek ye first the Kingdom of Heaven and the righteousness thereof, and all these things, that is, meat, drink, and cloathes, and all other earthly things, shall be cast unto you*; and again, *Be not carefull for to morrow*; they teach their *Profelytes*, that they ought not to pray, by any means, for any of these things; whereas *Christ* biddeth us to say, *Give us this day our daily Bread*.

9. They cannot endure to say the *Lords Prayer*, for that's a *Popish* superstition, but their Prayers must be all *tautologies*, and a circular repetition of their own indigested inventions.

10. You must not say, *God speed you*, to any neighbour, or any traveller, lest he intends some evill work, and then you shall be partaker of his sin.

11. They will not allow any of their *Disciples* to pray for any of the *Reprobates*; and therefore they do exceedingly blame us, and tear our *Litur-*

6. They would root out all those that they term wicked. Deut. 7. 2. 1 Sam. 15. 23.

Psal. 58. 9.

Prov. 12. 10.

7. They would have a party among all men, both in Church and Common. wealth. Gal. 5. 6. Col. 3. 11.

* At my Lord Duke, and my Lord Digbie.

8. They would have no man to pray for temporal things. Math. 33. 34. Math. 6. 12.

9. Not to say the *Lords Prayer*.

10. Not to say, God Speed you.

11. Not to pray for the *Malignants*.

1 John 5. 16.

The Parliament Plots

gie, because we say, *That it may please thee to have mercy upon all men.*

12. Because Christ saith, *Call no man father on earth, for one is your Father which is in Heaven*, the child must not call him that begat him, and nurseth him, his father; nor kneel unto him to ask him blessing, nor perform many other such duties which the Lord requireth, and the Church instructeth her children to do to this very day: and this foolish Doctrine of calling no man Father, no man master, or Lord, and the like, in their sense, (because they understand not the divine meaning of our Saviour's words) hath been the cause of such undutifulnesse, and untowardnesse, such contempts of superiours, and such rebellions to Authority, as is beyond expression; when as by their disloyalty, being thus bred up in them from their cradle, they first despise their father, then their Teachers, then their King, and then God himself.

CHAP. IX.

Sheweth three other speciall points of Doctrine, which the Brownists and Anabaptists of this King dom do teach.

13. Because they can find no Text in Scripture (when as the *Alcoran* is not so impudently bellish, as to justify the action) for to warrant men, to *absolve* our consciences from any Oaths that we have voluntarily taken, for the performance of any business; I cannot say that they do professedly teach, but I do hear they do usually practise this most damnable sin; as, that Master Marshall, and Master Case, did *absolve* the Souldiers taken at Braineferd from their Oath, which they took, never to bear Arms against his Majesty; which is a sin destructive both to body and soul, when their Perjury added to their Treason, makes them two-fold more the children of bell, than they were before; and if they be taken again, they can expect nothing but their just deserved death; and therefore I do admire that any man can challenge the name of a Divine, which doth either preach or practise a point so devilish.

14. They think
sacriledge to
be no sin,
Acts 20.34.
1 Thes. 2.9.
1 Cor. 1.12.

14. Because Saint Paul saith, *These hands have ministred to my necessities, and to them that were with me*: and again, *Labouring night and day, because we would not be chargeable to any of you, we preached unto you the Gospel of God*: and because the rest of the Apostles and Disciples were Fishermen, Tradesmen, or professors of some Science, either liberal or mechanick, as Saint Luke was a Physician, Joseph a Carpenter, and the like, who did live by their manual crafts, and were chargeable to none of their people, but sought them, and not theirs, to win their souls to God, and not their monies unto themselves; therefore they think it no robbery to take away all the revenues of the Church, nor sacriledge to rob the Clergy of all the means they have; because they should either labour for their livings, as the Apostles did, or live upon the peoples Almes, as many poor Ministers do, to the utter undoing of many souls, in many distressed, and most miserable Churches.

But because this revenue of the Church, and the Lands of the Bishops is that golden Wedge, and the brave Babylonish garment, which the Anabaptistical Achans of our time do most of all thirst after, in this their pretended holy Reformation, I must here *sistere gradum*, stay awhile and let you know:

1. Sacriledge,
what it is.

1. That the taking away of any Lands or goods given and consecrated to holy uses, and to convert the same to any other purpose than which they were

were dedicated, is termed *sacriledge*; that is, the stealing of holy goods from the right owners, to our selves and others to whom we leave them.

2. That this *sacriledge* is a sin; for it is a *snare to the man, who devour-eth that which is holy, and after vows to make inquiry*; that is, whether such a service be needful, or such a taking away be a sin.

3. That this sinne is a very great sinne; for Saint Paul saith, *Thou that abhorrest Idols, committest thou sacriledge*? And Idolatry is the giving of our goods and service to false gods; *Sacriledge* the taking away of goods dedicated to the service of any God, especially of the true God. And this seemeth by the Apostles words to be a greater sinne than the other; because the devill laboureth more to take away the service of the true God, than to establish his own service; for he knoweth that as *light* taken away, *darknesse* must needs follow, so the true Religion being destroyed, *Idolatry* must needs succeed; and he knoweth that *Idolatry* hath been bountifull enough to the service of Idols, that he needeth not so much to fear the taking away of their goods, as to care that the goods dedicated to Gods service, be taken away.

Hosea 2.8.
Ezech. 16.
1 Reg. 18. 19.
Gen. 22.

4. That this sin is a very dangerous sinne, both to

1. The Persons that commit it.
2. To the Common-wealth that suffers it; for,

4 A most dangerous sin.
Joshua 7.
Act. 5. 4.
1. To the sacrilegers.

1. Not onely *Achan, Ananias, and Sapphira*, and other private men perished for this sinne, but the proudest Kings, and greatest Peers that became sacrilegious, were plagued and destroyed by God; as *Belshazzar*, the great Monarch of *Assyria*; *William Rufus*; and abundance more that you may find in our Histories: for the curse of God, like *Damocles* sword, by a slender thred hangs over their heads, and makes them like those that perished at *Endor*, and became as the dung of the earth. And I beseech you mark it, *Make them like a wheel, and as the stubble before the wind, persecute them with thy tempest, let them be confounded, and be put to shame, and perish, which say, Let us take to our selves the houses of God in possession*; and if this be the guerdon of them that say it, I wonder what shall be the plague of them that do it; and I wonder more that the very thought of this Curse doth not make their hearts to tremble, if their consciences were not seared, to be senselesse of all fear.

2. The sin of *sacriledge*; extendeth it selfe not onely to the persons committing it, but also to the whole Nation that suffereth it; as the sin of *Achan* was not onely a snare to catch him to be destroyed, but it troubled all *Israel*, so that they were still discomfited, and never prospered, till the sacrileger was punished, and the Lord appeased.

2. To whole Nations.

If you say; The sinne is taken away, when the Parliament takes these things away.

I answer, that we must not idolize the Parliament, as if it were a kind of omnipotent Creature, and like the Pope, such an infallible Lord God upon earth; as that their Votes and Sanctions were the supremest rule of justice; that cannot be unjust, because they are enacted by the whole State: because as no conclusions are therefore truths, because determined by a whole Conneall; so no Lawes are therefore just, because done by a whole Parliament; but when they do agree with the common rules of truth and justice, which God hath given unto men, and shewed the same in his holy Word, which he hath left to be the right rule of our actions.

And therefore if the greatest Assemblies, Parliament, or Councell, make not the will of God the rule to guide their proceedings thereby, their Sanctions are so farre from taking away the nature of the sin, that they do increase the evil, and make it the more out of measure sinfull, and to become a national sin; that before was but personal; and the more exceedingly sinfull, when the same is confirmed by a Law, so that none dares speak against

against it, and the sinners are become senselesse in their sinnes: and therefore the Prophet demandeth, how any man, that feareth God, dares meddle with such a people, that will thus iustifie their sinnes, saying, *Shall the throne of iniquity, that is, any unjust course, have fellowship with thee, which framest mischief by a Law?* And the Lord doth extremely threaten them, that walk after *unrighteous ordinances*, as that they should *sow much, but not reap; tread the Olives, but not annoint themselves therewith; and sweet wine, but not drink it;* because the Statutes of Omri are kept, and all the works of the house of Achab, and they walked in their counsels: and the Prophet Hosea doth more fully set down the wrath of God both against the makers, and the observers of all unrighteous Laws.

Mich. 6. 15, 16.

Hof. 5. 10, 11.

Object.

If you say, The Lands and Lordships of the Bishops were not the patrimony of the Church, but were onely, in superstitious times, given by our Kings and others unto the Church-men; and therefore now, the King being in want, they may be restored to the Crown again.

Sol.

Gal. 3. 15.

I confesse the Lands of the Church are the free bequests of godly Kings, and of other pious men dead long agoe, with most fearful imprecations made against all those that should seek to alter their Wills and Testaments: and the Apostle saith, *If it be but a mans Testament, no man altereth it;* that is, no honest man ought to alter it, though perhaps his Will might have been made wiser, and his goods bestowed to better use; for our Saviours Maxim, when he gave a Penny to him that laboured but one hour, and but a Penny to him that had endured the heat of the day, is unanswerable, *Is it not lawful for me to do what I will, with mine own?* And therefore,

1. As others daily leave their estates of great Amount to whom they please, many times to *strangers*, and perhaps to idiots, or debauched persons, of wicked lives, and noxious manners; and yet no man grudgeth, or endeavoureth to take away those just Legacies, which their good Benefactors had bestowed upon these unjust men; so there is no reason, that any mans eyes should be evill for the goodnesse of their Ancestours unto the Clergie, but that their Wills should stand to those uses after their death, as intemperate, as if they were now alive to dispose of their beneficence.

Deut. 33. 11.

Pierius in Hieroglyph.

Alian. lib. 5. cap. 15. Var. Hist.

2. They are most injurious to the King, (who is wise as an Angel of God, and therefore holdeth this sacriledge odious to his Princely heart) that would seek to enrich his Crown with that, which will shake it on his head, and endanger all his Posterity to such fearful judgements as his Progenitours have denounced, and God hath executed upon many Kings and Princes for the like sinnes; for, as Moses prayeth against the sacrilegious enemies of Levi, *Smite through the loines of them that rise against him, and of them that hate him, that they rise not again?* so, we find that many ancient families, having by the Statute of Dissolution taken some of the Lands and Tithes of the Church into their possessions, have found the same like the Gold of Tholow, or the Eagles feathers; *pernitiosa potentia*, that will consume all the feathers where they shall be mingled.

Who so is wise will consider these things, and will not, to satisfie these Anabaptistical dregges of the people, and the enemies of all Christian Religion, sacrilegiously take away, with Alian's boy, the golden plate from Diana's Crown; the Lands and Revenues of the Church; but, having not so learned Christ, they will do that which becommeth Saints, and suffer the dead to enjoy their own will in that wherein they put them to no charge, and if they do intend to promote Gods service, they will not rob Saint Peter, to pay Saint Paul; but will rather say with holy David, *God forbid that I should offer sacrifice to God of that which cost me nothing.*

15. As any wooden Preachers, like Jeroboam's Priests *do face plebis*, scarce worthy to be compared with the Grooms of their stable, or such

humi

humi serpentes, poor subjects, as Job speaks of, *The sonnes of villains and bond-men*, more vile than the earth they crawl upon, are fit enough to be their teachers, and beggarly pensioners; so any place, a thatched Barn, a littered Stable, or an ample Cow-house, is thought by these to be very fair and fit to be the House of Him that was born in a Stable, and laid in a Manger; and any service, prayers without sense, such as our Saviour blames, and preaching without learning, without truth, such as their *Entusiasts* conceive in *illa borā*, & *quicquid in hucam veneris*, without any further study or meditation, is justified to be most acceptable to God; witnesse the Authour of *One argument more against the Cavaliers*, where that great Schollar in his own opinion, rails against our grave Bishops, and most impudently reproacheth a very reverend man, of known worth, and great learning, by the scandalous Epithete of *The ceremonious Master of Balliol Colledge*, Doctor Laurence, whom for a most learned and pious Sermon preached before the King, upon these words of *Exodus*, *Put off thy shoes from thy feet*, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground: he doth, just like the eldest son of his dear father the devill (as *Tertullian* calleth *Harmogenes*, *primogenitum diaboli*) most falsely, and shamelessly, charge him with the wearing of consecrated slippers, which was never done, but is one of those scurrilous invented imputations of this malicious Accuser of his brethren; now thrown at him, whose shoes, either for learning or piety, I am sure, this rambling Arguist, and railing Rabbake is not worthy to bear; and for the service of God in our Churches, though the holy Prophet, which was a man according to Gods own heart, praised God in the beauty of holinesse, upon all the best instruments of musick, and commanded us, as well in the grammatical sense, as in the mystical sense, to sing praises unto our God with *Tabret and Harp*, to praise him in the sound of the *Trumpet*, in the *Cymbals and dances*, upon the well-tuned *Cymbals*, and upon the loud *Cymbals*; yet this zealous *Organo-musick*, gives us none other Title, than *Cathedral Roovers*, and *Squeakers*: and good reason it is he should be very angry with *herring and squerking* in Churches; for that having been posselt of a very competent living with cure of soules these four or five years together (if I am not mistaken in the Authour) he never yet either read, or preached, in that, or any other Church; so necessary is *Non-residence*, and so usefull are *dumb dogges*; when they are willing to snarle and bark against *Government* and *Religion*: but it is strange to me, that such a divine harmony, which hath made others sober, should make this spawn of the red Dragon mad; for we know some Law-givers commanded children to be taught *Academy*, after the grave composed tones of the *Dorick way*, *ad corda feraciter cenda*; to soften the fiercenesse of their dispositions, and *admodum fervorem temperandum*, to cool and allay the heat and distempers of their minds; as *Achilles* was appeased in *Homer*, and *Iphodorus* was drawn to commiseration, *lucioso carmine*, by a sad Poem sung to him at supper, when he intended the utter destruction of *Antioch*; and the *Soripoures* rectifieth the like effect of *Dauids* harp in *King Saul*; yet all this sweet, and hallowed air, which ravisheth devout soules, hath onely filled this envious malignant wickednessy winds, and stinking expressions. So contrary to the words of God himself, *Exod. 3. 5.* and against the judgement of all Divines; and the practice of all Saints; yet *præmeditæ Ecclesia*, from the first birth of Gods Church, he most ignorantly denieth any place to be holier than another, which makes me afraid, that *Heaven* with this man and his faction is deemed no holier than *Hell*, on the Lords day no holier than *Monday*, no more than they hold the *Church* holier than their *Barns*, or the holiest *Priests*, though he were *Aaron* himself, the Saint of the Lord, holier than the prophane worldling; for I find no difference that they

Job 30.8.

What prayers and Sermons please these men.

Musick ever used in the Church.

Psal. 147. 1.

149. 3.

Pl. 150. 3, 4, 5.

Page 24. 17.

musick ever

Musick how

useful.

Theodorit.

Epist. 1. 1.

Plutarch de

Musica.

Nicoph. lib. 1. 1.

cap. 43.

Page 15. 18.

old times said

angels against

mons be

they

they make either of persons, times, or places, but such a commixtion of all things as if they intended to reduce and bring the whole world into that confused Chaos, which God first created, before he disposed the parts thereof into their severall Stations.

But I am loth to spend any more time about this ignorant Argument, that is, as all the rest of their Writings are, as full of railing and unsavoury speeches, as any mortall pen can diffuse; therefore I leave him to do with his heart and mouth as that *Morustan Cabare* (whereof he speaketh) did with those Churches, which the *Goths* and *Pandals* had defiled.

Thus you have some, and I might adde here abundance more, of their absurd and impious Doctrines, which their ignorant simplicity produced, and their furious zeal published, out of mis-interpreted Scriptures; not that all these points are taught by every one of their Teachers, but that all these and many more are taught and maintained by some one or other of them, as I could easily expresse it, if it were not too tedious for my Reader; but the bulk of my Book swells too big, and their fancies are but *Dreams* fit for laughter; and I brought these onely as *Vinegar* to be tasted, and then to be spit out again.

CHAP. X.

Sheweth the great Bug-bears that affrighted this Faction; the four speciall means they used to secure themselves; the manifold lyes they raised against the King; and the two speciall Questions that are discussed about Papists.

1. The feeding of the Militia, and putting the whole Kingdom in posture of Defence, as they termed it.

2. They devised an Empirical way to cure it, and,

3. The Disease was a monstrous fear of Popery, and the re-establishment of abolished superstitions in our Church, to invade their consciences; and of the Papists, with fire and sword, to waste their estates, and to take away their lives and liberties; and through that groundless fear, they looked on the innocent Ceremonies that were established in the Church, as dangerous Innovations, and introductions to Idolatry.

And in the State, they feared the practised wayes and endeavours, to produce an arbitrary government, by our advancing of a boundless Prerogative, even to the dispoyleing of the Subject of his property, and robbing him of the benefit of the laws: these were their fears.

And the grounds of these fears were lying fictions, and most scandalous detractions and defamations; for their invented Letters that should come from *Holland*; and from *Denmark*; and some other places beyond the Seas, (where we were better believe them, then go try whether they were true) which informed them sometimes of a Fleet of *Danes*; sometimes of another Nation, that should come to assist the King for the setting up of Popery; and the securing of himself in a tyrannical and arbitrary government over them; and every day almost produced a discovery of new treacheries against the Parliament, what terrible things frightened them, as the stable of Horses underground, (for indeed they were invisible Horses, such as *Bishop's* servant saw, terrifying their guisy consciences;) and that of the *Taylor* in *Moor-fields*, and the like horrid machinations

What terrible things frightened them.

chinations, that were to come against them, I know not from *whom*, and God knowes from *whence*; which things, how *false* they were, time, which is the *mother* of truth, hath long agoe made manifest and ridiculous, to any man that is not bewitched with these lying *fancies*: therefore, lest these *dreams* of their distempered brains, should be too soon descryed, and so prove defective to produce their intended project, they alledge, The *Queen* is a *Papist* (and I would to God they were so truly religious, and void of *hypocrisie* in their profession, as she, most gracious *Queen*, is in her religion) then they say, The *Bishops* are all *Papists*, *Deans* and *Prebends* are of the same stamp, and all the *Kings Chapleins*, that were preferred by the Arch-Bishop, were either close *Papists*, or profest *Arminians*, which are but *Cosen-germans* unto the other; *Arminianism* being but a *Bridge* to passe over unto *Popery*.

And with these and the like false slanders against the *King*, *Queen*, and *Clergy*, they to bewitched most of their well meaning brethren of the same house, and amazed all the simpler sort of people of this Kingdom with these fears, and filled them with such jealousies, with those Pamphlets, that they caused to be printed, and dispersed every where, that they were at their wits end, for fear of this lamentable alteration of their religion, and deprivation of their liberties.

2. The disease being thus spread, like a *Gangrene*, over all the parts of the body of this Kingdom, they like skilful Physicians devise the cure; and that is, the preparation of a *Militia*, and this *Militia* they would have put into such hands as they pleased, such as they might confide in; and I wish the whole Kingdom knew who those men were, and who they are, that they do confide in; for I know,

1. Some of them are poor men of most desperate fortunes, if Bankrupters may be termed such;

2. Others to be most *factious* and schismatical men, addicted to *Anabaptism*, and *Brownism*, and other worse Sects; as amongst the *London Commanders*, *Ven*, *Manwaring*, *Fowke*, *Norington*, *Bradly*, *Best*, and the rest, whereof there are twice as many schismatical, and, as it is conceived, *beggary* Sectaries, as are right honest men among them; and if we looked among their *Lords*, and all the rest of their nomination throughout the Kingdom, I doubt we shall find some of them to be just of the same condition.

And because the King (to whose care and trust God had committed all the people of this Kingdom (and not to them, that are called by the King, and chosen only by men, and that only for this time,) and of whom he will require an account of the laws and religion, whereof he made him keeper and defender, and not of them) thought most rightly, that this *Militia* should be committed rather to such men, as he might confide in (as it was in the reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, and His Father of ever blessed memory) rather than to any that they should name, which was to disrobe himself of all his *regal* power, of the chiefest garland of his royal Prerogatives, (without which he could hold his Crown by no better a tenure, then *durante beneplacito*) and to put the sword out of his own hand, into the hands of them that could not love him, because they could not trust him, as they alledged; (and what reason had he to trust them that were causelessly so distrustful of him?) they startled at this deniall.

And because the King of heaven had by this time opened the Kings eyes, to let him see what hitherto he could hardly imagine, that these men (to whom he had granted for the good of his kingdom, so many Acts of grace and favour, as never any King of England did before, and had very graciously offered to commit to the hands of their own choosing, so large a share of the *Militia*, as might have rendred the whole kingdom most secure, if security in a just and legall way, had been all that they

God opened
the Kings eyes;

sought for) had their intentions far *otherwise* then they pretended, and that not onely the government of the *Church* was intended to be altered, and the *Governours* thereof destroyed, but *himself* also was hereby dis-robed of *those* rights, which God and the *Laws* of the Land had put into his hands, and the Kingdom brought either into a *base* Tyranny, or *confused* Anarchy, when all things shall be done according to the *arbitrary* power of *these* factious and schismatical men, therefore he *utterly* refused to grant their desires, and most *wisely* withstood their design.

How they
strengthened
themselves to
make their or-
ders firm with-
out the King.

Whereupon, these men put their *heads* together, to consult how they might *strengthen* themselves, and make their ordinances *firm* and binding without the King; and to that purpose, having by their former doings, gotten too great an interest, as well in the *faith*, as in the *affections* of the people; in confidence of their own strength, they came roundly to the business, and what they knew was *not* their right, as their former *Petitions* can sufficiently witness, they resolve to effect the same by *force*, but as *insensibly* as they can devise; as,

1. To seize upon the Kings *Navie* to secure the Seas.
2. To lay hold upon all the Kings *Magazine*, *Forts*, *Towns*, and *Castles*.
3. To with-hold his *moneys* and revenues, and all other means from the King.
4. To withdraw the *affections*, and to poyson the *loyalty* of all his Majesty's Subjects from him.

And hereby they thought (and it must have been so indeed, except the Lord had been on his side) *they had made their bill so strong*, that it could not be moved, and the King so *weak* and destitute of all means, that he could no wayes *subsist*, or relieve himself, as a member of their own House did tell me, for

1. Earl of War-
wick made
Vice-Admiral.

1. They get the Earl of *Warwick* to be appointed Vice-Admiral of the Sea, and to commit all the Kings *Navie* into his hand, and to take away that charge from Sir *John Pennington*, whom most men believed to be far the better Sea-man, but more *faithful* to his King, and the other *purer* to the Parliament.

2. Sir John Ho-
tham put into
Hull for the
Magazine.

2. They send Sir *John Hotham* a most insolent man, that most *uncivilly* contemned the King to his face, to seize upon the Kings *Magazine* that he bought with his own money, (when they might as well take away my horse that I paid for) and to keep the King out of *Hull*, which was his own proper Town, and therefore might as well have kept him out of *White-Hall*, and was an Act so full of injustice, as that I scarce know a *greater*.

3. They detain-
ed the Kings
moneys.
Esay 1. 23.

3. Because *moneys* are great means to effect any worldly affaire, and the *finews* of every warre, when as men and arms, and all other *necessaries* may be had for money, some of them and their followers shew themselves to be just as the Peers of *Israel*, *companions of thieves*, meer robbers, which *forcibly* take away a mans money from him; they take all the Kings *treasure*, they intercept, detain, and convert all the Kings revenues and customs, to strengthen themselves against the King.

4. They labour
to render the
King odious
by lyes,

4. Because their former Remonstrances framed by this *faction*, of the ill government of this kingdom, though in some things true, (which the King *ingeniously* acknowledgeth, and most graciously promiseth to redressthem) yet in all things full of *gall* and bitterness against the King, could not so *fully* poyson the love and loyalty of the Kings Subjects, as they desired, especially the love of *those* that knew his Majesty, who the better they knew him, did the more *affectionately* love him, and the more *faithfully* serve him; they thought to do it *another*, and a surer way, with apparent *lies*, palpable *slanders*, and abominable accusations,
invented,

invented, printed, and scattered over all the parts of this kingdom, by their Trencher Chaplains, and parasitical Preachers, and other Pamphleters, some busie Lawyers, and Pettifoggers, to bring the King into an odium, disliked and deserted of all his loving Subjects. And what created power under heaven was able to dissolve that wickednesse, which subtilty and malice, had thus treacherously combined to bring to passe?

Hereupon (after many threatening votes, and actual hostility exercised against his Royall person) the King is forced to raise a guard for the defence of himself, and those his good Subjects that attended him; then presently that small guard, that consisted but of the chief gentry of the Countrey, was declared to be an Army raised for the subversion of the Parliament, and the destruction of our native liberties; an invincible Army is voted to be raised, the Earl of Essex is chosen to be their Generall, with whom they promise both to live and die, the Earl of Bedford General of the Horse, moneys are provided, and all things are prepared to fetch the King and all delinquents, or to be the death of all withstanders; and that nothing might hinder this design, though the King in many gracious Messages attested by the subscription of many noble Lords that were upon the place, assured them, he never intended any warre against his Parliament, yet they proceed with all eagerneffe, and declare all those that shall assist the King, either with Horse, money, or men, to be malignants and enemies unto the King and Kingdome, and such delinquents as shall be sure to receive condigne punishment by the Parliament, *Hoc mirum est, hoc magnum.*

1. Lye, that he intended to war against the Parliament.

And among the rest of their impudent flanders, this was their Master-piece, which they ever harped upon, that he countenanced Papists, and intended to bring Popery into this Kingdome, and to that end had an Army of Papists to assist him.

But to satisfie any sensible man in this point, I would crave the resolution of these two Questions:

1. Whether every Papist that is subject to his Majesty, is not bound to assist and defend his King in all his dangers?

Two questions to be resolved.

2. Whether the King should not protect his Subjects that are Papists in all their dangers, so far as by the Law he ought to do it; and accept of their service, when he himself is invironed with dangers?

For first, I believe there is no Law that inhibits a Papist to serve his King against a Rebellion, or to ride Post, to tell the King of a Design to murder Him, or any other intended Treason against Him; or, being present, to take away a weapon from that man that attempted to kill the King; because his not coming to Church, doth not exempt him from his Allegiance, or discharge him of his duty and service unto the King; and therefore if a Fleet from France or Spain, or any other foreign part should invade us, or any Rebellion at home should rise against his Sovereign, and seek to destroy those Lawes and Liberties, whereof himself and his Posterity hath as good an interest to, as any other Subject; say, he is bound by all Lawes to assist his King, and to do his best endeavour, both with his purse and in his person, not only to oppose that external Invasion, but also to subdue, as well that home-bred Rebellion, as the foreign Invasion.

1. All Papists bound to assist their King.

2. If a Papist should be injured, his estate seized upon, his house plundered, and his person, if taken, imprisoned, not because he transgressed any other Law, but that he dispensed not with the Law of his conscience, to be no Papist; and being thus injured, should come unto his King, and say, I am your Subject, and have lived dutifully; I did nothing which the Law gives me not leave, I have truly paid all duties, and humbly submitted my self to all penalties; and yet, I know not why, I am thus used; and

1. The King bound to protect dutiful Papists.

abused by my neighbours; I am driven from my house by force of Arms; and I have no place to breathe, but under your Majesties wings, and the shelter of your power; therefore I beseech you, as you are my King, and are obliged to do your best for the safety of your true Subjects, let me have your protection, and you shall have my service unto death? I would fain know what the King should do in such a case; deny his protection, or refuse his service? The one is injustice, the other not the best wisdom; especially if he needed service: for as the Law of nature and of nations requireth all Subjects, to obey their Kings, and faithfully to serve them, of what Religion soever their Kings shall be; so *Legelationis*, every King is bound to protect every faithfull Subject, that observeth his Laws, or submitteth to their penalties, without corrupting of his fellow Subjects, of what Religion soever he is: because they are his Subjects, not as they are faithfull Christians, but as obedient men; and he is to rule, not over the faith of their souls, but the actions of their bodies; and it is an Axiom in Divinity, that *Fides non est cogenda*; and if Kings cannot perswade their Subjects to embrace the true Faith, they ought not to cut them off, so long as they are true Subjects: And therefore with what reason can any man blame the King, either for protecting them in their distresses, or accepting their service in his own extremities; I cannot understand. And yet, for the goodly company of Papists which his Majesty entertaineth in all his Armies, they cannot all make up so much as one good Regiment, as an Officer in his Majesties Army confidently affirmeth; but it will serve their turn to tax the King, to lay imputations upon him, even the very things that belong unto themselves (as the whole summe of those things that are expressed in Englands Petition to their King, *mutatis mutandis*, might truly be presented to the two Houses, that have now almost destroyed us all) and to make them mighty faults in him, which are no faults at all in themselves; because there is no fear of their favouring Popery, though, as they have very many, so they should have never so many more in their Army.

3. Lye, that he caused the Rebellion in Ireland.

The cause of this slander.

3. Another Slander they not onely whispered, but also dispersed the same farre and near among the people, to make the King still the more odious unto his Subjects, that he was the cause of the Rebellion in Ireland, and that the Rebels there had his Commission under the Broad Seal to plunder the Protestants, and to expell them thence; that so, the Gospel being rooted out of Ireland, Popery might the easier be transported and planted here in England; whereas themselves in very deed were the sole causers of this Rebellion, as I have shewed unto you before; and the colour of this slander was, that the Rebellion being raised, the Ring leaders of those Rebels, the sooner to gain the simple to adhere unto them, perswaded them to believe that they had the Kings command to do the same; and to that purpose shewed them the Broad Seal, which they had taken from Ministers, and Clerks of the Peace, and others, whom formerly they had plundered, and taken their Seales from them, which they cunningly affixed to certain Commissions of their own framing; as M. Sherman assured me, he saw the Broad Seal that was taken from one M. Hart, that was Clerk of the Peace in the County of Tumond; and was found in the pocket of one of the chief Leaders of the Rebels, when he was killed by the Kings Souldiers; yet, this false and lewd practice of these Rebels in Ireland, was a most welcom news to this Faction in England, to lay this imputation upon the King, that he was the cause of this Rebellion, which themselves had kindled, and were glad to find such a colour to impute it unto him, that it might not be suspected to be raised by them.

Many other such falsehoods, Lyes, and impudent slanders, hath the father of Lyes caused these his Children most impudently to fasten upon the King, but

but as the Philosopher saith, *Non quia affirmatur, aut negatur, res erit, aut non erit*, Things are not so and so, because they are said to be so; neither can they be no such things, onely because they are denied to be such; as Gold is not Copper, because ignorant men affirm it to be so; nor a drunken man sober, or a vicious man virtuous, because they deny him to be good, and blazon him abroad for one of the sonnes of Belial; but as Gold is Gold, and Brasse is Brasse, so godly men are good, wicked men are evil, and Rebels are none other then Rebels, let men call them what they will; and so our King is not such a man as they say, because they affirm it; but he is indeed a most just, vertuous, and most pious Prince, let them say what they will, *Their tongues are their own*, and we cannot rule them: and so all his followers are better Protestants indeed, and less Papists in all points of faith, than the best of them, that term us so by false names. God forgive them these slanderous accusations.

How things are indeed.

CHAP. XI.

Sheweth the unjust proceedings of these factious Sectaries against the King; eight special wrongs and injuries that they have offered him. Which are the three States. And that our Kings are not Kings by election or Covenants with the People.

And yet, for all these strange courses, contrary to all humane thoughts, which is marvellous in our eyes; the Lord of Heaven whose counsell shall stand, and whose will shall be done, hath them all in devision, disputes all these devices, and turns all the counsell of Achitophel against his own Head, when he opened the eyes of many millions of the Kings true Subjects, to behold and detest these unfaithful dealings, and disloyall proceedings against so gracious a King; and therefore petitioned, and subscribed, that his Majesty standing upon his Guard, and defending himself from such indignities as might follow, they would hazard their lives and fortunes to assist him, to repell those more than barbarous injuries, that were offered unto Him.

Psalm 118. 23.
Esaiah 46. 10.

Therefore now, *Memoria proditura est*, I find it written, that without fear of God; without regard of Majesty; without justice; without honesty; they are resolved, rather than to repent of their former wickednesse, to involve the whole Kingdome in an unnatural civill War; and to maintain the same against the will, and contrary to the desires both of the King and Kingdom; and it is almost incredible, what wicked courses, and how unjust, and insufferable Orders and Ordinances you shall find recorded, that they have made.

1. Against the King. 2. Against the Subjects. 3. Against the Law. Which are all said to be exceedingly abused by them; for

1. Against the King, it is registred to Posterity, that they have proceeded, besides many other things, in all these particulars:

1. They possesse all the Kings Houses, Towns, and Castles; but what he gets by the strength of his sword, and detain them from him; so that we may say with our Saviour, *The Foxes have holes, and the fowles of the air have nests, but the King of England hath not an house allowed him by the Houses of Parliament*, wherein to put his head; and they take not onely his Houses, but also his rents, and revenues, and (as I understood when I was in Oxford) his very clothes, and provision for his Table, that

1. Their proceedings against the King.
1. Wrong.
March 8. 16.

The complaint
to the House
of Commons.
Pag. 19.

that seeing they could not take away his *life* by the sword, they might murder him with *cold* or *famine*, when he should not have the subsistence (if they could hinder him) to maintain life and soul together, which is the shame of all shame, and able to make any other men odious to all the world, thus *maliciously* and *barbarously* to deal with their own most gracious King; neither doth their malice here end, but they withhold the *Rents* of the Queen, and seize upon the *Revenues* of our Prince, which, I assure them, my Countrey-men takes in great scorn, and I believe will right it with their lives, or this Parliament-Faction shall redeem their errors with no small repentance, when as we find no Prince of *Wales* was ever suffered by his Subjects to have such indignities offered him by the greatest Peers of *England*.

Alderman
Garraway his
Speech.

And here I cannot omit what Alderman Garraway saith of the reproach of Master Pym, touching the maintaining of the Kings *sister* Children, which he professeth made his heart to rise, and hoped it did so to many more: "Is our good King fallen so low, that his Children must be kept for him? It is worth our inquiry, *Who* brought him to that condition? We hear him complain, that all his own Revenue is seized, and taken from him; Is not his Exchequer, Court of Wards, and Mint here? his Customs too are worth somewhat, and are his Children kept upon Alms? How shall *We* and our Children prosper, if this be not remedied? And I pray God these things rise not up in judgement against them and this Nation; but hereby they intended to verifie that disloyal Speech which One of them uttered in a Tavern, and God will avert it from his Servant, That they would make the King as poor as Job, unless he did comply with them."

Sober Sadnesse,
pag. 22.
2. Wrong.

2. If any man which they like not attend the Kings Person, though he be his sworn servant, or assist him in his just defence, which he is bound to do by the Law of God and man; yet he is presently voted and condemned for a *Malignant*, *Popish*, *disaffected*, *evill* Counsellour, and an enemy to the State; and that is enough (if he be caught) to have him spoiled and imprisoned at their pleasure; nay, my self was told by some of that Faction, that because I went to see the King, I should be plundered and imprisoned, if I were taken.

3. Wrong.

The Petition
to his Majesty
the 16. of July
1642.

3. Though they do solemnly profess, that his Majesties *personal* safety, and his *royal* honour and greatnesse are much dearer unto them then their own lives and fortunes, which they do most heartily dedicate, and shall most willingly imploy for the support and maintenance thereof; yet for all this hearty Protestation, they had at that very time (as the King most accurately observeth in his Answer) directed the Earl of *Warwick* to assist Sir *John Horbam* against him, appointed their Generals, and, as Alderman Garraway testifieth, raised ten thousand armed men out of *London*, and the Neighbour-Countries before the King had seven hundred: and afterwards, though the King sent from *Nottingham* a gracious Message and sollicitation for Peace, yet they supposing this proceeded from a *disfidence* of his own strength, or being too confident of their own force, slighted the Kings Grace, and most barbarously proceeded in the most hostile manner, waged warre, and gave battail against the Kings Army, where they knew he was in his own Person, and as one of their Preachers taught the Sunday before the Battail, that they might with a good conscience, as well kill the King (*horresco dicere*) as any other man; so (according to Captain *Blagues* directions, as *Judas* taught the High-Priests servants) we know what Troops and Regiments were most aimed at, whereas they do most ridiculously say they have, for the defence of his person, sent many a Cannon-bullet about his eares, which he did with that Kingly courage, and Heroick magnanimity; yea, and that Christian resolution, and

Non turpe est
ab eo vinci
quem vincere
est nefas; neque
ei inhonestè ali-
quem submitti,
quem Deus su-
per omnes extul-
lit.
Dicitur Arme-
nii Pompeii.

and dependance on Gods assistance pass through, that it shall be recorded to his everlasting honour, and their indelible shame and reproach, so long as the world endureth.

4. They have most *Disloyally* and *Traiterously* spoken both privately and publickly *such things* against his Majesty, as would make the very Heavens tear them in pieces, that should say the like of their *Tyrannous* Kings, and such as I could not believe they proceeded from the mouth of a *Christian* against so Christian a King, but that I find most of them were *publickly* uttered, made known unto his Majesty, and related by himself, and those that were Ear-witnesses thereof, as (*Horresco referens*) that he was not worthy to be our King: not fit to live: that he was *The Traitor*: that the Prince would govern better: and that they dealt fairly with him they did not depose him, as their fore-fathers had deposed *Richard* the second, whom all the World knoweth to be most Traiterously Murdered: and the whole progress of that Act, whereby he was deposed, is nothing else but the *Scandal* of that Parliament, and an horrid treason upon the fairest relation of any Chronicle: and the good Bishop of *Carlisle*, was not then afraid, in open house to tell the Lords so to their faces; and I would our Parliament men would read his Speech.

Sober sadness
p. 3. The
Viewer p. 4.
His Majesties
Declaration.
Truffel in the
supplement to
Daniels History.

5. They command their own Orders, Ordinances, and Declarations to be Printed *Cam privilegio*, and to be published in *Publick* throughout the whole Kingdom, and they are not a little punished that neglect it; and whatsoever *Message*, Answer, Declaration or Proclamation cometh from the King, to inform his Subjects of the *Truth* of things, and to undeceive his much seduced people, they streightly forbid those to be Printed, and imprison (if they can catch them) all that publish them, as they did many worthy Ministers in the City of *London*, and in many other places of this Kingdom.

3. Wrong.

6. They have *publickly* voted in their House, and accordingly endeavour- ed by *Messages* to perswade our brethren of *Scotland*, to joyn in their assistance with these *grand* Rebels, to rebel against their Sovereign; but I perswade my self, (as I said before) that the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland*, are more *Religious* in themselves, more *Loyal* to their liege Lord, and indeed *wiser* in all their actions, then, while they may live quietly at home in a happy peace, to undertake upon the perswasions of *Rebellious* Subjects, such an unhappy war abroad.

6. Wrong.

7. It is remonstrated and related publickly, that, as if they had shaken off all subjection, and were become already a *State Independent*, they have Treated by their agents with forraign States, and do still proceed in that course; which, if true, is such an *usurpation* upon Sovereignty, as was never before attempted in this Kingdom; and such a *Presumption*, as few men know the secret mischiefs that may lurk therein.

7. Wrong.

8. They suffer and licence their *Pamphletters*; *Pryn*, *Goodwin*, *Burges*, *Marshal*, *Sedgwick*, and other emissaries of wickedness, to publish such *Treasons* and *Blasphemies*, and abominable *Aphorisms*; As, that the *negative* vote of the King is no more then the dissent of one man; the *Affirmative* vote of the King makes not a *Law*, ergo, the *Negative* cannot destroy it; and the like absurd and senseless things that are in those *Aphorisms*, and in *Prins* book of the Sovereign power of Parliament, whereby they would deny the Kings power to binder any Act; that both the Houses shall conclude; and so, taking away those just prerogatives from him, that are as *Hereditary* to him as his Kingdom, compell him to assent to their conclusions: for which things our Histories tell us, that other Parliaments have banished (and upon their returns they were hanged) both the *Spencers*, the Father and the Son, for the like presumption, as among other

Why the two
Spencers died.

Per asper te vid.
Elsmere post-
nati p. 99.

Pag. 48.

Pag. 19, 20, 21.

The Letter to
a Gentleman
in Gloucester-
shire, p. 3.

Lamberts Ar-
cheion, 271.
Vid. the Viewer
p. 11.

Which be the
three States of
England.

Speed, l. 9. c. 19.
p. 712.
Anno. 1 Ric. 3.

other Articles, for denying this Prerogative unto their King, and affirm-
ing, that if he neglected his duty, and would not do what he ought, for
the good of the Kingdom, he might be compelled by force to perform it:
which very thing, divesteth the King of all *Sovereignty*, overthroweth *Mo-
narchy*, and maketh our government a meer *Aristocracy*, contrary to the
constitution of our first Kings, and the judgment of all ages; for we know
full well, from the *Practise* of all former Parliaments, that seeing the *three
States* are subordinate unto the King, in making Laws (wherein the *chief-
est* power consisteth) they may propound and consent, but it is still in the
Kings power to refuse or ratify: and I never read that any Parliament
man, till now, did ever say the contrary: but that if there be no concur-
rence of the King (in whom formally the power of making of any Law
resideth, *ut in subjecto*), to make the Law, the two Houses (whose consent
is but a requisite condition to compleat the Kings power) are but a *liveless*
convention, like two Cyphers without a figure, that of themselves are of
no value or power, but, *joynd* unto their figures, have the full strength of
their places; which is confirmed by the Viewer of the Observations, out of
II. Hen. 7. 23. per Davers, Polydore, 185. Cowel inter. verbo *Prærog.* Sir
Thomas Smyth de republ. Angl. l. 2. c. 3. Bodin, l. 1. c. 8. For if the Kings con-
sent were not necessary for the perfecting of every Act, then certainly (as
another saith) all those Bills that heretofore have passed both Houses, and
for want of the Royal assent, have slept, and been buried all this while,
would now rise up as so many Laws and Statutes, and would make as great
confusion, as these new orders and ordinances have done.

And as the Lawyers tell us, that the necessity of the assent of all *three
States* in Parliament, is such, as without any one of them, the rest do but
lose their labour; so, *Le Roy est assentus ceo fait un Act de Parliament*, and
as another saith, *Nihil ratum habetur, nisi quod Rex comprobavit*, Nothing is
perfected but what the King confirmeth.

But here in the naming of the *three States*, I must tell you, that I find in
most of our Writers, about this new-born question of the Kings power,
a very great omission, that they are not particularly set down, that
the whole Kingdom might know which is every one of them; and, up-
on this omission, I conceive as great mistake in them, that say the *three
States* are,

1. The King.
2. The House of Peers.
3. The House of Commons.

For, I am informed by no mean Lawyer, that you may find it upon the
Rowls of Henry the fifth, as I remember, and I am sure you may find it
in the first year of Richard the third, where the *three States* are particu-
larly named, and the King is none of them; For it is said, *That at the re-
quest, and by the assent of the three Estates of this Realm, that is to say, the
Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and Commons of the Land, assembled,*
*it is declared that our said Sovereign Lord the King, is the very undoubted
King of this Realm:* Wherein you may plainly see, the King that is ac-
knowledgeed their Sovereign by all three, can be none of the three, but
is the head of all three, as the Dean is none of the Chapter, but is *Caput
capituli*; and as in France, and Spain, so in England, I conceive the *three
Estates* to be,

1. The Lords Spiritual, that are, if not representing, yet *in loco*, in the
behalf of all the Clergy of England, that, till these *Anabaptistical* tares have
almost choked all the Wheat in Gods field, were thought so considerable
a party, as might deserve as well a representation in Parliament, as old Sa-
rum, or the like Borough, of scarce twenty Houses.

2. The Lords Temporal in the right of their Honor and their Posterity,

3. The

And to make the World believe, how *justly* and sufficiently *legal* they could do this, they made another Ordinance for the inhabitants of the Counties of Northampton, Rutland, Derby, &c. to pay the twentieth part and to be assessed by the Assessors that they name, in imitation of the Statute lately made for the four hundred thousand pound : and it is more than probable, that this proceeding is but the *prælude* of the like exaction to be extended, when their need requireth, to all the other parts of the Kingdom ; which is a most miserable course, and injustice not to be paralleled, to cast themselves, into a necessity of getting money, to maintain an impious War against their King, and then out of that necessity to compel their fellow-Subjects, and those peaceable men, (that do abominate this War) to maintain the same (yea, and to fight in the same, to kill men against their consciences) in despite of their teeth ; or if they refuse to do it, to send, or at least to permit, a party of Horse, Dragooneers, and other strength to go to fetch their Money, Plate, or other goods, as if they were the goods of the deadly enemies of the Common-wealth ; and this for none other reason, but for that the owners thereof are good Subjects to the King, and not well-affected to their unjust, and ungodly proceedings.

But let me persuade all men, that do fear God, still to suffer any thing, which they cannot avoid, from the violence of these wicked men, rather than to contribute any thing unto them, to further such abominable courses, as they prosecute against the Law of God and man ; Because the Lord commandeth us, to fear none of those things that we shall suffer, but to stand in our integrity unto death, and we shall be crowned with the crown of life.

Rev. 2. 10.

3. They have discharged the Apprentices and servants from their Masters Services, and have either compelled, or persuaded them, to serve in their Army against the King, and that without the consent, and against the will of their Masters and Dames, yea, sometimes against the commands of their own Parents, which I speak from their own mouths.

3. How they discharged the Apprentices & compelled them to fight.

4. They have imprisoned very many hundreds of most able, and most honest men ; even so many, that the Prisons are not able to contain them, but they are fain to consecrate the greatest houses in London, to become Prisons ; as the Bishop of London's house, Ely-house, Winchester-house, Lambeth-house, Crosby-house, the Savoy, and the like. And this they do for none other cause, but either for performing the duties of their places, and discharging their obedience to his Majesty ; as the last Lord Major Gurney, which deserved rather to be commended, than committed, if we believe many that were present at his Tryal ; or petitioning unto them ; as Sir George Bynion, and Captain Richard Lovelace, and Sir William Broucker of Kent, because they did not therein flatter, and approve their present wicked courses ; or intending to petition unto the King for relief of these lamentable distresses, as those Gentlemen of Hertford-shire and Westminster ; or for being, as they conceived, disaffected unto their disloyal Orders. A strange thing ! and injustice beyond precedent, not the like to be found among the Pagans, That (where no Law can condemn a man for his affections, when no action is committed against Law) men shall be robbed of their estates, and adjudged for Malignants (which is also a crime most general, and without the compasse of any Statute) and then for this new-created sin, to be condemned and imprisoned, and therein to remain without Tryal of his offence, perhaps as long as the Archbishop of Canterbury. And this wonder, is the rather to be wondered at, because it is the sense of both Houses, (if we may believe Master Pym) That it is against the Rules of Justice, that any man should be imprisoned upon a general Charge, when no particulars are proved against him : For never Charge can be more general than to be ill-affected, or a Malignant, or a man not to be confided

4. How they imprisoned our men without cause.

Complaint, p. 8

M. Pym in his Speech at the Guild hall.

in,

in, whereof you find ten thousand in the City of London, and many hundred thousands in the Kingdom : and therefore, when we find so many persons of Honour and Reputation imprisoned, only upon this surmise, without any other particular Charge so much as once suggested against them, (as was the Lord of Middlesex, the Lord of Portland, and abundance more) and detained in prison, because they were *ill-affected*, in that they have not contributed to the maintenance of this War, we see how insensibly they have accused themselves to have laid this insupportable punishment, beyond the desert of the transgressors, and against the Rules of all Justice, and how they have forgotten their Protestation, and exceedingly infringed the liberty of the Subjects, whereof they promised to be such faithful Procurators.

CHAP. XIII.

Sheweth the proceedings of this Faction against the Laws of the Land, the Priviledges of Parliament; transgressed eleven special wayes.

3. Their proceedings against the Laws.

1. Against the Priviledges of Parliament.

1. Denying us to dispute of them.

L. Elismer in post-nati.

2. Committing and putting out their Members.

Complaint.
p. 11.

3. **F**OR the Laws of our Land, which are either *private*, as those chiefly which belong unto the Parliament, and are called the *Priviledges* of Parliament; or *Publick*, which are the *Inheritance* of every Subject : you shall find how they have invaded, and violated, each one of these : For,

1. Touching the *Priviledges* of Parliament : We confess, that former Kings have graciously yielded many just Priviledges unto them, for the freedom of their persons, and the liberty of their speeches, so they be free from *Blasphemy* or *Treason*, or the like unpardonable offence ; but such a freedom as they challenge, though for my self, I confess my skill in Law to be unable, to distinguish the *legitimate* from the *usurped* ; yet in these subsequent particulars, I find wise men utterly denying it them : As,

1. When they forbid us to dispute of their Priviledges; and say, That themselves alone are the sole Judges of them ; when as in former Ages they have been adjudged by the Laws of the Kingdom, when *Thorpe* the Speaker of the House of Commons, hath been committed, and detained Prisoner, upon an Execution, and the House confirmed that Act.

2. When the Members of the House (of whose elections, and transgressions against the House, or any of their fellow Members, or the like, the House is the proper Judge) which ought to have as free liberty as any of the rest, upon any emergent occasion, are committed ; as Master *Palmer*, and others were ; or put out of the House, as Sir *Edward Deering*, the Lord *Faulkland*, Sir *John Cu'pepper*, Sir *John Strangways*, and others, have been voted hand over head, for speaking more reason, than the more violent party could answer, or in very deed, for speaking their minds freely, against the sense of the House, or rather against some of the prevalent Faction of the House, which we say is no Priviledge, but the pravity of the House, to deny this just Priviledge unto those Members, that were thus committed or expelled : For, hereby it doth manifestly appear, that, contrary to the practice of all former Parliaments, and contrary to the Honour of any Parliament, things were herein debated and carried, not by strength of argument, but by the most voices ; and the greater number were so far from understanding the validity of the alledged Reasons, that, after the Votes passed, they scarce conceived the state of the Question, but thought

thought it enough to be *Clerks* to Master *Pym*, and to say *Amen* to Master *Hampden* by an implicate faith.

3. When they deny the *Members* of their House, or any other employed by them in this horrid Rebellion, should be questioned for *Felony*, *Treason*, *Murder*, or the like capital Crimes, but only in *Parliament*, or at least by the leave of that House whereof they are *Members*, or which doth employ them; for by this means any Member of their House may be a *Traitor*, or a *Murderer*, or a *Robber*, whensoever he please, and may easily escape, before the party wronged, or complainant can obtain this leave of the House of Commons: and therefore this is as unreasonable, and as senseless a Privilege as ever was challenged, and was never heard of till this Parliament: For, why should any man refuse his *Trial*, or the House deny their *Members* to the justice of the Law, when as the denial of them to be tried by the Law, implyeth a doubt in us of the *innocency* of those, whom we will not submit to justice; and their *Trial* would make them live gloriously hereafter, if they were found *innocent*, and move the King to deliver those men, that had so wickedly conspired their destruction, to the like censure of the Law. But for them to cry out, The King is mis-informed, and we dare not trust our selves upon a *Trial*, may be a way to preserve their safety, but with the losse of their reputation, and perhaps the destruction of many thousands of people.

If they say, They are contented to be tried, but by their own House, which, in the time of Parliament, is the highest Court of justice; It may be answered, said a plain Rustick, with the old Proverb, Ask my fellow, if I be a Thief. For mine own part, I reverence the justice of a Parliament in all other judgements betwixt party and party, yea, betwixt the King and any other Subject; yet, when the party accused shall be judged by his own Society, his Brethren, and his own Faction, I believe any indifferent Judge would see this to be too great partiality against the King, that he shall not have those, whom he accuseth to be tried by the Laws already established, and the ordinary course of Justice; and if the Judges offend in their Sentence, the Parliament hath full power, undenied them by his Majesty, to question, and to punish those Judges, as they did for that too palpable in justice (as they conceived) in the case of the Ship money; but they will be judged by themselves, and all that dissent from them, must be at their mercy or destruction. And yet it is said to be evident, That no Privilege can have its ground or commencement, unless it be by Statute, Grant, or Prescription. And by the Stat. 26. Hen. 8. cap. 13. it is enacted, That no offender in any kind of high *Treason*, shall have the privilege of any manner of Sanctuary: So all the Grants of such a privilege, if any such should be made, are meerly void, i Hen. 7. Staffords case, and not one Instance could hitherto be produced, whereby such a Privilege was either allowed, or claimed, but the contrary most clearly proved by his Majesty out of Wentworths case.

And therefore, seeing your own Law-books tell us, That the Privilege of Parliament doth not extend to *Treason*, the breach of the Peace, and (as some think) against the Kings debt: it is apparent, how grossly they do abuse the People by this claim of the Privilege of Parliament.

4. When they connive with their own compeers for any breach of privilege; as with Master *Whitakers*, for searching Master *Hampdens* pockets, and taking away his papers, immediately after the abrupt breaking up of the last unhappy Parliament, and those that discovered the names of them that differed in opinion from the rest of the Faction, in the business of the Earl of *Staffords* and specially with that rabble of *Brownists*

3. Denying their Members to be legally tried for any capital Crime. Vide Dyer, p. 59. 60. Crompton. 8. b. 9, 10, 11. Elism. post-nati 20, 21. The viewer. P. 43.

4. Conniving with their Faction for any fault.

and Anabaptists, which with unheard-of impudency, durst ask that question publicly at the Bar, *Who they were that opposed the well-affected party in that House?* as if they meant to be even with them, whosoever they were. And likewise that unruly multitude of zealous Sectaries, that were sent, as I find it, by Captain Ven, and Isaac Pennington, to cry *Justice, Justice, Justice*, and, *No Bishops, no Bishops*; and this to terrifie some of the Lords from the House, and to awe the rest that should remain in the House, as they had formerly done in the case of the Earl of Strafford; and when others that they like not, are for the least breach of pretended Priviledge, either imprisoned, or expelled; for I assure my self, there cannot be bigger breaches of Priviledges than these be, nor greater stains to obscure the Honour, and vilifie the repute, of this Parliament.

5. The ingaging one another in civil causes.

5. When there is such *siding*, and ingaging one another in civil causes, (that they may be conglutinated together for their great *Design*) to do things, not according unto *Justice*, but for their own ends, contrary to all right; and their *favour* is scarce worth the charge of attendance, to them that speed best by their Ordinances; but the complaint is, that men have the greatest injuries done them, in this, that themselves call the highest Court of Justice, which others say, hath now justified all other inferiour Courts, and made all *unrighteous* Judges most *just*.

6. The surreptitious carrying of business.

6. When (as we have been informed) a matter of the greatest importance hath been debated and put unto the question, and upon the question determined, and the Bill once and again rejected, yet at another time, even the third time, when the *Faction* had prepared the House for their own purpose, and knew they could carry it by most voices, the same question hath been resumed, and determined quite contrary to the former determination, when the House was more orderly convened; as it is said they did, to passe the Ordinance for the *Militia*, which many men dare avouch to their faces to be no Priviledge of Parliament, but a great abuse of their fellow-Members, and a greater injury unto all their fellow-Subjects.

7. Their partial questioning of some men, and no questioning of some others.

7. When the elections of some of their Members have been questioned, and others have been accused, for no lesse than capital Crimes, (as Master Griffith was) yet if these men *incline*, and conspire with this *Faction*, to confirm those Positions, which they proposed to themselves, to overthrow the Church and State, and to uphold their usurped Government, and tyrannical Ordinances, they will pretend twenty excuses: as, The great Affairs of the State, The multiplicity of their businesses, The necessity of procuring monies, The shortnesse of their time, (though they sate almost three years already) that they have no leisure to determine these questions (which in truth they do purposely put off, lest they should leese such a friend unto their party;) but when any other, which dissenteth from their humours, doth but any thing contrary to the strictest Rules of the House, they do presently (notwithstanding all their greatest affairs) call that matter into question, and it must be examined and followed with that eagernes (as in my Lord Digby's case) that he must be forthwith condemned and excluded; for we say, This cannot be any just Priviledge, but an unjust proceeding of this Parliament.

The L^d. Digby in his Apolog.

8. The delegating of their power to particular men.

8. When they delegate their power to some men to do some things of themselves without the rest; as it seems they did unto Master Pym, when an Order passed under his sole test, for taking away the Rails from the Communion Table; for this is a course we never heard of in former time.

9. The multiplying of their Priviledges.

9. When their Priviledges are so infinitely grown and enlarged, more than ever they were in former Parliaments, and so swelled, that they have

have now swallowed up almost all the Priviledges of other men; so that they alone must do what they please, and where they will, in all Cities, and in all Courts, because they have the Priviledge of Parliament.

10. When, according to the great liberty of language, which we deny them not within their own wall, they take the Priviledge to speak what they list in other places, and to govern other Courts as they please, where (as they did in Dublin, and do commonly in London) they sit as Assistants with them, that are priviledged by their Charters to be freed from such Controllers.

10. Their speaking and sitting in other Courts.

11. When, above all that hath been, or can be spoken, they have made a close Committee of Safety, (as they call it) which in the apprehension of all wise and honest men, is not only a course most absurd and illegally, but also most destructive to all true Priviledges, and contrary to the equitable practice of all publick meetings, that any one should be excluded from that which concerneth him as well as any of the rest; And this Committee only, which consisteth of a very few of the most pragmatical Members of their House, must have all intelligences and privy counsels received, and referred among themselves; and what they conclude upon, must be reported to the House, which must take all that they deliver upon trust, and with an implicit Roman faith, believe all that they say, and assent to all that they do; only because these (forsooth) are men to be confided in, upon their bare word, (when their House hath no power to administer an Oath unto any man) in the greatest affairs, happiness or destruction of the whole Kingdom; for this is, in a manner, to make these men Kings, more than the Roman Consuls, and so as great a breach of Priviledge, and abuse of Parliament, as derogatory to his Majesty, that called them to consult together, and as injurious to all the people, as can be named; or imagined.

11. Their close Committee.

The greatest of this abuse.

CHAP. XIV.

Sheweth how they have transgressed the publike Laws of the Land three ways: and of four miserable Consequences of their wicked doings.

2. **F**OR those publike, written, and better known Laws of this Land, they have no lesse violated and transgressed the same than the other; and that, as well in their execution and exposition, as in their composition; For,

2. Against the publick laws of the Land.

1. When they had caused the Archbishop of Canterbury to be committed to the Tower, Judge Berkeley to the Sheriff of London, Sir George Ratcliffe to the Gate-house, for no lesse crimes than high Treason, and many other men to some other prisons for some other faults; yet all the World seeth, how long most of them have been kept in prison; some a year, some two, some almost three, and God only knoweth, when these men intend to bring them to their legal tryal; which delay of justice, is not only an intolerable abuse to the present Subjects of this Kingdom, to be so long deprived of their liberty upon a bare surmise, but also a far greater injury to all posterity, when this President shall be produced to be imitated by the succeeding Parliaments, and to justify the delays of all inferiour Judges.

2. In the execution of the old Laws.

2. Whereas we believe what Judge Bracton saith, and Judge Britton likewise, which lived in the time of Edward the first, *Si disputatio oritur, justiciarii non possunt eam interpretari; sed in dubiis & obscuris*

2. In expounding the Laws.

Citatur à Do-
mino Blism. in
post-nati p. 108.

*Domini regis erit expectanda interpretatio & voluntas; cum ejus sit interpre-
tari, cuius est condere;* If any Dispute doth arise, the Judges cannot inter-
pret the same, but in all obscure and doubtful questions, the interpretation,
and the will of the King, is to be expected; when as he that makes the
Law, is to be the expounder and interpreter of the Law; Yet they have
challenged, and assumed to themselves, such a power, that their bare *Vote*,
without any *Act* of Parliament, may expound or alter a known Law;
which if it were so, they might make the Law, as *Pigbius* saith of the
Scripture, like a nose of wax, that may be fashioned and bended as they
pleased; but we do constantly maintain, That the House of Commons
hath no power, to *adjudge* of any point or matter, but to inform the
 Lords what they conceive; and the House of Peers hath the power of
 Judicature, which they are bound to do, according to the Rules of the
 known established Laws; and to that end, they have the Judges to in-
 form them of those cases, and to explain those Laws, wherein themselves
 are not so well experienced, (though now they sit in the House for cyphers,
 even as some Clergy did many times in the Convocation;) and if any for-
 mer Statute be so intricate and obscure, that the Judges cannot well agree
 upon the right interpretation thereof, then (as in explaining *Poyning's Act*,
 and the like, either in England or Ireland) the makers of the *Act*, that is
 the King, and the major part of both Houses, must explain the same.

3: In compo-
sing and setting
forth new Laws.

L. Cook in the
Preface of the
Stat. of West-
minster the se-
cond.
Lamberts Ar-
cheion. 271.

3. Whereas we never knew that the House had any power to make
Orders and Ordinances to bind any, (besides their own Members) to ob-
serve them as Laws; yet they compell us to obey their Orders, in a *stricter*
manner than usually we are enjoined by Law; and this course, to make
such binding Ordinances as they do, to carry the force, though not the
name of an *Act* of Parliament, or a Law, is a mighty abuse of our Laws
and Liberties; for Sir Edward Cook tells us plainly, That (as the con-
stitution of our Government now standeth) neither the House of Com-
mons and King, can make any binding Law, when the Peers dissent; nor
the Lords and King, when the Commonalty dissenteth; nor yet both Hou-
ses without the Kings consent; but all three, King, Peers, and Commons,
must agree, before any *coactive* Law can be composed: Nay more, it
is sufficiently proved, that *Dare jura populo*, or the legislative power, being
one principall end of Regall Authority, was in Kings by the Law of
Nature, (while they governed the people by *naturall* equity) long be-
fore municipall Laws, or Parliaments had any being. For, as the Poet
saith,

*Remo cum fratre, Quirinus — Jura dabat populo.
Hoc Priami gestamen erat, cum jura vocatis
More daret populis —*

Because this was the custom of the Kings of *Scythia*, *Assyria*, *Egypt*, &c.
(long before *Moses* and *Pharonaus*, when *Municipall* Laws first began) to
give Laws unto their people, according to the Rules of *Naturall*
equity; which, by the Law of Nature, they were all bound to ob-
serve.

And though some Kings did graciously yield, and by their *voluntary*
oathes, for themselves and their successors, bind themselves many times,
to *stricter* limits, than were absolutely requisite; as *William Rufus*, King
Stephen, *Henry* the fourth, *Richard* the third, and the like, granted ma-
ny *Priviledges*, perhaps to gain the favour of their Subjects, against
those which likely had a better Title to the Crown than themselves;
or, it may be, to satisfy their people, as the guerdon or compensation for
the sufferance of some fore-passed grievances, as *Henry* the first, *Edward*
the

the second, *Richard* the second, and the like: yet, these *limitations*, being agreeable to equity, and consistent with Royalty, and not forcibly extracted, ought in all truth and reason to be observed by them. And hence it is that the Kings of this Realm, according to the oaths and promises which they made at their Coronation, can never give, nor repeal any Law, but with the assent of the Peers and People.

But though they have thus yielded, to make no Laws, nor to repeal any Laws without them; yet this *voluntary* concession of so much grace unto the people, doth no waies translate the *legislative* power from the King unto his assistants, but that it is *formaliter* and *subjective* still in the King, and not in them; else, would the government of this Kingdom be an *Aristocracy*, or *Democracy*, and not a *Monarchy*; because the Supreme power of making and repealing Laws, and *Governing* or judging decisively according to those Laws, are two of those three things, that give being to each one of these three sorts of Government.

Therefore, the King of *England*, being an *absolute* Monarch in his own Kingdom, as *Cassan* saith, and no man can deny it; the *Legislative* power must needs reside *solely* in the King, *ut in subiecto proprio*; and the consent of the Lords and Commons is no sharing of that power, but only a *condition* yielded to be observed by the King, in the use of that power: and so, both the *Oath* of Supremacy, and the *form* of all our ancient Statutes, wherein the King speaks as the Law-maker, do most evidently prove the same unto us, *Le Roy voit*.

Neither durst any Subjects in former times either assume such a power unto themselves, or deny the same unto their King: for you may find how the House of Commons, denying to pass the Bill for the Pardon of the Clergy, which *Henry* the 8th. granted them, when they were all charged to be in a *Premunure*, unless themselves also might be included within the pardon, received this answer from the King, that *He was their Sovereign Lord, and would not be compelled to shew his mercy*, (nor indeed could they compel him to any thing else:) but seeing they went about to restrain him of his Liberty, he would grant a pardon unto his Clergy by his great Seal without them; though afterwards of his own accord he signed their pardon also; which brought great commendation to his judgment, to deny it at first, when it was demanded as a right, and to grant it afterwards, when it was received as of grace. And yet the denial of their assent unto the King, is more equitable to them, and less derogatory to him, then to make orders without him; And this manner of compulsion, to shew grace unto themselves is more tolerable, than to force him, to disgrace and displace his most faithful servants; only because others cannot confide in them, when no criminal charge is laid against them.

And therefore for the Lords and Commons to make Orders and Ordinances without the King, and in opposition to the King, is a meer usurpation of the Regal power, a nullifying of the Kings power, and a making of the Royal assent, which heretofore gave life to every Law, to be an empty piece of formality, which is indeed, an intolerable arrogancy in the contrivers of these Orders and the makers of these Ordinances, a monstrous abuse of the Subjects, and a plain making of our good King to be somewhat like him in the Comedy, *A King and no King*.

And, whereas no Subject, yea, under favour be it spoken, nor the King himself, after he hath taken his *Oath* at his Coronation, is free from the observation of the established Laws; yet they make themselves so far above the reach of Law, that they freed him, which the Lord chief Justice *Bramston* had committed to *Newgate* for felony in stealing the Countess of *Rivers* goods; they hindered all men, as we found in their Journal, from proceeding against *Sir Thomas Dawes*; they injoynd the Judges by their

Cassan. in card. gloria mundi. 2. 2. Ed. 3. 3. pl. 27. Vid. The view of a Printed book; intitled, Observations, &c. Where this point is proved at large, p. 18; 19, 21, 22.

Sir Rich. Baker in vita Hen. 8.

Orders, to forbear to proceed in their ordinary courses, in the Courts of Justice, contrary to the *Oathes* of those Judges; and some *Parliament-men* came to the Bench to forbid the Judges to grant *Habeas Corpus's*: which is as great an *iniquity*, and as apparent an *injustice*, as ever was done by any Parliament.

The most abominable wickedness of these factious Rebels.

Pl. 50. 22.
Augu. contra.
Faust. 1. 22.
c. 75. 76.

The miserable consequences of their wicked doings.

1. Mischief.

2. Mischief.

And that which is a Note above *Ela*, above all that could be spoken; whereas the *Law* of God and man, the bonds and obligations of *Civility* and *Christianity*, tie us all to be *dutiful* and obedient unto our King, in all things, either *Actively* or *Passively*; and no wayes for no cause violently to resist him, under the greatest penalties that can be devised here, and damnation hereafter; yet these men, contrary to all *Laws*, do injoyne us and compell us, as much against our *Consciences*, as if they should compell us, with the *Pagan Tyrants*, to offer sacrifice unto Idols, to war against our most gracious Sovereign, whom we from our hearts do both love and honour; and they proscribe us as *malignants*, and as enemies to the *Common-Wealth*, if we contribute not Money, Horse, and Arms, to maintain this ungodly War, and so become deadly enemies unto our own souls. O consider this yee that forget God, lest, for tearing us, He tear you in pieces while there is none to help you: for, considering what the Apostle saith, *Rom. 13. 1, 2.* and what Saint *Augustine* saith, *Ordo naturalis, mortalium paci accommodatus hoc poscit, ut suscipiendi belli Autoritas atque consilium penes principem sit;* and lest men should think, they ought by force of Armes to resist their King for Religion, he answereth that objection by the example of the Apostles, *Isti non resistendo interfeciti sunt, ut potius esse docerent victoriam, pro fide veritatis occidi.* We conceive this to be so execrable an Act, and so odious to God and man, that we are made thus miserable, and abused beyond measure, to have our *Religion*, which is most glorious, our *Laws*, that in their own nature are most excellent, and our *Liberties*, that make us as free as any Subjects in the World, under false pretences, and the shadows of Religion, Laws, and Liberties, to be eradicated, and fundamentally destroyed; whereby,

1. We are made a spectacle of scorn, and the object of derision to our neighbour-Nations, that formerly have envied at our happiness; and we are become the Subject of all pitty and lamentation, to all them that love us.

2. As in the *Roman Civil-Wars*, in the time of *Metellus*, the Son did kill his own Father; so now, by the subtilty of this faction, we are cast into such a War as is,

1. A most unnatural War, the Son against the Father, and the Father against the Son: The Earl of *Warwick* fighteth for the Parliament, and my Lord *Rich* his Son with the King: The Earl of *Dover* is with the King, and my Lord *Rockford* his Son with the Parliament: So one brother against another, as the Earl of *Northumberland* with the Parliament, and his brother with the King; The Earl of *Bedford* with the Parliament and his brother with the King; Master *Perpoint* with the Parliament, and the Earl of *Newark* with the King; *Devoreux Farmer* with the Parliament, and his brother *Richard Farmer*, together with his brother in law my Lord *Cokain* with the King, and the like: and of *Cosens* without number, the one part with the King, and the other with the Parliament: And if they do this in subtilty to preserve their Estates, I say it is a wicked policy to undo the Kingdom, which all wise men should consider.

2. A most irreligious War, when one *Christian*, of the same professed Religion, shall bathe his Sword, and wash his Hands in the blood of his fellow Christian, and his fellow Protestant, that shall be coheir with him of the same Kingdom.

3. A most unnatural, irreligious, and barbarous War, when the Subject shall

shall take Arms, to destroy or unthronc their own Liege, a Religious and most gracious King.

3. The Service of God in most Churches is neglected, when almost all the ablest, gravest, and most Orthodox Divines and Preachers are persecuted, plundered, imprisoned, and driven to flie (as in the time of the Arian or Donatist, which was worse than the Heathen persecution) from City to City, and to wander in Deserts from place to place, to save themselves from the hands of these Rebels against the King, and Persecutors of Gods Church: which is a most grievous and a most cruel persecution, far more general than that of the Anabaptists in Germany, or of Queen Mary here in England. The Lord of Heaven make us constant, and give us patience to indure it.

4. The whole Kingdom is, and shall be yet more, by the continuance hereof, unspeakably impoverished, and plunged into all kind of miseries; when the traveller cannot pass without fear, *nec hospes ab hospite tutus*, the Carrier cannot transport his commodity, but it shall be intercepted, the Husbandman cannot till his ground, but his Horses, as my self saw it, shall be taken from the Plough, and his Corn shall be destroyed when it is ready for the Sickle, which must be the fore-runner of a Famine, that is ever the Usher to introduce the Plague and Pestilence, and all other kind of grievous diseases; and these things put together, do set wide our Gates, and open our Ports, to bring forraign foes into our Coasts, to possess that good Land, whereof we are unworthy; because with the Israelites we loathed Manna, we were weary of our peace and happiness; we would buy Arms and be Volunteers, and every Town being too wanton, would needs train and put themselves into a posture of defence, as they termed it, to be secured from their own shadows: and though the King told them often, there was no cause of their Jealousies, and therefore forbade these dissolutions; yet just like the Jews, they were willing to be deceived by this miserable faction, that contrived that all whereby they have perfidiously over-reached both our good King, and the rest of our wel-meaning brethren, either to perfect their Design, or else, to make themselves perpetual Dictators, and to betray the felicity of all our people, under the name of Parliament; which though (as I said before) I honour and love, as much as any of the truest Patriots of either House, both in the institution and the right prosecution thereof; that is, as it was constituted, to be the great Council of the Kingdom graciously called by his Majesties-writ, confidently to present the grievances of the people, and humbly to offer their advice and counsels for their Reformation; yet I do abhor those men, that would abuse the word Parliament, only as a Stalking-Horse to destroy all Acts of Parliament; and I hate to see men calling the Fanatick actions of a few desperate seditious persons, the proceedings of Parliament, and others (making an Idol of it, as if their power were omnipotent or unlimited, and more than any Regal Power, their judgment infallible, their Orders irreprehensible, and themselves unaccountable for their proceedings) to be so besotted with the name of it, that this bare shadow without the substance (for it is no Parliament without the King; and the Major part of both Houses is either banished, or imprisoned, or compelled to reside with his Majesty) should so bewitch us (as Master Smyth blushed not to say, Nothing could free us from our dangers but the Divinity of a Parliament) out of our own happiness to become more miserable, then heretofore this Kingdom hath ever been by any Civil War; for, if you will consider the Treasons and Rebellions, the Injustice, Cruelty, and Inhumanity; the Subtilty, Hypocrisie, Lying, Swearing, Blasphemy, Prophaneness, and Sacrilege in the highest pitch, and many other the like fearful sins, that have been committed since the beginning of this Parliament, by the sole means of this Faction,

and

3. Mischief.

4. Mischief.

Ingenious and blasphemous.

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and observe the ill Acts that have been used by them to compass things lawful, & the wicked Acts that have been daily practised to procure things unlawful (when by blood and rapine and the curses of many Fatherless and Widdows, they have gotten the Treasure of the Kingdom, and the Wealth of the Kings loyal Subjects into their hands, and wasted it so, that their wants are still as notorious as their crimes) we may admire the miracles of Gods mercy, and the bottomless depth of his goodness, that the stones in the streets have not risen against them, or the fire from Heaven had not consumed these Rebels, that thus far and thus insolently had tempted Gods patience, and provoked him to anger with such horrible abominations.

y. Mischief.

5. As *Jerusalem* justified *Samaria*, so this Faction hath justified all the *Romanists*, and shewed themselves worse Christians, less Subjects, and viler Traytors than all the *Papists* are; for these factious Rebels justify their Rebellion, and, to the indelible shame of their Profession, they maintain that it is not only lawful, but that it is their duty to bear Arms, and to wage War against their King, when the King doth abuse his Power: whereas the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* * utterly denieth the same, and concludes them no Children of the Church that do it: and Doctor *Kellison* giveth this reason for it, because Faith is not necessarily required to Jurisdiction or Government; neither is Authority lost by the loss of Faith; therefore it is not lawful for any Subjects to Rebel against their King, though their King should prove a Tyrant, or should Apostate from the Faith of Christ; so that now the *Papists* boast, they are better Subjects than these *Rebellious Protestants*: and therefore I fear that this Faction

(*Defendens Christum, verso mucrone cecidit.*)

by their unjust Design to propagate the Gospel, have most grievously wounded the Faith of Christ, and given a more deadly blow to the Protestant Religion than ever it had since the Reformation; when it is impossible that the true Religion should produce Rebellion.

And therefore seeing we are free-born Subjects, and persons interested in the good and safety of this Kingdom, as well as any of them, we must crave liberty to express our grievances, and to crave redresses; and seeing my self am called to be a Preacher of Gods Word, and a Bishop over many of the souls of my Brethren, for which I must render an account to my God, both for my silence when I should speak, and speaking any thing that should not be spoken, I resolved to fear my God, and neither out of flattery to the King and his party, nor out of hatred or malice to those factious men, but as I am perswaded in my Conscience, fully satisfied and guided by Gods Truth, to set forth this Discovery of these Mysteries, what danger soever I shall undergo; and if I shall become their Enemy for speaking Truth, I shall fare no worse than Saint Paul did; and it shall be with them, if they do not repent, as it was with the *Israelites*, When their destruction cometh, they shall seek peace and shall not have it, but calamity shall come upon calamity.

Ezech. 7. 25.
27.

* Christopher-
son tract. contr.
rebell. Rhemist.
in Nov. Test.
p. 101.
Goldastus de
Monarchia S.
Imp. Rom. tom.
3. Dr. Kellison
in his Survey.
Aquin. de Re-
gim. Princip.
c. 6. Contil.
Constant. Sess.
25. Stephan.
Cantuar anno 8.
H. 3. Tolet. in
summa l. 4. c. 6.
Gr. Valentia,
p. 2. q. 64.
Bellar. Apol.
c. 13. Lessius l. 2.
c. 9. Serrarius,
Agorius, &c.

CHAP. XV.

Sheweth a particular recapitulation of the Reasons, whereby their Design to alter the Government of the Church and State is evinced; And a patheticall disswasion from Rebellion.

And thus I have set down not any thing to render these men more odious than they are, or to abuse my Reader with falsehood, or uncertainties, but to report what I knew, and what I collected out of the present writings of best credit, and attested by men of known truth and integrity, whereby it is most apparent to any discerning eye, That the Faction of Anabaptists, and Brownists, and some other of the subtlest heads in the House of Commons, had from the first Convention of this Parliament, secretly projected this Design, and, insensible to the rest of their well-meaning Brethren, prosecuted the same, to alter and change the ancient Government both of the Church and Kingdom, which the Author of *Sober Sadnesse* proveth by these subsequent Reasons: as (for the first)

If I have been misinform'd, of any thing that shall appear false, I shall not blush to retract it by an ingenuous confession.

Sober Sadnesse.
P. 44, 45, 46.

1. By suspending all Ecclesiasticall Laws and Censures; which indulgence of all Vices, hath drawn all Offenders to comply with them.

Their Design to change the Church Government, proved 4. ways.

2. By setting the people on work, to petition against the present Government, and the Service of the Church.

3. By the Bill concluded for the abolishing of our Government.

4. By the chief persons countenanced and imployed by them in that buynesse, who are Anabaptists and Brownists, and all sorts of Sectaries; he evinceth their Design to change our Church-Government, and to convert the Patrimony of the Church, which our religious Ancestors dedicated for the advancement of God's Worship, not to establish Learning and a preaching Ministry, as they pretended, but to dis-engage their *Publick faith*, which otherwise would never prove a saving faith.

And I wish, there might be none about His Majesty, that, pretending great loyalty unto him, do comply with them herein, and either to raise, or to secure their own Fortunes, would perswade Saint Paul, to part with Saint Peters keyes so he may still hold the sword in his hand; or, to speak more plainly, to purchase the peace of the Common-wealth, with the ruine of God's Church: But for this, let me be bold,

1. To crave leave to tell His Majesty, It was not His sword that hath brought him from a flying Prince out of Westminster, and as yet unsecured at Nottingham, to be a victorious King at Edge hill, and immediately to be the terror of all the Rebels in London; But it was God, whose Church and Church-Service he defended, that protected him hitherto, and gave him the Victory in Battell; And let him be assured, that He, which is Tea and Amen, will be his Shield and Buckler still, to defend him from the striving of his people, and to subdue them that rise against him, while he defendeth them, whose eyes, next under God, are only fixt on him, to be, as God hath promised, their nursing Father.

2. To assure those that would suffer the Church to fall, or perhaps sell the same out of a by-respect unto themselves, That taking their rise from the fall of the Church, or laying the foundation of their houses in the ruine

of the Clergy, they do but build upon the *sands*, whence they shall fall, and their fall shall be great, when the *successes* thereof shall be as the *successes* of the City of *Jericho*, that was built by *Hiel*, who laid the foundation of it in *Abiram* his first-born, and set up the gates thereof in *Segub* his youngest son, and had her destiny described by *Joshua*; and all the *possessions* that they shall get, shall prove *Abeldamea's*, fields of blood; and we hope God will raise *deliverance* to his Church from some better men, when as they and their *Fathers House* shall all perish, and shall sink in the nostrils of all good men for their *perfidiousness* in Gods cause.

But if any man should demand why we suspect any *Traitors*, or false *Counsellours*, to be in *Kings Courts*: I answer, because *Saint Paul* saith, *Oportet esse barefessi*; and, I believe, the purest Court hath no more *Priviledge* to be free from *Traitors*, then the Church from *Hereticks*. And you know there was one of eight in *Noahs Ark*, and another of twelve in *Christ his Courts*; and he that was so near him, as to dip his hand with him in the dish, was the first that flew in his face, and yet with a *Hail Master*, and with a *Kiss*: two fair testimonies of true love.

Therefore, let no King in *Christendom* think it strange that his Court should have *Flatterers*, *Traitors*, or evil *Counsellours*; let not us be blamed for saying this, and let not *Pym* so foolishly charge our King for evil *Counsellours*, for certainly, did he know them, I make no question but he would discard them: or could I, or any other, inform his Majesty who they are, and that it were an easy matter, *Sicere*, *Hic est*; we would not be afraid to pull off their veils, and to say, as *Christ* did to *Judas*, *Thou art the man*; but their *Alexandrian* windings, their *Syrens* voyces, and their *Judas* kisses, are as a fair mantle, to conceal and cover *Judas* Treason, even perhaps to betray some of the wisest in the Parliament, as well as some of them have betrayed the King. In such a case, all I can say, is this; *Memento dissidere*, was *Epistarchus* his Motto: The honest plain dealing man that doth things for *Religion*, not for ends, is the unlikelyest man to betray his Master; and few *Counsellours* are not so apt to breed so many *Traitors* as a *multitude*. It was the indiscretion of *Rehobeam* that lost him ten parts of twelve, to prefer young *Counsellours* before the *ancient*; and if we may believe that either *paupertas*, or *necessitas cogit ad turpia*, or the fable of the ulcerated Traveller, They that are to make their fortunes are apter to sell Church and State, and to betray King and Kingdom, rather then those that have sufficiently replenished their coffers, and enlarged their possessions. But I assure my self the mouth of malice cannot deny, but that our King hath been as wary and as wise in the choice of his Servants, Officers, and Counsellors, so far as eyes of flesh can see, in all respects, as any Prince in *Christendom*; and more by man cannot be done.

And for the second, that is, their *Design* to change the Government of the State, and to work the subversion of the Monarchy: he evinceth it,

† Seldom discretion in youth attendeth great and sudden fortunes. In vita Hen: 3.

Their design, to change the Government of the State, sheweth.

1. Way.

1. By that Declaration upon the Earl of *Straffords* suffering, that this Example might not be drawn to a *President* for the future; because they thought that themselves, intending to do the like, and to become guilty of the same Crimes, might by virtue of this Declaration be secured from the punishment, if things should succeed otherwise then they hoped.

2. Way.

2. By the pulling down of so many Courts of Justice, which may perhaps Relieve the Subjects from some pressures, but encourage many more in licentiousness, and prove the *Predroms* to the ruine of our Monarchy.

3. Way.

3. By those 19. Propositions, whereby the King was, in very deed, demanded

manded to lay down his *Crown*, and to compound with them for the same; because (as another saith) therein, there was presented to him a perfect *Platform* of a total change of Government, by which the *Counsellours*, indeed, were to have been *Kings*, and the King in name to have become scarce a Counsellour, and nothing of the present State to have remained, but the very *Names* and *Titles* of our Governours.

4. By that *expression* (so little understood by many men, and yet so much talked of in many of their papers) of a power of *re-assuming* the trust, which is *falsly* pretended to be derived unto his Majesty, by the meer human *passions* and agreement of the *Politick* body of the people, which I shewed unto you to be a most *false* and a meer *invented* suggestion.

5. By their *pretending* to, and according to this Doctrine their *Usurping* of the power of the *Militia* both by *Sea* and *Land*.

6. By their *Actual* exercising of this power, in disposing of *Officers*, *Generals*, *Colonels*, *Captains*, and the like *Places* of *Command* in *War*, and appointing their *Speaker*, *Master* of the *Rowls*, and other *Officers* of *Peace*.

7. By the *expression* of one of them to *Sir Edward Deering*, while he was yet of their *Cabinet-Council*, that if they could bring down the *Lords* to the *House* of *Commons*, and make the *King* as one of the *Lords*, then the whole work were done; that is, to make the *Government* of this Kingdom popular.

8. I may add to these, as another *unanswerable* Argument of this Design, the *licencing* of *Master Pryn's* Book of *The Sovereign Authority of Parliaments*, and suffering the same to pass *unquestioned* to this very day; because that book *destroys* the *King* of all his *Sovereignty*, and maketh our Government *Aristocratical*.

And this *subversion* of our *Monarchical* Government was the *last* Design, if not the *grand* Design of this *Faction*: not that all the *Members*, which have voted all or most of those things that tended to this change, or be still remaining in either House, did intend any ill either to *Church* or *State*, (for I know many, especially my ever honoured Lord, the *Earl*, of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, who, I dare avouch it in *Truth* and *honesty*, did ever, and as I believe doth still bear a most *upright* heart, and as *sincere* intentions, (howsoever perhaps by a *mis-understanding* his *Lordship* and the rest of those well meaning men may be *mis-guided*, as were those *honest* men that followed *Absolon*) both to *Gods* *Service*, the *Kings* *Honour*, and the *happiness* both of *Church* and *Common-Wealth*, as any man in the Kingdom) but that a *Faction*, it may be very few at first, have *insensibly* seduced the rest to effect their own *Designs*; and this *Faction* is all that I mean by the name of *Parliament*, throughout this whole *Treatise*; because their *subtilty* hath prevailed over the plain *Integrity* of the other well-minded men, to make up the *major* part of the *House*, both of the *Lords* and *Commons*; which thing hath often happened both in *General Councils*, and *great Parliaments*, as in the *Council* of *Constant* and *Trent*, and many others, and that *Parliament* which was branded with the name of *Parliamentum insanum*, and the other somewhat like this, in quo jugulum ecclesia atrocius petebatur, and the like; for otherwise, I do both honour, and reverence this *Parliament* rightly understood, and every *Member* of the same, as much as any *discreet* *Member* can desire.

And therefore having thus *discovered* and displayed the *Plots* and *practices* of these *infernal* instruments; to insinuate their *assistance* unto the *Scots*, and their allurements of them to *invade* our *Kings* *Dominions*;

The Parliaments Plots

to ensnare the *Irish*, and to provoke the *Papists*, to such a *Rebellion* as hath been the utter *ruine* and destruction of many *millions* of men; to obscure the *Glory* of this noble Kingdom, to alter the *Discipline*, and corrupt the *Doctrine* of the most glorious and the *purest* Church, that professeth the name of *Christ*, and to bring us all, and all our *Posterity* to *extream* miseries, to suffer yet *more* than we have endured, or that can be hitherto *imagined*; And considering those bloody *Treasons* that have been publickly uttered, and openly practised against the *Sacred Person* of our *Sovereign*; I may justly say, that, as the *sins* of the *Israelites*, and their *impetuous* calling for a *King*, moved the *Lord* to send them a *King in his anger*, so our *sins* and our impatient crying for a *Parliament*, made our *God* to send us a *Parliament in his Wrath*, that will never turn for our *Blessing*, till we return to *God* from our *sinnes*; for when I consider on the one side, the *Piety* and goodness of our *King*, the *justness* of his cause, and the most *ready* and cordial valour, as well in the *Common Souldiers* as the *Commanders* of a full and sufficient *Army*; and on the other side, the multitude of *disloyal* and seduced *Subjects*, the *vigilancy* and subtilty of their *Commanders*, with their *unlimited* waies to get *Monies*; and on both sides, the desire of too many, not for the *honour* of the *King*, nor the *Peace* of the *Kingdom* to end the *War*, but to continue the same for their own advantage, until the *wealth* of *Lawyers*, *Clergy*, and *Gentry*, be transplanted to the possession of *other Masters*, I am afraid it will prove an *heavy* Judgment. And therefore, lest our *obstinacy* in our *sins* should procure the continuance of *Gods* anger, which being removed will soon remove all our *miseries*; let me persuade all conscientious men, especially the *Gentry*, and all other *understanding* men, (howsoever the *Citizens* that deceive the *Kingdom* of their *Wealth*, delight to be deceived in their *Faith*) that would not be cheated of their Religion by these *factious* Mountebanks, and that would not provoke *God* to say, *I have no pleasure in them*, to turn from their *Rebellious* courses, to listen no longer to those *furiose* fire brands, that out of their new *Divinity*, contrary to the *Doctrine* of all the *ancient Fathers*, and all the *Orthodox* and grave *Preachers* of this *Kingdom*, do incite the *People* unto this *unnatural* bloody *War*, and to slander the *footsteps* of *Gods* *Anointed*; because they know him not, and to remember the *Oaths* of their *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, together with their late *Protestation*, whereby they stand obliged to their uttermost power to maintain his *Majesties* *Royal Person*, *Crown*, and *Dignity*, against all *treacherous* practices, that may any waies *dishonour* or impair them; and then I presume their consciences will *disavow* the proceedings of these *Projects*, protest against all their *Ordinances*, that are made against or without the *Kings* consent, advise all the *Knights* and *Burgesses* to Vote no more against their *Sovereign*, and to make no further use of the trust they reposed in them, to *Murder* us and our fellow *Subjects*, under the pretence of shedding the blood of the *ungodly*; or, if they still go on to abuse that trust, (to make us yet more miserable) to withdraw themselves and their trust and power of the representation from them, and to joyn their uttermost assistance unto his *Majesty* to protect him, that he may be enabled to protect us, and to overwhelm these *Rebels* into the same pit which they have made for us.

And this may be, by dissolving the knot of factious members wherein we see our *miseries* involved, and to make elections of new members into their places, who, with the rest of the *Lords* and *Commons*, which were faithful both to the *Church*, *King*, and *Kingdom*, shall call them to a strict account, for betraying our *Trust*, interrupting our *Peace*, opposing his *Majesty*, and violating all our *ancient liberties*.

Or

Or if a better way may be found, let us follow the same to God's glory, and to produce the peace and happiness of this Kingdom, lest, if we persist obstinately in this wilfull Rebellion, to withstand God's Ordinance, to oppose his Anointed, and to shed so much innocent blood, we shall, thus fighting against Heaven, so far provoke the wrath of the God of Heaven, as that the Glory of Israel shall be darkned, the Honour of this Nation shall be troden under-foot, and be made the scorn of all other Nations round about us; and the light of our Candlestick shall be extinguished, and we shall all become most miserable; because we would not hearken to the voice of the Lord our God. Which I hope we will do, and do most earnestly pray, that we may do it, to the Glory of God, the Honour of our King, and the Happiness of this whole Kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be Praise and Dominion, both now and for ever. Amen.

Jehova Liberatori.



AN APPENDIX.

THe man of God speaking of transcendent wickednesse, saith, *Their Vine is of the Vine of Sodom, and of the fields of Gomorrah: their grapes are grapes of gall, their clusters are bitter; their wine is the poison of Dragons, and the cruel venom of Aspes.* And I believe, never any wickednesse deserved better to be clad with this elegant expression, than that threefold iniquity.

1. The unparalleled Vote.
2. The intolerable Ordinance.
3. The damnable Covenant, which the rebellious Faction in Parliament have most impiously contrived, to make up the full measure of their impiety, since the writing of my Discoveries; For,
 1. Omitting that horrible practice of those rebellious blood thirsty Souldiers, that did their best to murder their own most gracious Queen; this Faction seeing how God prevented that plot, voted this most loving and most loyal Wife, to be impeached of High Treason, for being faithful to do her uttermost endeavour (which will be her everlasting praise) to assist her most dear, and Royal Husband; (their own Liege Lord, and Sovereign King) in his greatest extremities, against a virulent mighty Faction of most malicious Traytors; The strangest Treason that ever the World heard of.

2. They made an Ordinance for the composing and convocating of such a Synod (whereof I said somewhat before) of Lay-men, ignorant men, factious men, trayterous men, and such concretion of heterogeneous parts, like Nebuchadnezzars Image, Gold, Brasse, and Clay, all mixed together, and

all so ordered, limited, and bridled, (as it is expressed in the 5. and 8. page of their Ordinance) by the power of both Houses, where there are such abundance of *Schismaticall* and *sedition Members*, that I should scarce put the worst, sensitive soul to professe that *erratical faith*, or any brute beast, to be guided by that *Ecclesiastical Discipline*, that such factious *Traitors* (as some of them are like to be proved) should compose, or cause to be composed.

3. They composed a form of a *sacred Vow*, or *Covenant* (as they term it) or, as it is indeed, the *Covenant of Hell*, a *Covenant against God*, to overthrow the *Gospel of Christ*, under the *name of Christ*; which *Covenant*, is the *oil* that swimmeth uppermost upon the waters, that is, the *oil of Scorpions*, or (as *Moses* saith) *The poison of Dragons*, so lately wringed and diffused far and near, to defile and *destroy* millions of souls; when, forgetting their *faith* to God, and the *oathes* of their allegiance (so often, and so solemnly taken by many, or most of them) to be *faithful* unto their King, they shall be *compelled* (which is one degree worse than the *vow* of them that bound themselves with a *curse*, neither to eat nor drink till they had killed *Paul*;) so hypocritically, so perjuredly, so rebelliously, so horribly, and so bloodily, to make such a *fearful Vow*, and such an *abominable Covenant*, so wickedly contrived, that without great and serious repentance, spitteth forth nothing but *fire* and *brimstone*, and can produce nothing else but *Hell* and *Damnation*, to all that take it; especially, to them that will *compell* men to be thus *transcendently* wicked, as if they would send them with *Corab* quick to *Hell*. All which *triplicity* of evil, I shall leave to some *abler*, and more *eloquent* Pen, to be set forth more *fully* in the right colours, that, being *sufficiently* displayed, they may be *thoroughly* detected of all good men. Amen

O Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep thy Laws.

THE

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PSALM



TO THE
KINGS

most Excellent

MAJESTY.

Most gracious Sovereign,



WITH no *smal* paines (and the more for want of my books, and of any settled place, being *multum terris jactatus ex alto*, frighted out of mine house, and tost betwixt two distracted Kingdoms) I have collected out of the *sacred* Scripture, explained by the *ancient* Fathers, and the *best* Writers of God's Church, these *few* Rights out of many, that God, and Nature, and Nations, and the *Lawes* of this Land have fully and undeniably granted unto our Sovereign Kings. My witness is in *Heaven*, that as my conscience directed me, without any *squint* aspect, so I have with all sincerity, and freely traced and expressed the truth, as I shall answer to the contrary at the *dreadful* judgement; *ὅστε ἐχθρὸς γέγονα ἀληθῶν*; therefore with all fervency I humbly supplicate the *divine* Majesty, still to assist Your Highness, that, as in Your *lowest* ebb, You have put on Righteousness as a *breast-plate*, and with an *heroick* Resolution withstood the *proudest* waves of the *raging* Seas, and the *violent* Attempts of so many *imaginary* Kings; so now, in Your *acquired* strength, You may still ride on with Your

The Epistle Dedicatory.

honour; and for the glory of God, the preservation of Christ his Church, and the happiness of this Kingdom, not for the greatest storm that can be threatened, suffer these Rights to be snatched away, nor Your Crown to be thrown to the dust, nor the Sword, that God hath given You, to be wrested out of Your hand by these uncircumcised Philistines, these ungracious Rebels, and the Vessels of God's wrath, κατηγορούμενα εἰς ἀπάληαν, unless they do most speedily repent; for if the unrighteous will be unrighteous still, and our wickedness provoke God to bring our Land to Desolation, Your Majesty, standing in the truth, and for the right, for the honour of God, and the Church of his Son, is absolved from all blame, and all the blood that shall be spilt, and the oppressions, insolencies, and abominations that are perpetrated, shall be required at the hands, and revenged upon the heads of these detested Rebels. You are, and ought in the truth of cases of conscience, to be informed by Your Divines; and I am confident that herein they will all subscribe, that God will undoubtedly assist You, and arise in his good time, to maintain his own cause; and by this war, that is so undutifully, so unjustly made against Your Majesty, so Giant-like fought against Heaven, to overthrow the true Church, You shall be glorious like King David, that was a man of War, whose dear son raised a dangerous rebellion against him, and in whose reign so much blood was spilt; and yet, notwithstanding these distempers in his Dominion, he was a man according to God's own heart, especially, because that from α to ω*, the beginning of his reign, to the end of his life, his chiefest endeavour was to promote the service, and protect the servants of the Tabernacle, the Ministers of God's Church. God Almighty so continue Your Majesty, bless You and protect You in all Your wayes, Your vertuous, pious Queen, and all Your royal Progeny. Which is the daily prayer of

* As, in the beginning, by reducing the Ark from the Philistines, throughout the midst, by settling the service of the Tabernacle, & in the ending by his resolution to build, & leaving such a treasure for the erecting of the Temple.

The most faithful to Your Majesty,

GRYFFITH OSSORY.



THE RIGHTS OF KINGS, Both in CHURCH & STATE:

And,
The Wickednesses of this Pretended PAR-
LIAMENT Manifested and Proved.

CHAP. I.

Sheweth, who are the fittest to set down the Rights which God granted unto Kings; what causeth men to rebell; the parts considerable in S. Peter's words, 1 Pet. ii. 17. in fine. How Kings honoured the Clergie; the fair, but most false pretences of the refractory Faction, what they chiefly aime at, and their malice to Episcopacie and Royaltie.



It was not unwisely said by *Ocham* that great *Scholeman* Guliel. Ocham. Ludov. 4. to a great Emperour (which *M. Luther* said also to the Duke of *Saxonic*.) *Tu protege me gladio, & ego defendam te calamo*; do you defend me with your Sword, and I will maintain your Right with my Pen; for God hath committed the Sword into the hand of the King, and His hand which beareth not the Sword in vain, Rom. 13. v. 4 knoweth how to use the Sword better than the Preacher, and the King may better make good His Rights by the Sword then by the Pen, which having once blotted His papers with mistakes, and concessions more then due, though they should be never so small (if granted further than the truth would permit, as I fear some have done in some particulars) yet they

The Rights of Kings, and

The Divine
best to set
down the
Rights of
kings.

cannot so easily be scraped away by the sharpest sword; and God ordered the *divine* tongue and learned Scribe to be the pens of a ready Writer, and thereby to display the *duties*, and to justify the Rights of Kings; and if they fail in either part, the King needeth neither to performe what undue Offices they impose upon him, nor to let pass those just honours they omit to yield unto him; but he may justly claime his due Rights, and either retain them, or regain them by his Sword, which the Scribe either wilfully omitted, or ignorantly neglected to ascribe unto him, or else maliciously endeavoured, (as the most impudent, and rebellious Sectaries of our time have most virulently done) to abstract them from him.

And seeing the *Crown* is set upon the head of every Christian King, and the *Scepter* of Government is put into his hand,

1. Of *Nature*, that is common to all.
by a threefold Law 2. Of the *Nation*, that he ruleth over.
3. Of *God*, that is over all.

As,

Every Chri-
stian king e-
stablished by a
threefold
Law.
Psal. 119.

To what end
the stories of
the kings of
Israel and Ju-
dah were writ-
ten.
Rom. 15. 4.

The ordinati-
on of our go-
vernment as
beneficial as
our creation.

Unwritten
things most
uncertain.

Rom. 3 29.

1. *Nature* teaching every King to governe his People according to the *com-
mon* rules of honesty and justice.

2. The *politique* constitution of every severall State, and particular King-
dom, shewing how they would have their government to be administred.

3. The *Law* of God, which is an *undefiled Law*, and doth infallibly set
down what *duties* are to be performed, and what *Rights* are to be yielded to
every King: for whatsoever things are written of the Kings of *Israel*, and *Ju-
dah* in the holy Scriptures, are not *only* written for those Kings, and the Go-
vernment of that *one* Nation, but as the Apostle saith, *They are written for our
learning*, that all Kings and Princes might know thereby how to govern, and all
Subjells might in like manner, by this *impartial*, and most perfect rule, under-
stand how to behave themselves in all obedience and loyalty towards their
Kings and Governours; for he that *made* man, knew, he had been better *un-
made*, than left without a *Government*; therefore, as he ordained those *Laws*,
whereby we should live, and set down those *truths* that we should beleive; so
he settled, and ordained that *Government*, whereby all men in all Nations
should be *guided* and governed, as knowing full well, that we neither *would*,
or *could* do any of these things right, unless he himselfe did set down the *same*
for us; therefore, though the *forwardness* of our Nature will neither yield
to live according to that Law, nor *believe* according to that rule, nor be go-
verned according to that divine Ordinance, which God hath prescribed for us
in his Word; yet it is most certain, that he left us not without a perfect rule,
and direction for each one of these our *faith*, our *life*, and our *government*
without which *government*, we could neither enjoy the *benefits* of our life, nor
scarce reap the *fruits* of our faith: and because it were as good to leave us
without *Rules*, and without *Laws*, as to live by *unwritten* Laws, which in the
vastness of this world would be soon *altered*, corrupted, and obliterated;
therefore God hath *written* down all these things in the *holy Scriptures*, which
though they were delivered to the People of the *Jews*, for the government
both of their *Church* and *Kingdom*: yet were they left with them to be *com-
municated* for the use and benefit of all other Nations; (God being not the God
of the *Jews* only, but of the *Gentiles* also:) because the Scripture, in all *morall*
and perpetual precepts (that are not merely *judicialia Judaica*, or *secunda clas-
sis*, which the Royal Government was not, because this was ordained from the
beginning of the world to be observed among all Nations, and to be continu-
ed to the end of the world, nor the types and shadows that were to vanish
when the true substance approached) was left as a perfect *patern*, and platforme
for all Kings and People, *Pastours* and Flocks, *Churches* and Kingdoms through-
out the whole world, to be directed how to live, to govern, and to be governed
thereby. Such was the love and care of God for the *Government* of them that
love and care as little to be governed by his government.

And

And therefore the dim and dusky light of *bleare-ey'd Nature*, and the dark distracted inventions of the *subtillest* politicks must *stoop*, and yield place in all things, wherein they swerve from that *strict* rule of justice, and the right order of government, which is expressed *necessarily* to be observed in the *boly* Scripture, either of the *Kings* part towards his People, or of the *Peoples* duty towards their King.

Every Gov-
ernment the
better, by how
much nearer it
is to the Gov-
ernment of the
Scripture
kings.

And though each *one* of these faculties, or the understanding of *each* one of these three Laws requireth more than the *whole* man, our life being too short to make us *perfect* in any one; yet seeing that of all *three*, the *Law of God* is *abyssus magna*, like the bottomless sea, and the *supreme* Lady, to whom all other Laws and Sciences are but as *Penelopes*, handmaids to attend her service; the *Divine* may far better, and much *sooner* understand what is *naturall* right, and what ought to be a *just* nationall Law, and thereby what is the *Right* of *Kings*, and what the *duty* of *Subjects*, than any, either *Philosopher* or *Lawyer*, can finde the same by any other art; especially to understand the same so *fully* by the Law of God, as the *Divine* that *exerciseth* himselfe therein *day and night*, may do it; unless you think (as our *Enthusiasts* dream) that every *illiterate* Tradesman, or at least a *Lawyers* Latine, (I speak of the *generality*, when I know many of them of much worth in all learning) may easily wade, with the reading of our *English* Bibles, into the *depth* of all *Divinty*: and that the *greatest* Doctour that spent all his days in studies, can hardly understand the mysteries of these *Camelion-like* Laws, which may change *sense*, as often as the *Case* shall be changed; either by the *subtlety* of the *Pleader*, or the *ignorance*, or corruption of the *Judges*. But we know their *deepest* Laws, *discreetest* Statutes, and *subtillest* Cases cannot exceed the reach of sound reason; and therefore no *Reason* can be shewed, but that a rational man meanly understanding Languages, may sooner understand them, and with *less* danger mistake them, than that *Law*, which (as the *Psalmist* saith) is exceeding broad, and exceedeth all *humane* sense, and the most exquisite *natural* understanding; when (as the *Apostle* saith) *The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned*: and being not discerned, or misunderstood, they make all such mistakers liable to no small punishment, if God should be extreme to marke what is done *amiss*; and this not understanding of God's Law, is the *error* of other Laws, and the cause of much mischief; for if men understood not the *Law* of God, or would believe us that do understand it, I assure my self, many of the *Rebels* (such as rebell not out of pride, disobedience, or discontent) are so conscientious, that they would not so rebell as they do, being seduced through their *ignorance*, by the *subtletie* of the most crafty children of disobedience.

The *Divine* is
better able to
understand
Law, then the
Lawyer to under-
stand *Divi-*
nity.

Psal. i. 3.

Psal 119. 96.
1 Cor. 2. 14.

What causeth
many men to
rebell.
The Scriptures
say more for
the right of
kings, then a-
ny book in the
world.
Downing in his
discourse of
the Ecclesiasti-
call State. p.
91.

August.

Ambrose.

Ofor. in Epist.
Regina Eliz.
pag. 7.

And therefore letting the usuall impatience of the *furious* fire-brands of sedition, and the *malicious* incendiaries of Rebellion, together with those *treacherous* Judasses, that *insensibly* lurke in the King's Court, and are more dangerous both to the Church and State, than those open Rebels that are in the Parliament House, to lay on me what reproach they please; as some of them being galled, and now gone, have already done, *Ego in bona conscientia teneo, quisquis volens detrahit fama mea, nolens addit mercedi mea*. I shall beleive it in a good conscience, that whosoever shall *wittingly* detract from my repoute, and *unjustly* load me with *undue* disgrace, shall *unwillingly* add to my reward; neither shall I ever think, *Plus ponderis esse in alieno convicio, quam in testimonio meo*, that there is more account to be had in the *foule* slander of another mans malice, then in the *spotless* testimony of mine own conscience: but considering (as Saint Hierome saith) that, *Apud Christianos non qui patitur sed qui facit contumeliam, miser est*; among Christians, not he that suffereth, but he that offereth injuries and reproaches, is wretched; though (as Oforius saith) *Adulsa insidia principibus a suis domesticis intenduntur, multa fraudes in aula Regia quæstus & compendii gratiâ suscipiuntur, multa, partim adulatione & perfidiâ,*

How kings are deluded by their own Courtiers, and the truth concealed from them.

The Authors Resolution with God's Assistance.

1 Sam. 17:28.

The Adversaries of regal Right.

Τὸν βασιλέα πᾶσι, 1 Pet. 2:17.

1. The Author of these words.

2 Pet. 1:21.

Hebr 11:27.

2. The Substance of the Precept.

partim offensionis periculosa formidine dissimulantur, ita ut raro inveniantur qui Regibus libere loqui audeant; many snares are laid for Princes by their own domestic servants; many deceitfull tricks, and cunning plots, are undertaken in the King's Court for gain and honours sake, and many things partly for fear of offending, and partly through a perfidious and false flattery, are dissembled, and the truth of things is imprisoned from the sight of the King; so that he that seeth with these Courtiers eyes, and heareth with their ears, can hardly know the certain state of his own affairs, especially when their flattering Parasites shall bear so heavy a hand over the faithfull servants, that few of them shall dare freely to declare the Truth; yet I am resolved to set down the plain face of Truth, without either flattering of my Royal Master, or fear either of the Court flatterers hatred, or the Parliamentary Factions cruelty. And though my eldest Brethren, that are abler than my self, should reprove me, and say unto me, as Eliab said unto David; yet I will take my staff in my hand, mine own integrity to uphold me, and my fidelity to my King, and to the King of kings to protect me, and I will gather a few stones out of the Brook of living waters, out of the Book of holy Scriptures, and I hope with one of them to smite the Philistine, the three-headed Gerion, the Anabaptist, Brownist, and Puritan Rebel, in the forehead, that he fall to the earth, his head shall be cut off with his own sword, and the whole army of the uncircumcised Philistines, that is, all the rest of the wilfully seduced Rebels, that refuse to be un-deceived, and to accept of his Majesties grace and pardon, shall flie away, and be destroyed. And,

The first Stone that comes into my hand (which I believe will hit the Bird in the eye, and be abundantly sufficient to do the deed) is a Stone taken out of the Rock, that appears highest in the Brook, that is Saint Peter, which our Saviour in the judgement of some Fathers, which I quoted in my true Church, calleth a Rock, and in the judgement of most of the Fathers, and the sober Protestants, is the Prince of Apostles: for he saith, Honour the King; and this one short sentence truly understood, (though I confess many other may seem more full) is absolutely sufficient to overthrow all the Anti-Royalists, and to silence all the Basileus Mastices, all the opposers of their own Kings, throughout all the world, especially, if we consider,

1. Who saith this, S. Peter.
2. What is said, Honour the King.
3. To whom he saith thus, to every Soul.

First, The words are the words of Saint Peter, the first in order, the chiefest for authority, and the greatest for resolution of all the Apostles of Christ; and he spake them as he was inspired by the holy Ghost; therefore we may believe them, and we should obey them, or we should fear the judgements of God; for if they escaped not who refused him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him that speaketh from heaven.

Secondly, The Substance of this precept containeth as many parts as there be words,

1. Who is to be honoured, the King.
2. What is that Honour, that is due unto him.

Which two Points, rightly understood, and duly observed, as they are enjoined, would make a peaceable Common-wealth, and a most flourishing Kingdom, without any civil Broiles, or intestine Rebellion, which is the greatest Plague, and heaviest Curse, that God hath ever laid upon any Nation.

Lucan 1. 1.

Bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos.

I have therefore resolved (to prevent this evil, and to dissuade us from this miserable mischief) to say something of these two Points, as may best heal the bleeding Wounds of these unhappy, and distracted times.

First, It is the most Gracious Promise of our good God to all them, that will faithfully

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 5

faithfully serve him, I will honour them, that honour me: and Saint Augustine 1 Sam. 2. 30.
saith, that *Sicut verax est in punitiōe malorum, ita & in retributiōe bonorum.*
as he is most certain in his threatnings for the punishment of the wicked, so
he is most faithful in his Promises for rewarding of the Godly; and that not
onely for the future, but also in these present times, because *Godliness hath the* 1 Tim. 4. 8.
Promise both of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.

Therefore pious Princes, that are God's Vicegerents here on earth, and his
Deputies to discharge his Promise, have accordingly honoured them, that have
by their upright life, and indefatigable pains honoured God in his Church, with
double honour.

1. With titular Dignities, honourable Places, and considerable Eminencies in
the Common-wealth, as conceiving it not unworthy, to make the greater lights
of the Church to be not of least esteem in the Civil State; but judging it most
convenient, that they, whom God had intrusted with the Soules of men, should
with all confidence be intrusted with their personal Actions, and with the Employ-
ments of the greatest trust.

2. With competent means, in some sort answerable to support their Digni-
ties, without which means, as the Poet saith, *Virtus nisi cum re, vilior, algā,* so
honourable Titles, without any subsistence, is more contemptible then plain Beg-
gary; therefore, out of their piety to God, and bounty to the Church, they
have conferred many faire Lordships, and other large Endowments upon the
best deserving Members of Christ's Ministers.

But, as the good Husbandman had no sooner sown his pure Wheat, but im-
mediately *Inimicus homo*, the evil and envious man, *superseminavit zizania,*
sowed his poysonous Tares amongst them; so God had no sooner thus honour-
ed his Servants, but presently the Devil, which is * the God of this World, be-
gan to throw dirt in their faces, and to deprive them of both these honours:
for,

1. He stirred up ignorant men, of small learning but of great spirits, of
no fidelity but of much hypocrisie, that, as Pope Leo wrote unto Theodosius,
Privatas causas pietatis agunt obtentu, and under a faire pretext did play the
part of Aesop's Fox, who being ashamed that his taile was cut off, began to
iaveigh against the unseemly burthenome taitles of all the other Foxes, and to
perswade them to cut theirs off, that so by the common calamity he might be
the better excused for his obscenity; for so they cryed down all Learning, as pro-
phane, they railed at the Scholemen, they scorned the Fathers, and esteemed no-
thing, but that nothing which they had themselves: and although they professed
to the Vulgar, that they aimed at no end but the purity of the Gospel, they de-
sired nothing but the amendment of life, and reformation of Ecclesiastical Di-
scipline, and hated nothing but the pride and covetousness of the Bishops, and
the other dignified Prelates, which stopped their mouthes, and imprisoned the
liberty of their Conscience; yet the truth is, that because their worth was not
answerable to their ambition, to enable them to climbe up to some height of
honour, their envy was so great, that they would fain pull down all those, that
had ascended, and exceeded them.

And therefore, with open mouthes, that would not be silenced, they ex-
claimed against Episcopacy; and as the Apostle saith, spake evil of Dignities,
implying all their strength, like wicked birds, to defile their own nests, to
disrobe us of all honour, and to leave us naked; yea, and as much as in them
lay, to make us odious and to stinke (as the Israelites said to Moses) in the
eyes of the people. Then

2. As Plutarch tells us, that a certain Sicilian Gnatho, and Philoxenus the
son of Erixia, that were slaves unto their gntts, and make a God of their bel-
lies, to cause all the other guests, to loath their meat, that they alone might
devour all the dainties, did use *Narium mucum in catinis emungere;* so do
these men spit all their poyson against the Revenues of the Bishops, and that
little

How kings
have honour-
ed those that
honoured
God.

1. With Digi-
nities.

2. With Main-
tenance.

Matth. 13. 24.
ὁ ἐχθρὸς αὐτοῦ
ἐλάττω,
* ὁ θεὸς τῆς αἰ-
ῶνος τῆς τοῦ.
2 Cor. 4. 4.

Leo Papa
Epist. 23.
What the fa-
cious Prea-
chers pretend-
ed.

What the Fa-
cious aim at.
Plutarch. in lib.
ἐπὶ τῷ λαβέ-
ας.

Doctor Burges

little maintenance that is left unto the Ministers, and are as *greedy* to devour the same *themselves*, as the dogs, that gape after *every* bit they see us put into our mouths; for, so I heard a whelp of that litter, making a *bitter* invective in the House of Commons against Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, and the *greatness* of their Revenue; and concluding, that all they should be *degraded*, their means should be *sequestered*, and distributed all without any *diminution* of what they now possessed, but with the *restitution* of all Impropriations unto *himself*, and the *rest* of his factious fellow Preachers; which speech, as it pleased but few in the *latter* clause, so no doubt it had *fauters* enough in the *former* part; when we see this little *remnant* of our fore-fathers bounty, this *testimony* of our Princes piety, is the *only* mote that sticks in their eye, the undigested morsell in their stomachs, and the *only* bait that they gape after; for, did our King yeild this *garment* of Christ to be parted among their Souldiers, and this *revenue* of the Church to be disposed of by the Parliament, I doubt not but all quarrels about the Church would soon end, and all other strife about Religion would be soon composed.

What many men would willingly undergo to procure peace,

Ανδρῶνα
ἀνδρῶνα
Rom. 9. 6.

The abolishing of Episcopacy would not satisfie the Factious.

Juven. Sat. 2.

Seneca de Clem.
lib. 1.

Plato de legibus
lib. 12.

Blacvod. Apolog. pro regibus
pag. 13.

The haters of the Bishops ever enemies unto kings.

But, would this end all our *civil* Wars, would the unbishoping of our *Prelates* bring rest unto our *Prince*, and the taking away of their *estates* settle the *State* of the Common-wealth, and bring *peace* and tranquillity unto this Kingdom? If so, we could be well contented for our own parts, to be *sacrificed* for the safety of the people; for though we dare not say with Saint Paul, that we could wish our selves *avastuata*, or separated from Christ for our Country-men; yet I can say with a *sincere* heart, that I believe many of us could be well contented our fortunes should be *confiscated*, and our lives *ended*, so that could procure the *peace* of the Church, which is *infinitely* troubled, redeeme His Majesties *honour*, which is so deeply wounded, and preserve this our native Country from that *destruction*, which this unparallel'd Rebellion doth so *infallibly* threaten: but the truth is, that the *abolishing* of Episcopacy, root and branch, the reducing of the best to the *lowest* rank, and the bringing of the Clergy to the *basest* condition of servility, to be such as should not be worthy to *eate with the dogs* of their flock, as Job speaketh, will not do the deed; because, as the Satyrist saith, *nemo repente fit turpissimus*, but as virtues, so vices have their *increase* by use and progression, & *primum quodque flagitium gradus est ad proximum*, and every heynous offence is as iron chain, to draw on another. For, as Seneca saith, *nunquam usque adeo temperata cupiditates sunt, ut in eo quod contigit desinant, sed gradus à magnis ad majora fit, & spes improbiſſimas complectuntur inſperata affecti*: our desires are never so far tempered, that they *end* in that which is obtained, but the gaining of one thing is a step to seek another: And therefore, *cum publicum jus omne positum sit in sacris*, as Plato saith, how can it be, that they which have *prophaned* all sacred things, and have *degraded* their Ministers, should not also proceed to depose their *Magistrates*? if you be *diffident* to believe the same; let the Annals of France, Germany, England and Scotland be revised, and you shall find that Charles the fifth was then troubled with War, when the Bishops were turmoyled, and tumbled out of their Seas: & Scots *uno eodemque momento numinis & principis jugum excusserunt, nec justum magistratum agnoverunt ullum, ex quo primum tempore sacris & sacerdotibus bellum indixerunt*: and the Scots at one and the self-same moment did shake off the yoke of their *obedience* both unto their God, and to their King; neither did they acknowledge any for their *just* Magistrate after they had once warred against Religion and religious men, which were their Priests and Bishops, saith Blacvodens and in France (saith he) the same men were enemies unto the King that were adversaries unto the Priests; *quia politicam dominationem nunquam ferent, qui principatum Ecclesia sustulerunt, nec mirum si Regibus eblouantur, qui sacerdotes flammâ & ferro persequuntur*, because (as I have shewed at large in my Grand Rebellion) they will never endure the Political Magistrate to have any rule, when they have shaken off the Ecclesiastical government; neither is it any

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 2

any wonder that they should slander, rage against, and reject their King, when they persecute their Bishops with fire and sword.

And I think the sad aspect of this distracted Kingdom at this time, makes this point so clear, that I need not add any more proof to beget faith in any sober man; for doth not all the World see, that as soon as the seditious and traitorous faction in this unhappy Parliament, had cast most of the Bishops, the gravest and the greatest of all, with Joseph into the dungeon, (a thing that no story can shew the like president in any age) and had voted them all, contrary to all right, out of their indubitable right to sit in the House of Peers, (an act indeed so full of incivility, as hath no small affinity with that of the Gargisites, who for love of their swine, drove not out, but desired Christ to depart out of their coasts :) they presently began to pluck the sword out of the Kings hand, and endeavoured to make their Sovereign in many things, more servile, then any of his own Subjects, so that he should be gloriosissime servilis, as Saint Augustine saith, that Homer was suavissime vanus, and to effect this, you see, how they have torn in pieces all his Rights, they have trampled his Prerogatives under foot, they have as much as they could, laid his honour in the dust; and they have with violent warr, and virulent malice, sought to vanquish and subdue their own most gracious Sovereign, which cannot chuse but make any Christian heart to bleed; to see such unchristian, and such horrid unheard of things attempted to be done by any, that would take upon him the name of a Christian.

How soon the Faction fell upon the King, after they had cast off their Bishops.
supra cap. vii.
Matth. 8. 34.

Therefore to manifest my duty to God, and my fidelity to my King, I have undertaken this hard, and to the Rebels unpleasant labour, to set down the Rights of Kings: wherein I shall not be afraid of the Rebels power, neither would I have any man to fear them; for however, Victores, victique cadunt, here may be a vicissitude of good success many times on both sides, to prolong the war for our sins, and they may prosper in some places; yet that is but umbecula quadam, a transient cloud, or summer storm, that will soon pass away; for we may assure our selves they shall not prevail, because God hath said it, By me Kings do reign, and He will give strength unto his King, and exalt the horn of his Anointed; He will scatter the people that delight in war, and make the hearts of the cursed Canaanites to melt, and their joints to tremble; but, He will satisfy the King with long life, and shew him his salvation.

The Rebels for the punishment of our sins may prosper for a time, but at last they shall be most surely destroyed.
Prov. 8. 15.
Psal. 68. 30.
Joshua 9. 16.
Psal. 91. 16.

C H A P. II.

Sheweth, what Kings are to be honoured; the institution of Kings to be immediately from God; the first Kings; the three chiefest rights to Kingdoms; the best of the three rights; how Kings came to be elected; and how, contrary to the opinion of Master Selden, Aristocratic and Democratic issued out of Monarchie.

TO proceed then, you see the person that by Saint Peters precept is to be honoured, to be the King, and what King was that? but (as you may see in the beginning of this epistle) the King of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bythinia; and what manner of Kings were they, I pray you? I presume you will confess they were no Christians, but it may be as bad as Nero, who was then their Emperour, and most cruelly tyrannizing over the Saints of God, gave a very bad example to all other his substitute Kings and Princes to do the like; and yet these holy Christians are commanded to honour them. And therefore,

What Kings are to be honoured.

I. Heathen

The double charge of all Christian Kings.

1. To preserve peace.
2. To protect the Church:

1. *Heathen*, Pagan, wicked and tyrannical Kings are to be *truly* honour-
ed by God's precept.
2. *Religious*, just, and Christian Kings are to have a *double* honour, be-
cause there is a *double* charge imposed upon them: as

1. To preserve
peace.

2. To protect
the Church:

1. To execute *justice* and *judgement* among their people; to preserve *equity*
and *peace*, both from *intestine* broyles, and *foreign* Foes; which *careful* go-
vernment bringeth *plenty* and *prosperity* in all *external* affairs unto the whole
Kingdom: and this they do as *Kings*, which is the *common* duty of all the
Kings of the earth.

2. To maintain *true* Religion, to promote the *faith* of Christ, and to be
the *guardians* and *foster-fathers* unto the Church and Church-men, which tie
their people unto God to make them *spiritually* and everlastingly happy; and
this duty is laid upon them, as they are *Christian* Kings: and therefore in re-
gard of this *accession* of charge, they ought to have an *accession* of honour, more
than all other Kings whatsoever.

1. Then I say, that the *Heathen*, Pagan, wicked and tyrannical Kings, such
as were *Nero*, *Dioclesian*, and *Julian*, among the Christians, or *Ahab* and
Manasses among the Jews, or *Antiochus*, *Dionysius*, and the rest of the Sicilian
Tyrants among the Gentiles, are to be honoured, served, and obeyed of all
their Subjects, and that in three especial respects.

1. All Kings
to be honour-
ed in three
respects,

1. Of their institution, which is the immediate ordinance of God.
2. Of God's precept, which enjoineth us to honour them.

3. Of all good mens practice:
whether they be

1. *Jews*.
2. *Gentiles*.
3. *Christians*.

1. The institu-
tion of Kings,
is immediately
from God.
Justin lib. 1.
Herodot. lib. 1.
Clio.

1. *Justin* tells us, that, *Principio rerum gentium, nationumque imperium penes
reges erat*, from the beginning of things, that is, the beginning of the world,
the *rule* and government of the people of all Nations was in the hands of
Kings; *Quos ad honoris fastigium non ambitio popularis, sed spectata inter bonos
moderatio provehebat*. And *Herodotus* setteth down, how *Deioces* the first King
of the *Medes* had his beginning. And *Homer* also nameth the Kings that were
in, and before the wars of *Troy*. But the choice of *Deioces*, and some others
about that time and after, whereof *Cicero* speaketh, may give some colour unto
our rebellious Sectaries, to make the royal Dignity *κτιον ανθρωπων*, a humane
ordinance; therefore I must go before *Herodotus*, and look further then blind
Homer could see: and from the first King that ever was, I will truly lay down
the first institution and succession of Kings, and how times have wrought by
corruption, the alteration of their right, and diminution of their power, which
both God and nature had first granted unto them.

*Cicero in Offi-
ciis.*

God the first
King.
*Βασιλεὺς ὁ
αἰώνων.*
1 Tim. 1. 17.
Apoc. 19. 16.

And I hope no *Basilieu-mastix*, no hater of Kings, nor opposer of the royal
government can deny, but, that God himself was the first King that ever the
world saw, that was the King of ages before all worlds, and the King of Kings
ever since there were any created Kings. The next King that I read of was
Adam, whom *Cedrenus* styles the *Catholicque* Monarch; *ἐπεὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ
κύριος ὁ ἀνθρώπων, ὁ ὅλος αἰὼν ὁ ὅλος*: a mighty King of a large Territory, of
great Dominion, and of unquestionable right unto his Kingdom, which was the
whole World, the Earth, the Seas, and all that were therein. For, the great
King of all Kings said unto him, *Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the
earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl
of the air, and over every living thing, that moveth upon the earth*. Which is a
very large Commission, when *dominare*, is more then *regere*; and therefore
his royalty is so plain, that none but wilful ignorants will deny it to be *divi-
num institutum*, a divine institution, and affirm it, as they do, to be *humanum
inventum*, a humane ordination, when you know there were no men to chuse
him, and you see God himself doth appoint him, and after the flood the Em-
pire

Gen. 1. 28.
Adam the first
King of all
men.

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 9

pire of *Noah* was divided betwixt his three sons; *Japheth* reigned in *Europe*, *Johan. Beda, de*
Sem in *Asia*, and *Cham* in *Africa*. *jure Regum.*

Yet I must confess, the first Kingdom that is spoken of by that name, is the Kingdom of *Nimrod*, who notwithstanding is not himself termed King, but in *Gen. 10. 9.* the Scripture phrase a mighty hunter, because he was not onely a great King, but also a mighty Tyrant, or oppressour of his people in all his Kingdom; or as I rather conceive it, because he was the first usurper that incroached upon his neighbours rights, to enlarge his own dominions: and the first king that I find by that name in the Scripture was *Amraphel*, king of *Shinar*, with whom we find eight other Kings named in the same chapter. *Gen. 14. 1.*

But we are not to contest about words, or to strive about the words, when the Scripture doth first give this name unto them: the plain truth is that, which we are to enquire after; and so it is manifest, there were Kings ever since *Adam* and so named ever since *Noahs* flood; for *Melchizedech*, which in the judgment of *Master Selden*, *Broughton*, and others, was *Sem* the eldest son of *Noah*, (though mine own minde is set down otherwise) was King of *Salem*; and *Justin* tells us, that long before *Ninus*, which was the son of *Nimrod*, there were many other Kings, as *Vexores* King of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* King of *Scythia*, *Sepus* *den* *8* and the like; and as reason sheweth us, that eve y one, *qui regit alios Rex est, iugos milibz* so every master of a family that ruleth his own household is a petty King, as we *en* *αλθζων* commonly say to this very day, every man is a King in his own house; and as *Euripides* de their families were the greater, so were they the greater Kings: so *Abraham* Cyclop. hand three hundred and eighteen servants, that were able men for the War in *Gen. 14. 14.* his own house: and therefore the inhabitants of the Land tell him, *Princeps Dei es inter nos, thou art a Prince of God*, that is, a great ruler amongst us: and yet the greatest of these rulers were rather *reguli* then *reges*, Kings of some Cities, or small Territories, and of no large dominion, as those thirty and one Kings which *Joshua* vanquished, doth make it plain. *Josh. 12. 14.*

But *Master Selden* confesseth that civil societies, beginning in particular families, the heads thereof ruled as kings: and as the World encreased, or these kings incroached upon their neighbours, so their Kingdoms were enlarged. *Selden in his Titles of honour, cap. 1.*

Kings therefore they were, and they were kings from the beginning. But how they came to be kings, or what right they had to regal power, from whence their authority is derived.

- | | | |
|--|---|---------------------------------------|
| <p>1. Whether God ordained it: or,
 2. Themselves assumed it:
 3. The people conferred it upon them:</p> | } | <p>herein lyeth all the question.</p> |
|--|---|---------------------------------------|

To which I must briefly answer, that the right of all kings which have any right unto their kingdoms, is principally either, *The chiefest rights to kingdoms either of three ways.*

- | | | | | |
|---|---|----------------|---|---|
| <p>1. By birth: or,
 2. By the sword: or
 3. By choice.</p> | } | <p>whereof</p> | } | <p>The last is and may be just and good.
 The second is so without question: but,
 The first is most just, and so best of all. For,</p> |
|---|---|----------------|---|---|

1. The best right, whereby the *Patriarchs* and all the rest of the posterity of *Adam* enjoyed their royalty, was that which God hath appointed; that is, the right of *primogeniture*, whereby the elder was by the law of nature, to reign and rule over the younger; as God saith unto *Cain*, though he was never so wicked an hypocrite, unto thee shall be the desire of thy brother, and thou shalt rule over him, though he was never so goodly and sincere a server of God: which made *Jacob* so earnestly desirous to purchase the birth-right, or the right of *primogeniture* from his brother. And *1. The best right, without contradiction, is by inheritance. Gen. 4. 7. Gen. 25. 31.*

2. When the rightful kings became with *Nimrod* to be unjust Tyrants, then God that is not tyed to his *Viceroy* any longer then he pleaseth, but hath right and power *Paramount* to translate the rule, and transfer the dominion *2. The right by conquest is a just and a good right.*

Pfal. 89. 44. So the Israelites enjoyed the kingdom of Canaan, and David the territories of them that he subdued, &c. Eldras. 1. 2. Efsay. 45. 1. 2. Dan. 2. &c. 4.

Pfal. 144. 10.

mion of his People to whom he will; hath oftentimes thrown down the mighty from their seat, and given away their crownes and kingdoms unto others, that were more humble and meek, or some other way fitter to effect his divine purpose, as he did the kingdom of Saul unto David, and Balthazar's unto Cyrus; and this he doth most commonly by the power of the sword, when the Conquerour shall make his strength to become the Law of justice, and his ability to hold it, to become his right of enjoying it; for so he gave the Kingdoms of the earth to Cyrus, Alexander, Augustus, and the like Kings and Emperours, that had no other right to their Dominions, but what they purchased with the edge of their swords; which notwithstanding must needs be a very good right, as the same cometh from God, which is the God of war, and giveth the victory unto Kings; when as the Poet saith,

Victrix causa Deo placuit.

And he deposeth his Vicegerents, and translateth the government of their Kingdoms, as he seeth cause, and to whom he pleaseth.

3. The right of elective kings, and how they came to be elected.

3. When either the Kings neglected their duty, and omitted the care of their People so far as that the People knew not that they had any Kings, or who had any right to be their Kings, or upon the incurison of invading Ioes, the Nations being exceedingly multiplied, and having no Prince to protect them, did change the orderly course of right, belonging unto the first-born (which their rude and salvage course of life had obliterated from their minds) unto the election and choice of whom they thought the better, and the abler men to expel their enemies, and to maintain justice among themselves; so the Medes being oppressed with the insolencies and rapines of enemies and the greater man, said, it cannot be that in this corruption and lewdness of manners we shall long enjoy our Countrey; and therefore

Hecodot. lib. 1.

Let us appoint over us a King, that our Land may be governed by good Lawes. Kai avris apds vpa xpijzeta, id' avous avagati isquda. And we turning our selves to our own affairs, need not be oppressed by the rage and violence of the lawless: and finding by their former experience of him, that Deioes was the justest man amongst them, they chose him for his equity to be their King; which is the first elective King that I do read of; and

Cicero in Offic. pag. 322.

Cicero saith, *Mihi quidem non apud Medos solum, sed etiam apud majores nostros, justitia fruenda causa videntur olim bene morati reges constituti:* even as Justin said before. And when the People do thus make choice of their King,

Rossensis de potestate Papa, fol. 283.

it is most true which Rossensis, and our most learned Divines do say, that *Licet communicatio potestatis quandoque sit per consensum hominum, potestas tamen ipsa immediate est à Deo, cujus est potestas;* though the power be sometimes conferred by the consent of men, yet it is immediately given from God, whose

Spalat. tem. 2. 529.

power it is. *Et communitas nihil sui confert regibus* (saith Spalat.) *nisi ad summum personam determinet; & potius personam applicat divina potestati, quam divinam potestatem persona:* & ita Winton. Resp. ad Matth. Tort. fol. 384. saith, *Christi Domini, non Christi populi sunt.*

Why kings were rejected by the people.

But as their justice and goodness moved the People to exalt them to this height of Dignity; so either their own tyranny, when change of place did change their manners, or their Peoples inconstancy, that are never long pleased with their governours, caused them to be deposed again, and many times to be murdered by those hands, that exalted them

How the Aristocracy and Democracy issued out of Monarchy.

Then the People perceiving the manifold evils that flow from the want of government, do erect other governments unto themselves, and rather then they will endure the miserable effects of an Anarchy, they resign their burisall liberty, and their total power sometimes into the hands of few of the best of the flock, which we call Aristocracy or optimacy, and sometimes into the hands of many, which we call Democracy, or a popular state. In all which Elections

of

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11

of Magistrates; and resignations of the Peoples power voluntarily to the hands of their governours, call them what you will, Senate, Consuls, Duke, Prince or King, though I dare not any way reject any of them as a forme utterly disallowed and condemned of God; yet comparing them together, I dare boldly say, the farther men go from God's first institution, the more corruption we shall finde in them; and therefore it must needs follow that Democracy is the next degree to Anarchy, and Aristocracy far worse then Monarchy; for though it may seem very unreasonable, that one man should have all the power;

Each form of government lawfull.

Democracy the worst kinde of Government.

toto liber in orbe
Solum Caesar erit

And many plausible reasons may be alleadged for the rule of the Nobles, or of the People; yet the experience, that the Roman State had in those miserable Civill Wars, that so frequently, and so extremely afflicted them, after they had put down their Kings, (as when *Caius Marius*, the meanest of the Commonalty, and *Lucius Sylla* the cruellest of all the Nobility, destroyed their liberty, and rooted out all property, by their Civill faction, and the assistance of an illegal Militia; and a multitude of unruly voluntiers) and the fatal miscarriages of many businesses, and the bad successses of their Armies, when both the Consuls went forth Generals, together with the want of unity, secrecy, and expedition, (which cannot be so well preserved amongst many) do sufficiently shew, how defective these Governments are, and how far beneath the excellency of Monarchy, as it is most fully proved in the unlawfulness of Subjects taking up armes against their Sovereigne; and more especially by the wisest of men, that tells us plainly, that for the transgressions of a Land, many are the Princes thereof, but by a man of understanding and knowledg the State thereof shall be prolonged (and in another place he crieth *Wo to that land whose king is but a childe*, either in knowledg, or in years; for that during his infancy, and the want of ability, the government will be managed by many others, which can produce nothing else but woes to that Common-wealth; and therefore *Saint Augustine* saith, that if they who do bear Rule in Democracy, do corrupt justice, a good powerfull man may lawfully change that Democraticall government into an Aristocraticall, or Monarchical; but you shall never finde it in any Christian Authour, that any man, be he never so good, never so powerfull, may lawfully, upon any occasion, or pretence, change the Monarchy into an Aristocracy, or Democracy; because it is lawfull for us to reduce things from the worst and remotest state to the better, and the nearer to the original forme: but, not from the better to a worse, and remoter from its original institution, which is then soundest, when it is nearest to its first ordination.

inter partes plebemque certamina exercere modò turbulentis tribunis, modò consulibus prævalidis; & in urbe ac foro seminata civilium bellorum; maxime plebe infima C. Marius, & nobilium scissimus L. Sylla vim armis libertatem in dominationem vertunt; Tac. l. 2. hist. P. 16. usque 28. Prov. 28. 2. Ecclesiast. 10. 16. Aug. de l. arbit. l. 1. c. 6.

C H A P. III.

Sheweth, the Monarchicall Government to be the best forme; the first Government that ever was; agreeable to Nature, wherein God founded it; consonant to God's own Government; the most universally received throughout the world; the immediate and proper Ordinance of God; when the other Governments began; how allowed by God; the quality of elective Kingdoms, not primarily the institution of God; and the nature of the People.

Therefore it is apparent, that of all sorts of Government, the Monarchy is absolutely the best, (and of all Monarchs, the best right is that which is hereditary) because it is,

The Monarchicall government best.

§ 1. The first in Nature.

§ 2. The prime and principal Ordinance of God.

For,

1. Reason.
Selden in his
Titles of Ho-
nour, lib. 1.

Monarchy an-
cienter then
any other Go-
vernment.

Monarchicall
government
most agreeable
to Nature.

Monarchy
founded in
Nature.

Consonant to
the Divine go-
vernment.

The Govern-
ment of the
most famous
Nations Mo-
narchicall.

— Summo
dulcius unum
flare loco, sociis-
que comes di-
scordia regnis,
Statius The-
baid. 1.

A family is a
small king-
dom, and a
kingdom a
great family.

1. Though Master Selden saith, that *naturally* all men in economick rule, being *equally* free, and *equally* posset of superiority in those ancient propaga- tions of mankind, even out of Nature it selfe, and that inbred sociableness which every man hath, as his *character* of civility, a popular state first raised it selfe, which by its *own* judgement afterward was converted into a Monar- chy; and in the fourth page of his Book, rejecteth the opinion of *great* Philo- sophers, that affirm with Saint *Austin*, the first of the three Governments to be a Monarchy, and affirmeth *positively*, that the Monarchy hath its *original* out of a Democracy, as Aristocracy likewise had, yet I say, that this contra- dicteth his first *Thesis*, where he asserteth, that the husband, father, and master of the house ruled as a King: and therefore the Monarchy must needs be be- fore either Aristocracy, or Democracy: and where citing *Pausanias*, that *In Boeoticorum initio*, saith, βασιλῆαι πρῶτον τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία μετα- δίδουται. All Greece was *anciently* under Kings, and no Democracies; he is driven to confess, *pag. 5.* that a family, being in Nature before a *publick* society, or Common-wealth was an *exemplary* Monarchy, and in that regard Monarchy is to be acknowledged *ancienter* then any other state; and so, not only the *Or- thodoxal* people, but the *Pagan* also had this notion thereof by the instinct of Nature; for the *Cappadocians* being vanquished by the *Romans*, did instantly request them to give them a *King*, protesting, that they were not otherwise able to maintain themselves; and so most other Nations esteemed that true, which *Herodian* saith, that as *Jupiter* hath command over all the gods, so, in imitation of him, it is his pleasure, that the Empire of men should be *Monar- chicall*.

And indeed, it is concluded by the *common* consent of the best *Philosophers*, that the *Laws of Nature* lead us to a *Monarchy*, as when among all Creatures both animate, and inanimate, we do always finde *one* that hath the prehemi- nence above all the rest of his kinde, as among the *Beasts*, the Lion, among the *Fowls* the *Eagle*, among *Grains*, the *Wheat*, among *Drinks* the *Wine*, among *Spices* the *Baulme*, among the *Planets* the *Sun*; and all the best *Divines* con- clude, the *Monarchicall* government to be the most lively image, and repre- sentation of the *divine* regiment and government of God, who, as *sole* Mo- narch ruleth and guideth all things; and therefore we finde all the Nations of greatest renown lived under the *Royal* Government, as the *Syriani*, *A- rthiopians*, *Indians*, *Assyrians*, *Medes*, *Egyptians*, *Bactrians*, *Armenians*, *Ma- cedonians*, *Jews*, and *Romans* first and last; and at this day the most famous peo- ple live under this forme, as the *English*, *French*, *Spaniards*, *Polonians*, *Danes*, *Muscovites*, *Tartars*, *Turks*, *Abissines*, *Moors*, *Agamesques*, *Zagathinians*, *Cathaians*, yea, and the *Salvage* people lately discovered in the *West Indies*, as being guided thereto by the rules of *Nature* do all of them in a manner live under the Government of *Kings*; and I beleive the *Apostle* doth *specially* mean the *Regal* Government, though he speaketh *plurally* of pow'rs, as understand- ing the same of many *Kings*, because he speaketh but of *one* μαχάρα, one sword, which being wrested out of the hand of the *King*, and put amongst *many*, would make them all, like *mad* men, fall out and fight, which of them should bear it, when *one* Sword can never be well guided by *many* hands; and therefore I think it is a *madness* indeed for any people to be weary of that go- vernment which God first *ordained*, which is most agreeable unto Nature, most consonant to God's government, most acceptable to God himself, and most pro- fitable unto men, and to affect a late new invented government, full of all dan- gers and inconveniences.

Therefore it is apparent that *Monarchie* is the first Ordinance of all govern- ments; a family being nothing else but a *small* Kingdome, wherein the *paterfa- milias* had *Regal* power, & potestatem visa & necis, even over his own children,

as I have elsewhere shewed in the example of *Abraham*, and of other Heathens, that justly executed their own sons; and a Kingdom being nothing else but a great family, where the King hath paternal power, and more then fathers now have, because of the great abuse that divers fathers committed, while they had their plenary authority: therefore it was thought fit to abridge them of that pristine power, and to place it all in the hands of the more publique father.

And to make this yet more plain unto the World, I would fain know of these Democratical men,

1. When their Democracy, and Aristocracy had their being, and came

2. How first in use.

I have shewed the age of Monarchy to be from *Adam*.

— primæque ab origine mundi,
Ad mea perpetuum deduxi tempora Regem.

And I cannot remember that any Democracy or Aristocracy was in all the Assyrian Monarchy, which notwithstanding lasted above a thousand years; for the Aristocracies of Greece, alas, they are but of yesterday, of no age, long after *Homer's* time, which yet lived but about the time of *Jephthah* Judge of *Israel*; and besides, I will not believe,

When Aristocracies and Democracies began.

— Quicquid Græcia mendax
Audet in historiis.

And for the Democracy of *Rome*, *Titus Livius* sheweth when it was first hatched, after the expulsion of *Tarquinius Superbus*; if therefore you will believe *Tertullian*, that *Id verius quod prius*, you must needs give the precedence of all governments unto Monarchy.

But that which is more considerable is to understand, how these birds flitted out of the nest of Monarchy? Our Saviour saith, Every plant which my Father planted not, shall be rooted up: that he planted Monarchy, I have made it plain; but when this Vine began to grow wilde, and instead of grapes to bring forth bitter clusters, that is, oppression instead of justice; the people grew weary of God's Ordinance, and loath to be contained within the bounds of obedience, when they found strength and opportunity, they withstood their lawful but degenerated Kings, and then they disposed them from their estates and deprived them of their lives; so that as the Poet saith,

Matth. 15. 13.

What caused the change of Monarchy.

Ad generum Cereris sine eade & sanguine pauci
Descendant reges, & sic à morte tyranni.

Juvenal
Satyr. 10.

And thinking to finde a better way, then that which they found so thorny, and a better government then that which formerly they found so bad, they elected those men, whom they thought would make them happy, sometimes more, and sometimes fewer, as their disposition was, to be their Governours: so after the expulsion of *Tarquinius* the *Romans* chose two Consuls, and these giving not a plenary content unto the People, they added the Tribunes to bridle the disorders of the Consuls, and when all this would not satisfy their unsatiable expectation, they must have their Decemvires, and in great dangers their Dictator, then comes the Triumvirat, of *Antony*, *Lepidus*, and *Augustus*, who at last takes upon him the name of an Emperour, but the full power of a King, and governs all as the sole Monarch: thus they ran in a maze, and turned round like a wheel: and I should but weary my Reader to trace the Greek Histories, to set down the state of *Athens* under the thirty Tyrants, or of the *Lacedæmonians* under those Ephors, that bore a fair shew to restrain their

The unconstancy of the people in the choice of their Governours.

The Government never settled till it came, as all things in nature, out of disorder to Monarchy.

Kings,

Lacedæmonio-
rum aristocratia
ex duobus Re-
gibus, quinque
Ephoris, octo
& viginti se-
natoribus com-
posita.

1 Sam. 2. 14.
15.
Chap. 8. 11.

2. Reason that
Monarchy is
the best form
of Govern-
ment.

Kings, but were indeed a scourge and plague unto the people; so that in truth the remedy proved far worse then the disease, *excessit medicina modum*, and the change of Government never brought any other good, but an exchange of miseries, the greater for the lesser, unto the people, as for that one rape of *Lucretia* by *Tarquinius*, to undergo a thousand greater infolencies under the new erected Government of the Consuls and Tribunes; and the *Israelites* for preventing the snatching of the flesh out of their pots, by the sons of *Eli*, and growing weary of the sons of *Samuel*, to have a *Saul*, that shall tear their own flesh in pieces, and take their sons and their daughters for his vassals.

2. As the hereditary Monarch is the first kinde of Government, so it is the principal and best government; because it is the immediate Ordinance of God, that he set down for the Government of his People; for this was ordained by God himself, and so continued among his people, even in an hereditary way, unless the same God designed another person by those Prophets, that he inspired for that purpose; as it was in the case of *David*, *Solomon*, and *Jehu*; and it is certain, that the wisest of men cannot devise a better Form of Government then God ordained: therefore the choice of one, or more, made by the People to be their King or Governour, cannot be (if not without sin) yet I am sure; without folly; but seeing, as our Saviour saith, *a Sparrow cannot light upon the ground without the providence of our heavenly Father*: so I must confess;

Matth. 10. 19.

— hac non sine numine divum

Eveniunt.

This election of Kings and change of the first Ordinance happened not without God's providence, either for the Tyranny of the evil Kings, or the punishment of the rebellious people: and therefore as *Moses* for the hardness of those mens hearts that hated their Wives, to prevent a greater mischief, either continual fighting, or secret murdering one another, suffered them to give their Wives a bill of divorcement, (but as our Saviour saith) *Non erat sic ab initio*, it was not any primary Ordinance of God, but a permissive toleration of the lesser evil; so when the people out of their froward disposition to God's first Institution of the Regal right, and presuming to like better of their own choice, do alter this hereditary Right and divine Ordinance into the election of one or more Governours, either annual, as among the ancient *Romans*, or vital, as it is in the present state of the *Venetians*; God, out of his infinite lenity to our humane frailty, rather then his people should be without Government, and so many heynous sins should go unpunished, doth permit, and it may be allow and approve the same, though sometimes not without great anger and indignation for our contempt and distaste of his heavenly institution; as when the *Israelites*, weary of the Judges that succeeded *Moses*, who was a king in *Jesurun*, and that God raised still to rule as Kings amongst them, to make War against their enemies, and to judge them according to the Law in the time of peace, which are the two chiefest Offices of all kings, desired to have a king, to judge them like all the Nations; not a king simply (for so they had indeed though not in name) but a king like all the Nations, that is, a king of a more absolute power then the Judges had, as *Samuel* sheweth, and they seem contented therewith: God sent them a King in his wrath, because they had rejected him, that he should not reign over them; that is, they had refused to submit themselves to his Ordinance, and to obey the Kings that he appointed over them, but they must needs be their own Carvers and have a King of their own election, or such a king invested with a more absolute power) as they desired, though notwithstanding they did most hypocritically seem to desire none but whom God appointed over them; and therefore perceiving their own error, and seeing their own offence by the anger that God shewed, they confessed their fault, and did always thereafter accept of their kings by succession, but onely when their Prophets by the sacred Ointment had ordained another by God's special designation.

Deut. 24. 1.
Matth. 19. 8.

How God allowed the Aristocratical and Democratical Government, and why,

Deut. 33. 5,

1 Sam. 8. 5.

vers. 7.

The lamentable success of the first elective kings.

But

The Wickednesses of the pretended Parliament.

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But I cannot finde it in all the Scripture, or in any other Writings authentical, where God appointed or commanded any people to be the chusers of their kings, but rather to accept of him, and submit themselves to him, whom he had placed over them. For I would very fain know, as *Roffensis* speaketh, *An potest as Adami in filias ac nepores, adeoque omnes ubique homines, ex consensu filiorum ac nepotum dependet, an à solo Deo ac natura proficiat?* And if this Authority of the Father be from God without the consent of his Children, then certainly the authority of Kings is both natural and divine, immediately from God and not from any consent or allowance of men; and *Pineda* saith, *Invenio Regem aliquem à Deo et à populi suffragio creatum, qui se prius à illo creati qui designaretur à Deo, et à populo, et à Deo ipsius voluntate, et à illo creati quem Deum indicasset.* Neither do I remember any one that was chosen king by the Children of *Israel*, but only *Abimelech* the bastard son of *Isaac*, and (as some say) *Jerobam* that made *Israel* to sin; and the Scripture tells you how unjustly they entered, how wickedly they reigned, and how unworthily the first, that was without question the Creature of the people, ended both his life and his reign; to teach us how unsuccessful it is to have other masters of kings then he that is the King of kings, and saith, *He will not give his glory unto them, nor hold them guiltless that intrude into his Throne, to bestow sovereignty and create kings at their pleasures, when as he professeth, it belongeth unto him, not to the People, to say, Ye are Gods, and to place his own Viceroy to govern his own People.*

And therefore though I do not wonder so much *Aristotle* of that opinion, *Ut reges populi suffragio constarent, That Kings should be elected by the People,* and that it was the manner of the Barbarians to accept of their kings by succession, *Quales fors tulit, non vincuntis opinione probant;* such as nature gave them, and not those which were approved by the people for their virtues, because he was ignorant of the divine Oracles; yet methinks it is very strange that men continually versed in God's Word, and knowing the nature of the people, which as one saith, *Semper avari est, semper insanus, semper furor & iniquitas agitur;* and specially reading the story of times, should be transported with such dregmes and fopperies, that the people should have any hand in the election of their kings: for if you briefly run over most of the kings of this World, you shall scarce finde one of a thousand to be made by the suffrage of the people; for *Nimrod* got his kingdom by his strength; *Ninus* enlarged the same by his sword, and left the same unto his heirs; from the *Assyrians* the Monarchy was translated to the *Medes* and *Persians*, and I pray you how? by the consent of the people, or by the edg of the sword? From the *Persians* it was conferred to *Alexander*, but the same way; and it continued among his successours by the same right: and *Romulus*, not contented with his own power, but

Ad sua qui domitos deduxit sacra Quirites.

Did not obtain his power by the suffrage of his people; and if you look over the States of *Greece*, we shall finde one *Timondas* which obtained the Scepter of the *Corinthians*, and *Pittacus* the Government of the *Mytilenians* by the suffrage of the people; but for the *Athenians*, *Lacedaemonians*, *Sicyons*, *Thebans*, *Epirots*, and *Macedons*, among whom the Regal Dignity flourished a far longer time then the popular rule, *Non optine populi sed nascendi condicione regnatum est,* their kings reigned not by the election of the people, but by the condition of their birth: and what shall we say of the *Parthians*, *Indians*, *Africans*, *Tartars*, *Arabians*, *Aethiopians*, *Numidians*, *Muscovites*, *Celtans*, *Spaniards*, *French*, *English* and of many other kingdoms that were obtained, either by gift, as *Abdolonimus* received his kingdom of *Alexander*, *Juba* the kingdom of *Numidia* from *Augustus*, and the *French* king got the kingdoms of the *Naples* and *Sicily*, or by will, as the *Romans* had the kingdoms of *Egypt*, *Bithinia*, *Pergamus*, and *Asia*, or by

Arms

Roffen. de pot. test. Papa, 182

Pineda de rebu, Solo l. 2. c. 2

*bas nobilitas
non zinnat
or hawolla
7adw stoude
the people
should bestow
the greatest
favour or dig
nity on earth.
Esay 41.8.*

Ar. 1. pol. 1.3.

*The nature of
the people.
Blacod. p. 61.
and as T. Liv.
saith, Aus ser
vit humiliter,
aut dominatur
superbe.*

*Of all the
kings of the
world, very
few made by
the suffrage of
the People.*

Idem, pag. 63.

*Quintus Cur
tius.*

Claud. de 4.
conf. Honorii.

Arms, as many of the aforesaid kingdoms were first gotten, and were always transmitted afterwards to posterity by the hereditary right of blood. And the Poet could say;

terra dominis pelagique futuras

Immenso decuit rerum de principe nasci.

It behoved the Kings of the earth to be born of Kings.

Children and
servants not
allowed to
choofe what
fathers and
masters they
please.

Besides we must all confess, that the King is the *Father* of people, the *Head* of the *Common-wealth*, and the *Master* of all his subjects: and can you shew me, that God ever appointed that the *Children* should make choice of their fathers? then surely all would be the sons of *Princes*; but though fathers may adopt their sons, as the King may make a *Turke* or any other stranger a free *Denizon*, yet Children may not choose whom they please for their Fathers, but they are bound to honour those fathers that God hath appointed, or suffered to beget them; though the same should be never so poor, never so wicked; so the wives, though while they are free, they may have the power to refuse whom they dislike, yet they have no such prerogative to choose what husbands they please; or if they had, I am sure no woman would be less than a *Lady*: and the like may be said of all servants.

Therefore the election of Kings by the People seems to me no *prime* Ordinance of God, but as our sectaries say, *all Civilds arbitrary*, A *humane* Ordination indeed, and the corruption of our Nature, a mere *scorum arbitrium*, and an imitation of what the Poet saith,

Optat Ephippia bos niger, optat arare caballus.

The People
are in all
things greedy
to have their
own wills.

Just as if the women would fain have that Law of liberty to choose what husbands they please, and the servants to make choice of what Masters they like best: so the People, never contented with whom God sendeth, never satisfied with his Ordinance, would fain pull their necks out of God's yoke, and become their own choosers; both of their Kings and of their Priests, and indeed of all things else; when as nothing doth please them but what they do, and none can content them, but whom themselves will choose; and their choice cannot long satisfy their mindes, but as the Jews received Christ into *Jerusalem* with the joyfull acclamation of *Hosanna*, and yet the next day had the malicious cry of *Crucifige*, so the least distaste makes them greedy of a new change; such is the nature of the People.

But though I said before; the election of our chiefe Governours may for many respects be approved of God among some States, yet I hope by this that I have set down, it is most apparent unto all men, contrary to the tenet of our *Anabaptistick* Sectaries, that the hereditary succession of Kings to govern God's People, is their indubitable right, and the immediate, prime, principal Ordinance of God: therefore it concerns every man, as much as his soul is worth, to examine seriously, whether to fight against their own King, be not so resist the Ordinance of God, for which, God threatneth no less punishment then damnation, from which *Machiavel* cannot preserve us, nor any policy of State procure a dispensation.

CHAP IV.

Sheweth, what we should not do, and what we should do for the King; the Rebels transgressing in all those: how the Israelites honoured their persecuting King in Egypt, how they behaved themselves under Artaxerxes, Abashuerus, and under all their own Kings of Israel; and how our Kings are of the like institution with the Kings of Israel; proved in the chiefest respects at large; and therefore to have the like honour and obedience.

2. **A**S every lawfull King is to be truly honoured in regard of God's Ordinance, so likewise in respect of God's precept, which commandeth us to honour the King; and this duty is so often inculcated, and so fully laid upon us in the holy Scripture, that I scarce know any duty towards man so much pressed, and so plainly expressed, as this is;

1. *Negatively*, what we should not do, to deprive him of his Honour.
2. *Affirmatively*, what we should do, to manifest, and magnifie this Honour towards him: for,

1. Our very thoughts, words, and works are imprisoned, and chained up in the linkes of God's strictest prohibition; that they should no wayes peep forth, to produce the least dishonour unto our King: for,

1. The Spirit of God, by the mouth of the wisest of men commands us to think no ill of the King, let the King be what he will, the precept is without restriction; you must think no ill, that is, you must not intend, or purpose in your thoughts to do the least ill office or disparagement to the King that ruleth over you, be the same King virtuous or vicious, milde, or cruell, good or bad: this is the sense of the Holy Ghost. For, as the childe with Cham shall become accursed, if he doth but dishonour, and despise his wicked father (or his father in his wickedness) whom in all duty he ought to reverence, so the Subject shall be liable to Gods vengeance, if his heart shall intend the least ill to his most tyrannicall King.

2. The same Spirit saith, *Thou shalt not revile the Gods*; that is, the Judges of the Land, nor curse that is, in saint Pauls phrase, *speake evil of the Ruler of the people*: and what can be more evill, then to bely his Religion, to traduce his Government, and to make so faithfull a Christian King, as faithles as a Cretan, which is commonly broached by the Rebels, and Preached by their seditionous Teachers.

3. The great Jehovah gives this peremptory charge to all Subjects, saying, *Touch not mine Anointed*; which is the least indignity that may be: and therefore Davids heart smote him when he did but cut off the lap of Sauls garment. What then can be said for them that draw their swords, and shoot their Cannons, to take away the life of Gods Anointed, which is the greatest mischief they can do? I beleive no distinction can blinde the judgment of Almighty God, but his revengfull hand will finde them out, that so mali:iously transgress his precepts, and think by their subtilty to escape his punishments.

2. The Scriptures do positively, and plainly command us to shew all honour unto our King. For,

1. Solomon saith, *I counsell thee to keep the Kings commandment*; or, as the phrase imports, *to observe the mouth of the King*; that is, not onely his written law, but also his verball commands, and that in regard of the word of God; that is, in respect of thy Religion, or the solemn vow which thou makest at thine initiation, and incorporation into Gods Church, to obey all the precepts

2. All kings are to be honoured in respect of God's precept, considered two wayes.

1. What we should not do.

1. To think no ill of the King; Curse not the Kings, no not in thy thoughts, *Eccles. 10. 20.*

2. To say no ill of the King. *Exod. 22. 28. Act 23. 5. ἀπαρτὰ τῷ βασιλεὶ καὶ τῷ ἡγεμῶνι.*

3. To do no hurt to the King. *Psal. 105. 15. 1 Sam. 24. 4. 5.*

2. What we should do to honour the King.

1. To observe the kings commands, *Eccles. 8. 2.*

*Et si religio sol-
lium, nulla no-
bis cum caelo ra-
tio est. Lactant.
Inst. l. 3. c. 10.*

of God, whereof this is one, to honour and obey the King; or else that oath of allegiance and fidelity, which thou hast sworn unto thy King in the presence, and with the approbation of thy God, which certainly will plague all perjurers, and take revenge on them that take his name in vain; which is the infallible, and therefore most miserable condition of all the perjured Rebels of this Kingdom. For if moral honesty teacheth us to keep our promises, yea, though it were to our own hindrance, then much more should Christianity teach us to observe our deliberate and solemn oaths, whose violation can bear none other fruit, then the heavy censure of God's fearful indignation.

But when the prevalent faction took a solemn Oath and Protestation to defend all the Privileges of Parliament, and the Rights of the Subjects, and then presently forgetting their oath, and forsaking their faith, by throwing the Bishops out of the House of Peers (which all men knew to be a singular Priviledge, and the House of Lords acknowledged to be the indubitable right of the Bishops) and their doctrine being to dissent with all oaths for the furtherance of the cause, it is no wonder they falsifie all oaths that they have made unto the King.

How the pre-
valent Faction
of the Parlia-
ment forswore
themselves.

2. To obey the
kings com-
mandments.
Josh. 1. 18.

* Quia in tali-
bus non obedi-
es, mortaliter
peccant, nisi
foret illud quod
praeceptum con-
tra praeceptum
Dei, vel in sa-
lutis dispendi-
um: Angel.
Summa verb.
obedientia.

3. To give the
king no just
cause of anger.

Prov. 2. 2.
The Rebels
have given
him cause
enough to be
provoked.

4. To speak
reverently to
the king, and
of the king.
Eccles. 8. 4.

2. The people said unto Joshua, *Whosoever rebelleth against thy commandment, and will not hearken to the words of thy mouth, in all that thou commandest, he shall be put to death:* Surely this was an absolute government, and though martial, yet most excellent to keep the people within the bounds of their obedience; for they knew that where rebellion is permitted, there can be no good performance of any duty; and it may be a good lesson for all the higher powers, not to be too clement (which is the incouragement of Rebels) to most obstinate, trayterous, and rebellious Subjects, who daring not to stir under rigid Tyrants, do kick with their heels against the most pious Princes: and therefore my soul wisheth (not out of any desire of blood, but from my love to peace) that this rule were well observed, *Whosoever rebelleth against thy commandment, he shall be put to death.**

3. The wisest of all Kings, but the King of Kings, saith, *The fear of a King is as the roaring of a Lion, who so provoketh him to anger, sinneth against his own soul.* And I believe that the taking up of Armes by the Subjects against their own King, that never wronged them, and the seeking to take away his life, and the life of his most faithful servants, is cause enough to provoke any King to anger, if he be not a mad dog, too Stoically given to abandon all passions: and that anger should belike the roaring of a Lion to them that would pull out the Lions eyes, and take away the Lions life.

4. The King of Heaven saith of these earthly Kings, *That where the word of a King is, there is power, and who may say unto him, what dost thou?* And Elihu demands, *Is it fit to say to a King, thou art wicked, or to Princes, you are ungodly?* Truly if Elihu were now here, he might hear many unsitter things said to our King by his own people, and which is more strange, by some Preachers; for some of them have said, but most maliciously, and more falsely, that he is a Papist, he is the Traytor, unworthy to reign, unfit to live; good God! do these men think, God saith truth, *Where the word of a King is, there is power,* that is, to blast the conspiracies, and to confound the spirits of all Rebels, who shall one day finde it; because the wrath of God at last will be awaked against their treachery, and to revenge their perjury by inabling the King to accomplish the same upon all that resist him, as he promised to doe in the like case,

Jerem. 27. 8.

5. To pray for
the king.

Ezra 6. 10.

1 Tim. 2. 1, 2.

5. The Israelites being in captivity under the King of Babylon, were commanded to pray for the life of that Heathen King, and for the life of his sons. And Saint Paul exhorteth Timothy to make supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks for Kings, and for all that are in authority: and how do our men pray for our King? in many Pulpits not at all, and in some places for his overthrow, for the shortning of his life, and the finishing of his dayes (*nullum fit in omne pondus:*) and they give thanks indeed, not for his good, but for their own supposed good success against him; thus they pravaricate and pervert

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 19

pervert the words of the Apostle to their own destruction, when as the Prophet saith, *Their prayers shall be turned into sin.* Psal. 109. 6.

6. Christ commandeth us to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesars; that is, (as I shall more fully shew hereafter) your inward duties of honour, love, reverence, and the like: and your outward debts, tolls, tribute, custome, &c. 6. To render all his dues unto him.

Arms to his destruction. I might produce many other places and precepts of Holy Scripture to inforce this duty to honour the king, but what will suffice him, *cui Roma parum est*; Luke 16. 31. if they beleive not Moses, neither will they believe, if one should arise from the dead; and if these things cannot move them, then certainly all the world cannot remove them from their Wickedness. Yet

3. *Quia exempla movent, plus quam precepta docent*; you shall finde this doctrine practised by the perpetual demeanour of all Nations. For

1. If you looke upon the Children of Israel in the Land of Egypt, it cannot be denied but Pharaoh was a wicked king, and exercised great cruelty, and exceeding tyranny against Gods people; yet Moses did not excite the Israelites to take arms against him, though they were more in number, being six hundred thousand men, and abler for strength to make their party good then Pharaoh was, as the king himself confesseth; but they contained themselves within the bounds of their Obedience, and waited Gods leisure for their deliverance; because they knew their patient suffering would more manifest their own piety, and aggravate king Pharaoh's obstinacy, and especially magnify Gods glory, then their undutiful rebelling could any ways illustrate the least of these.

2. Davids demeanour towards Saul is most memorable; for though (as one saith) king Saul discovered in part the described manner of such a king, as Samuel had foretold; yet David and all his followers performed and observed the prescribed conditions, that are approved by God in true Subjects: never resisting, never rebelling against his king, though his king most unjustly persecuted him. Samuel also, when he had pronounced Sauls rejection, yet did he never incite the people to Rebellion, but wept and prayed for him, and discharged all other duties, which formerly he had shewed to be due unto him; and Elias, that had as good repute with the people, and could as easily have stirred up sedition, as any of the seditious Preachers of this time; yet did he never persuade the Subjects to withstand the illegal commands of a most wicked king, that as the Scripture testifieth, had sold himself to work wickedness, and became the more exceedingly sinful by the provocation of Jezebel his most wicked wife, and harlot; but he honoured his Sovereignty, and feared his Majesty, when he fled away from his cruelty.

And because these are but particular presidents, I will name you two observable-examples of the whole Nation.

1. When Cyrus made a Decree, and his Decree (according to the Laws of the Medes and Persians) should be unalterable; that the Temple of Jerusalem should be re-edified, and the adversaries of the Jews obtained a letter from Artaxerxes to prohibit them, the people of God submitting themselves to the personal command of the king, contrary to that unalterable Law of Cyrus, pleaded neither the goodness of the work, nor the justness of the cause, but yielded to the kings will, and ceased from their work, until they obtained a new Licence in the second year of king Darius: and if it be objected that they built the Temple in despite of those that hindered them, with their sword in one hand, and a crowl in the other: it is rightly answered; that having the kings leave to build it, they might justly resist their enemies, that did therein, not onely shew their malice unto them, but also resisted the will of the King.

2. When Ahasuerus, to satisfie the unjust desire of his proud favorite, had wickedly decreed, and most tyrannically destined all the Nation of the Jews to a sudden death; yet this dutiful people did not undutifully rebel, and plead

3. All kings should be honoured by the example of all Nations.

1. The Israelites. 1. In Egypt. Exod. 12. 37. Exod. 1. 9.

2. Under Saul. The loyal Subjects belief, p. 55.

1 Sam. 15.

3. Under Ahab.

1 Reg. 21. 25.

Two examples of the whole Nation under Heathen kings 1. Under Artaxerxes. Ezra 1. 1.

2. Under Ahasuerus. Hester. 3. 10:

the King was seduced by evil counsel, and misguided by proud Haman, therefore nature teaching them, *vim vi pelleret*, to stand upon their own defence, they would not submit their necks to his unjust Decree; but, being versed in God's *Laws*, and unacquainted with these new devices, they return to God, and betake themselves to their prayers; until God had put it into the Kings heart to grant them leave to defend themselves, and to sheath their swords in the bowels of their adversaries; which is a most memorable example of most dutiful unresisting Subjects: an example of such piety, as would make our Land happy, if our zealous generation were but acquainted with the like Religion.

Hester. 8. 11.

The author of
the Treatise of
Monarchy,
p. 32.

Henric. Ste-
phani. in libello
de hac re, con-
sensus in omnes
respub. debere
leges Hebraeo-
rum, tanquam
ab ipso Deo pro-
fectas, & per
consequens om-
nium optimas
reducit.

1 Sam. 8 4, 10.

Sozom. hist.
l. 6. c. 6.
Niceph. hist.
l. 11. c. 1.

The wife may
not forsake
her husband,
though he
break his vow,
and neglect
his duty.

But here I know what our Anabaptist, Brownist, and Puritan will say, that I build Castles in the air, and lay down my frame without foundation; because all Kings are not such as the Kings of Israel and Judah were, as the Kings that God gave unto the Jews, and prescribed special Laws both for the Kings to govern, and the people to obey them; but all other Nations have their own different and several Laws and Constitutions, according to which Laws their Kings are tyed to rule, and the Subjects bound to obey, and no otherwise.

I answer, that indeed it is granted there are several Constitutions of Royalties in several Nations, and there may be Regna Laconica, conditional and provisional Kingdoms, wherein perhaps upon a real breach of some express conditions, some Magistrates like the Ephori, may pronounce a forfeiture, as well in the successive, as in the elective Kingdoms; because (as one faith) succession is not a new title to more right, but a legal continuance of what was first gotten: which I can no ways yield unto, if you mean it of any Sovereign King, (because the name of a King doth not always denote the sovereign power, as the Kings of Lacedemon though so called, yet had no regal authority; and the Dictator for the time being, and the Emperours afterwards had an absolute power, though not the name of Kings) for I say, that such a government is not properly a regal government, ordained by God, but either an Aristocratical or Democratical government instituted by the people, though approved by God for the welfare of the Commonwealth; but as the Israelites desired a King to judge them like all the Nations, that is, such a King as Aristotle describeth, such as the Nations had intrusted with an absolute and full regal power, as Sigonius sheweth, so the Kings of the Nations, if they be not like the Spartan Kings, were and are like the Kings of Israel, both in respect of their ordination from God, by whom all Kings, as well of other Nations as of Israel do reign, and of their full power and inviolable authority over the people; which have no more dispensation to resist their Kings, then the Jews had to resist theirs. And therefore Valentinian, though an elected Emperour; yet, when he was requested by his Electours to admit of an associate, answered, *it was in your power to chuse me to be an Emperour, but now, after you have chosen me, what you require is in my power, not in you: Vobis tanquam subditis competit parere, mihi verò qua facienda sunt, cogitare*, it becomes you to obey, as Subjects, and I am to consider what is fittest to be done.

And when the wife takes an husband, there is a compact, agreement, and a solemn vow past in the presence of God, that he shall love, cherish, and maintain her; yet if he breaks this vow, and neglects both to love and to cherish her, she cannot renounce him, she must not forsake him, she may not follow after another; and there is a greater marriage betwixt the King and his people: therefore though as a wife they might have power to chuse him, and in their choice to tie him to some conditions, yet though he breaks them, they have no more power to abdicate their King, then the wife hath to renounce her husband, nor so much, because she may complain and call her husband before a competent Judge, and produce witnesses against him; whereas there can be no Judge betwixt the King and his people, but onely God: and no witnesses can be found on earth, because it is against all Laws, and against all Reason, that they which rise against their king, should be both the witnesses against him, and the Judges to condemn

condemn him: or were it so, that all other Kings have not the like constitution which the Scripture setteth down for the Kings of *Israel*; yet I say, that excepting some circumstantial Ceremonies, in all real points, the Laws of our Land are (so far as men could make them) in all things agreeable to the Scriptures in the constituting of our Kings, according to the liveliest pattern of the Kings of *Israel*; as it is well observed by the Authour of the *Appeal to thy conscience*, in these four special respects.

An Appeal to thy conscience pag 30. Our Kings of the like Institution to the Kings of *Israel*.

1. Respect. Kings of *England* are Kings by birth, Proved. 1. Reason.

2. Reason. Coke, 1. 7. Calvin's case.

3. Reason. Speed, l. 9. c. 16.

Speed, l. 9. c. 16.

4. Reason. 1. Jacobi.

Speed, l. 9. c. 16.

The right heir to the Kingdom is King before he is crowned. Why the peoples consent is asked. 2. Respect.

2 Chron. 19. 11 The absolute authority of the Kings of *England*. Coke 7. rep. fol. 25. 6. Polyd. Virgil. lib 11. Speed. Stow, &c.

Smith de repub. Angl. l. 2. c. 4. 5. He

- 1. In his Right to the Crown.
 - 2. In his Power and Authority.
 - 3. In his Charge and Duty.
 - 4. In the rendering of his Account.
- } For

1. As the Kings of *Israel* were hereditary by succession, and not elective, unless there were an extraordinary and divine designation, as in *David*, *Salomon*, *Ishbosheth*: so do the Kings of *England* obtain their Kingdoms by birth, or hereditary succession, as it appeareth,

1. By the Oath of Allegiance, used in every Leete, that you shall be true and faithful to our Sovereign Lord King *Charles*, and to his Heires.

2. Because we owe our allegiance to the King in his natural capacity, that is, as he is *Charles* the Son and Heir apparent of King *James*; when as homage cannot be done to any King in his politique capacity, the body of the King being invisible in that fence.

3. Because in that case it is expressly affirmed, that the King holds the Kingdom of *England* by birth-right, inherent by descent from the blood-royal: therefore to shew how inseparable this right is from the next in blood. Hen. the 4. though he was of the blood-royal, being first cozen unto the King, and had the Crown resigned unto him by Rich. the 2. and confirmed unto him by Act of Parliament; yet upon his death-bed, confessed he had no right thereunto, as Speed writeth.

4. Because it was determined by all the Judges, at the Arraignment of *Warson* and *Clerke*, that immediately by descent his Majesty was completely and absolutely King, without the Ceremony of Coronation, which was but a Royal Ornament and outward Solemnization of the descent. And it is illustrated by Hen. 6. that was not crowned till the ninth year of his Reign; and yet divers were attainted of High Treason before that time, which could not have been done, had he not been King. And we know, that upon the death of any of our Kings, his Successor is immediately proclaimed King; to shew that he hath his Kingdom by descent, and not by the people at his Coronation; whose consent is then asked, not because they have any power to deny their consent, or refuse him for their King; but, that the King having their assent, may with greater security and confidence rely upon their loyalty.

2. As the Kings of *Israel* had full power and authority to make war and conclude peace, to call the greatest Assemblies, as *Moses*, *Joshua*, *David*, *Jehosaphat*, and the rest of the Kings did; to place and displace the greatest Officers of State, as *Solomon* placed *Abiathar* in *Sados*'s room, and *Jehosaphat* appointed *Amariah* and *Zebadiah* rulers of the greatest Affaires, and had all the Militia of the Kingdom in their hands: so the Kings of *England* have the like; for,

1. He onely can lawfully proclaim war, as I shewed before; and he onely can conclude peace.

2. There is no Assembly that can lawfully meet but by his Authority; and as the Parliament was first devised and instituted by the king, as all our Historians write in the life of *Henry* the first, so they cannot meet but by the king's Writ.

3. All Laws, Customs, and Franchises are granted and confirmed unto the people by the King. Rot. Claus. 1. R. 2. n. 44.

4. All the Officers of the Realm, whether Spiritual or Temporal, are chosen and established by him; as the highest immediately by himself, and the inferior by an authority derived from him.

The absurdities of them that deny the Militia to the King.

3. He hath the sole power of ordering and disposing all the Castles, Forts, and strong Holds; and all the Ports, Havens, and all other parts of the Militia of this kingdom; or otherwise it would follow, that the king had power to proclaim war, but not to be able to maintain it; and that he is bound to defend his subjects, but is denied the means to protect them; which is such an absurdity, as cannot be answered by all the House of Commons.

Smith de Repub. l. 2.
Camden Britan. p. 332.

In the Preface to a Stat. 24.
Hen. 8. cap. 12.

6. The kings of Israel were unto their people their honour, their Sovereignty, their life, and the very breath of their nostrils, as themselves acknowledge; and so the kings of England are the life, the head, and the authority of all things that be done in the Realm of England; *supremam potestatem & merum imperium apud nos habentes, nec in Imperii clientela sunt, nec investituram ab alio accipientes, nec prater Deum superiorem agnoscetes*; and their Subjects are bound by Oath to maintain the kings Sovereignty, in all causes, and over all persons, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil; and that not onely as they are singularly considered, but over all collectively represented in the body politick; for by sundry divers, old authentick Histories and Chronicles, it is manifestly declared and expressed, that this Realm of England is an Empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme head and king, having the dignity and royal estate of the Imperial Crown of the same; unto whom a body politick, compact of all sorts and degrees of people, divided in terms and by names of Spirituality and temporality, have been bounden and owen to bear next to God a natural and humble obedience.

3 Respect.

3. As the duty of every one of the kings of Israel was to be *custos utriusque tabulae*, to keep the Law of God, and to have a special care of his Religion; and then to do justice and judgment, according to the Law of nature, and to observe all the judicial Laws of that kingdom: so are the kings of England obliged to discharge the same duties.

The duty of the kings of England.

1. To have the chiefest care to defend the faith of Christ, and to preserve the honour of Gods Church; as I shewed before.

2. To maintain common right, according to the rules and dictates of Nature. And.

3. To see the particular Laws and Statutes of his own kingdom well observed amongst his people.

To all which the king is bound, not onely *virtute officii*, in respect of his office, but also *vinculo juramenti*, in respect of his Oath, which enjoyneth him to guide his actions, not according to the desires of an unbridled will, but according to the rules of these established Laws; neither do our Divines give any further liberty to any king, but if he failes in these he doth offend in his duty.

4 Respect.
Psal. 51. 4.

4. As the kings of Israel were accountable for their actions unto none, but onely unto God, and therefore king David after he had committed both murder and adultery, saith unto God; *Tibi soli peccavi*, as if he had said, none can call me to any account for what I have done but thou alone; and we never read that either the people did call, or the Prophets persuaded them to call any of their most idolatrous, tyrannical, or wicked kings to any account for their idolatry, tyranny, or wickedness; even so the kings of England are accountable to none but to God.

The kings of England accountable for their actions only to God
1 Reason
Smith de repub. l. 1. c. 9.
2 Reason.

1. Because they have their Crown immediately from God, who first gave it to the Conquerour through his sword, and since to the succeeding kings, by the ordinary means of hereditary succession.

2. Because the Oath which he takes at his Coronation binds him onely before God, who alone can both judge him, and punish him if he forgets it.

3. Because there is neither condition, promise, or limitation, either in that Oath or in any other Covenant or compact that the king makes with the people, either at his Coronation, or at any other time, that he should be accountable, or that they should question and censure him for any thing that he should do.

4 Reason.

4. Because the Testimony of many famous Lawyers justify the same truth; for

for Bracton saith, if the king refuse to do what is just, *satis erit ei ad penam, quod Dominum expellet ultorem*, The Lord will be his avenger, which will be punishment enough for him; but of the kings grants and actions, *neq. privata persona, neq. iudicari debent disputare*. And Walsingham maketh mention of a Letter written from the Parliament to the Bishop of Rome, wherein they say, that a. b. apud Lin- certum & directum Dominium a prima institutione regni Anglia ad Regem perti- nuit, the certain and direct Dominion of this Kingdom from the very first institution thereof, hath belonged unto the King, who by reason of the arbitrary or free preeminence of the royal dignity and custome observed in all ages, ought not to answer before any Judge, either Ecclesiastical or Secular. Ergo neither before the Pope, nor Parliament, nor Presbytery.

Ex libera prae- minenti.

5. Reason.

No legitimate and just Parli- ment did ever question the actions, of their

Heningus c. 4. p. 93.

5. Because the constant custome and practice of this kingdom was ever such, that no Parliament at any time sought to censure their king, and either to depose him, or to punish him for any of all his actions; save onely those that were called in the troublesome and irregular times of our unfortunate Princes, and were swayed by those that were the heads of the most powerful Faction, to conclude most horrid and unjustifiable Acts, to the very shame of their judicial authorities as those factious Parliaments in the times of Hen. 3. king John, Rich. 2. and kings of Hen. 4. and others, whose acts in the judgment of all good authors, are not to be drawn into examples, when as they deposed their king for those pretended faults, whereof not the worst of them but is fairly answered, and all thirty three of them proved to be no way sufficient to depose him, by that excellent Civilian Heningus Arniseus.

And therefore seeing the Institution of our kings is not onely by Gods Law, but also by our own Laws, Customs, and practice thus agreeable to the Scripture kings, they ought to be as sacred and as inviolable to us, as the kings of Israel were to the Jews; and as reverently honoured and obeyed by us, as both the Apostles, Saint Peter, and Saint Paul, advise us to honour and obey the king.

CHAP. V.

Sheweth, how the Heathens honoured their Kings; how Christ exhibited all due honour unto Heathen and wicked Kings; how he carried himself before Pilate; and how all the good Primitive Christians behaved themselves towards their Heathen persecuting Emperours.

2. WE finde that not onely the Jews, that were the people of God, a royal Priesthood, that had the Oracles of God, and therefore no wonder that they were so conformable in their obedience to the will of God, but the Gentiles also that knew not God knew this by the light of nature, that they were bound to yield all honour unto their kings. For Quintus Curtius tells us, that the Persians had such a divine estimation and love unto their king, that Alexander could not perswade them either for fear or reward, to tell him where their king was gone, or to reveale any of his intentions, or to do any other thing that might in any ways prejudice the life, or the affairs of their king. And Justin tell us, that the Sicilians did bear so great a respect unto the last Will and Testament of a deceased king, that they disdain not to obey a slave, whom he had appointed Regent, during the minority of his son. And Herodotus saith, that when Xerxes fled from Greece in a vessel that was so full of men of war, that it was impossible for him to be saved, without casting some part of them into the Sea; he said, O yee men of Persia, let some among you testifie that he hath care of his King,

2. The Heathens.

Perse quidem

olim aliquid

caeleste aque

divinum in re-

gibus inesse fla-

mebant. Ofor.

de Justin. regis,

A. l. 4. p. 106.

Justin. l. 4.

Herodot. l. 8.

What great re-

spect men in

former times

did bear unto

their kings,

Justin. l. 7.

Aubanus de A-
frica. l. i. p. 39.
Reges divinos
love genitos, a
lege nutritos,
Homerus &
Hesiodus appel-
larunt.

Aubanus l. 8.
p. 141.

* And as the
Poet saith,
Like Subjects
arm'd, the more
their Princes
gave,
They this ad-
vantage took,
the more to
crave.

Lucan. lib. 1.
3. Christians.

Matth. 23. 23.
1. Christ him-
self exhibited
all due honour
unto wicked
kings.

King, whose safety is in your disposition; then the Nobility which accompanied him having adored him, did cast themselves into the Sea, till the vessel was unburthened, and the King preserved. And I fear these Pagans will rise in judgement to condemn our Nobility, that seek the destruction of their King. And the Macedonians had such a reverent opinion of their King, that being foyled in war, before they returned again to the battle, they fetched their cradles wherein their young King lay, and set him in the midst of the Camp, as supposing that their former misfortune proceeded, because they neglected to take with them the good augurs of their King's presence. And Boemus Aubanus speaking of the Egyptian Kings, saith, that they have so much good will and love from all men, *ut non solum sacerdotibus, sed etiam singulis Aegyptiis, major regis quam suorum filiorumque, aut aliorum principum salutis incuset cura;* that not only the Priests, but also the Egyptians have a greater care of the safety of their King, then of their wives or children, or any other Princes of the Land. And the same Author describing the manner, how the Tartars create their King, saith, the Princes, Dukes, Barons, and all the people meet, then they place him that is to be their King on a Throne of gold, and prostrating themselves upon the ground, they cry with an unanimous and loud voice, *Rogamus, velamus & precipimus, ut domineris nobis, We intreat you and beseech you to reign over us;* and he answereth, *If you would have this of me, it is necessary that you should be obedient to do whatsoever I shall command you; when I call you, to come; whethersoever I shall send you, to go; whomsoever I shall command you to kill, to do it immediately without fear; and to commit the whole Kingdom into my hands: then they do all answer, We are willing to do all this.* And then he saith again, *Therefore from henceforth, oris mei sermo, gladius meus erit, the word of my mouth shall be the sword of my power; then all the people do applaud him.* And a little after he saith, *in ejus manibus seu potestate omnia sunt, all things are in his hands and power: no man dare say, this is mine, or that is his: no one man may dwell in any part of the Land, but in that which is assigned unto him by the King. Nemini licet imperatoris verba mutare, nemini lata ab illo sententia qualicunque modo contrahere; and no man dares alter the Kings words, nor gain say his sentence whatsoever it is.* And we read that the Turk is as absolute in his Dominions, and as readily obeyed in his commands as the Tartar; and yet these Subjects learn this duty of honour and obedience unto their Kings onely by the light of nature; and if grace and the Gospel hath made us free from this slavish subjection, should we not be thankful unto our God, and be contented with that liberty which he hath given us; but because we have so much, we will have more: * and seeing God hath delivered us from the rage of tyrannous Kings, we will free our selves from all government, and disobey the commands of the most clement Princes. We may remember the fable of the Frogs, where they prayed unto Jupiter to have a King, and what was the success thereof, — *omnia dat quæ jussa negat;* and he that undutifully denyeth his due obedience, may unwillingly be forced to undue subjection; as the Israelites, not contented with just Samuel, shall be put under an unjust Saul. So God may justly deal with us for our injustice towards our King, to deny that honour unto him which God commanded to be given, and the very Heathens have not detained from their Kings. But I left with Saint Paul we should be blamed (though unjustly) for bringing the uncircumcised Greeks into the Temple, for alleading the disorderly practice of blinde Heathens to be a pattern for these zealous Christians: (which thing, notwithstanding our Saviour did, when he presented Sodom and Gomorrah before Capernaum; yea, Tyrus and Sidon before Corazin and Bethsaida.) we cannot want the example of good Christians, and a multitude of most holy Martyrs, to shame the practice of these prophane hypocrites. For no doubt Christ himself, the author and the finisher of our faith, never left any plainer mark of his religion, then to propagate the same by patience; as on the

the other side, there cannot be a more *suspicious sign* of a false Religion, then to enlarge it and protect it by *violence*: and therefore when the Inhabitants of a certain *Samaritan* village refused to admit Christ and his Disciples into their Town, and so renounced him and his Religion; *James* and *John*, two principal members of his Court, remembering what *Elias* did in the like case, asked if they should not command fire to consume them, as *Elias* did? that is, if they should not use their best endeavours, and be confident of Gods assistance, to destroy those prophane rejecters of Christ, and refusers of his religion? Our Saviour though ever mecke, yet now moved at this their *unchristian* thought, rebuked them with that sharpness, as he did *Saint Peter*, when he committed the like error, and said, *You know not what manner of Spirit you are of*: as if he had said, you understand not the difference betwixt the profession of *Elias*, and my religion; for he was such a Zealot, that *jure zelotarum*, and the extraordinary instinct of Gods Spirit that was in him, might at that time (when the Jews were governed by a *Synagoga*, as *Josephus* saith, and God presiding as it were their King amongst them, and interposing rules by his Oracles, and other particular directions, that should oblige and warrant them, as well as their standing Law) do this or the like act, though not authorized by any ordinary Law; and those actions thus performed, are as just and as legal as any other that proceed from the authority of the *supreme Magistrate*; but that dispensation of the Prophets is now ended, and the profession of my Disciples must be far otherwise; for I do not authorize my servants to pretend to the Spirit of *Elias*, or to do as *Phineas* and others, extraordinary men among the Jews, have done, but they must learn of me to be mecke and lowly in heart, and rather to suffer wrong of others, then to offer the least injury unto their meanest neighbour, much less to resist their *supreme Magistrate*.

And when Christ was apprehended, not by any legal power of the *supreme Magistrate*, but by the rude servants of the High Priests; and *Saint Peter*, as zealous for his Master as our Zealots are for their Religion, drew his sword and smote off *Malchus* ear, a most justifiable and commendable act, a man would think, to defend Christ, and in him all Christianity; our Saviour bids him put up his sword, and he adds a reason most considerable to all Christians; for all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword: that is, all they that without lawful authority take the sword, to defend me and my religion with the sword, they deserve to suffer by the sword; and it is very well observed by the Author, of resisting the lawfull Magistrate upon colour of religion, that the two parallel places quoted in the margin of our Bibles, are very pertinent to this purpose; for that Law concerning the effusion of blood, being not any prohibition to the legal cutting off of Malefactors, is notwithstanding urged against *S. Peter*, to shew that his shedding of blood in defence of religion was altogether illegal, and prohibited by that Law: and the other place (where immediately after these words, *He that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword*; the Holy Ghost adjoyneth, *here is the patience and the faith of the Saints*;) doth most clearly shew, that all forcible resistance is inconsistent with the religion of the Saints; because their faith must be ever accompanied with their patience; and it is contrary to their profession to save themselves by any violent opposition of them that have the lawful authority.

But that example which is *unparallel'd*, is the suffering of Christ under *Pontius Pilate*; for the whole course of their proceeding against Christ was illegal, when as no Law can be found to justify the delivering up of an innocent person to the will of his accusers, as *Pilate* did our Saviour Christ; and our Saviour had ability and strength enough to have defended himself; for he might have commanded more then twelve Legions of Angels to assist him; yet our Saviour acknowledging the legal power of *Pilate* to proceed against him, that it was given him from above, makes no resistance either to maintain his doctrine or to preserve his life, but in all things submits himself to their illegal proceedings, and gives

Luke 9. 54.

1 Reg. 18.

2 Reg. 1.

1 Reg. 18.

2 Reg. 1.

1 Reg. 18.

2 Reg. 1.

1 Reg. 18.

2 Reg. 1.

Matth. 11. 29.

How Christ carried himself before Pilate and the High Priests.

Pag. 6.

Gen. 9. 6.

Revel. 13. 10.

John 19. 16.

John 19. 12.

those in the Revel. (which say, they are Jewes, and are not) in stead of honouring, transcendently to hate, and most violently to persecute their own most Christian, and most gracious King; a sin so infinitely sinfull, that I do not wonder to see the greatness of Gods anger to powre all the plagues that we suffer, upon this Nation; but I do rather admire, and adore his wonted clemency and patience, that he hath not all this while either sent forth his fire and lightning from heaven, as he did upon Sodome and Gomorrah, to consume them, or cause the earth to swallow them, as it did Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, for this their rebellion against their King; or that he hath not showed down far greater plagues, and more miserable calamities then hitherto we have suffered; because we have suffered these Antichristian Rebels to proceed so far, and have with the Merozites neglected all this while to add our strength to assist the Lords Anointed, to reduce his seduced Subjects to their obedience, and to impose condigne punishments upon the seducers, and the ringleaders of this unnaturall, and most horrible Rebellion.

Revel. 2. 9.

Gen. 19. 24.

Nom. 16. 31.

Judges 5. 23.

CHAP. VI.

Sheweth, the two chiefeſt duties of all Christian Kings; to whom the charge and preservation of Religion is committed; three severall opinions; the strange speeches of the Disciplinarians against Kings are shewed; and Viretus his scandalous reasons are answered; the double service of all Christian Kings; and how the Heathen Kings and Emperours had the charge of Religion.

2. **A**S all Kings are to be honoured in the fore-said respects, so all Christian Kings are to have a double honour, in respect of the double charge and duty that is laid upon them: As,

1. To preserve true religion, and to defend the faith of Christ, against all Atheists, Hereticks, Schismatics, and all other adversaries of the Gospel, within their Territories and Dominions.

2. To preserve their Subjects from all forraigne adversaries, and to prevent civill dissentions, to govern them according to the rules of justice and equity, which all other Kings are bound to do; but neither did, nor can do it so fully, and so faithfully as the Christian Kings; because no Law, either Solons, Lycurgus, Pompilius, or any other Greek or Latine; nor any Politique, Plato, Aristotle, Machievle, or whom you will, old or new, can so perfectly set down, and so fairly declare, *quid justum, & quid honestum*, as the Law of Christ hath done; and therefore, seeing *omnis bonus præsупponit omni*, the honour is but the reward of labour, and that this labour, or duty of Kings to maintain true Religion, well performed, and faithfully discharged, brings most glory unto God, and the greatest honour to all Kings; when it is more to be, with Constantine, a nursing father to Gods Church, then it is to be with Alexander the sole Monarch of the known world; I will first treat of their charge and care, and the power that God hath given them to defend the faith, and to preserve true Religion. And

1. Religion (saith a learned Divine) without authority, is no Religion; for, as Saint Augustine saith, no true Religion can be received by any means, without some mighty force of authority: therefore if that Religion, whereby thou hopest to be saved, hath no authority to ground it self upon: or if that authority, whereby thy Religion is settled, be mis-placed in him that hath no au-

1. Christian Kings are to have double honour, in respect of their double duty.

1. Duty.

2. Duty.

1. Care of Kings to preserve true Religion.

Aug. de utilitate credendi cap. 9.

To whom the charge of preserving religion is committed.

3 Opinions.

1. Opinion.

Unde saepe obijciunt dictum Hostii ad Constantium: Tibi Deus imperium commisit, nobis qua sunt ecclesiastica, contredidit. Sed hic intelligitur de executione officii, non de gubernatione ecclesiae. Sicut ibi manifestum est, cum dicitur, neque fas est nobis in terris imperium tenere, neque tibi imperium administrare & sacramentorum potestatem habere. (i.e.) in predicatione Evangelii, & administratione Sacramentorum & similibus.

Survey of Discip. c. 22.
p. 251.

How the Devil raised instruments to hinder the reformation.

thority at all, what hope of salvation remaining in that Religion canst thou conceive? but it is concluded on all sides, that the right authority of preserving true religion must reside in him, and proceed from him, by whose supreme power and government it is to be enacted and forced upon us: and therefore now the question is, and it is very much questioned, to whom the supreme government of our Religion ought rightly to be attributed, whereof I finde three several resolutions.

1. *Papistical*, which leaneth too much on the right hand.
2. *Anabaptistical*, which bendeth twice as much on the left hand.
3. *Orthodoxal* of the Protestants, that ascribe the same to him, on whom God himself hath conferred it.

1. That the Church of Rome maketh the Pope solely to have the supreme government of our Christian Religion, is most apparent out of all their writings; and you may see what a large book our Country-man Stapleton wrote against Master Horn Bishop of Winchester to justify the same. And Sanders to disprove the right of Kings, saith, *Fatemur personas Episcoporum, qui in toto orbe fuerunt, Romano Imperatori subjectas fuisse, quoniam Rex praest hominibus Christianis, verum non quia sunt Christiani, sed quia sunt homines, episcopis etiam ex ea parte rex praestet.* So Master Harding saith, that the office of a King in it self is all one every where, not onely among the Christian Princes, but also among the Heathen; so that a Christian King hath no more to do in deciding Church matters, or meddling with any point of Religion then a Heathen. And so Fekenham, and all the brood of Jesuites, do with all violence and virulency labour to disprove the Prince's authority and supremacy in Ecclesiastical causes, and the points of our Religion, and to transfer the same wholly unto the Pope and his Cardinals. Neither do I wonder so much, that the Pope having so universally gained, and so long continued this power, and retained this government from the right owners, should imploy all his Hierarchy to maintain that usurped authority, which he held with so much advantage to his Episcopal See, (though with no small prejudice to the Church of Christ, when, the Emperours being busied with other affairs, and leaving this care of religion and government of the Church to the Pope, the Pope to the Bishops, the Bishops to their Suffragans, and the Suffragans to the Monks, whose authority being little, their knowledge less, and their honesty least of all, all things were ruled with greater corruption and less truth then they ought to be) so long as possibly he should be able to possesse it,

But at last, when the light of the Gospel shined, and Christian Princes had the leisure to look, and the hearts to take hold upon their right, the learned men (opposing themselves against the Pope's usurped jurisdiction) have soundly proved the Sovereign authority of Christian Kings in the government of the Church; that, not onely in other Kingdoms, but also here in England, this power was annexed by divers Laws unto the interest of the Crown, and the lawful right of the King: and I am perswaded (saith that Reverend Archbishop Bancroft) had it not been that new adversaries did arise, and opposed themselves in this matter, the Papists before this time had been utterly subdued; for the Devil seeing himself so like to lose the field, stirred up in the bosom of Reformation a flock of violent and seditious men, that pretending a great deal of hate to Popery, have notwithstanding joined themselves, like Sampson's Foxes, with the worst of Papists, in the worst and most pernicious Doctrines that ever Papist taught, to rob Kings of their sacred and divine right, and to deprive the Church of Christ of the truth of all those points, that do most specially concern her government and governours: and though in the fury of their wilde zeal they do no less maliciously then falsely cast upon the soundest Protestants, the aspersions of Popery and Malignancy; yet I hope to make it plain unto my reader, that themselves

selves are the *Papists* indeed, or worse then *Papists* both to the Church and State: For,

2. As the whole Colledge of *Cardinals*, and all the Scholes of the *Jesuites*, do most *stiffly* defend this usurped authority of the *Pope*, which, as I said, may be with the less admiration, because of the *Princes* concession, and their own long possession of it; so on the other side there are sprung up of late a certain generation of *Vipers*, the brood of *Anabaptists* and *Brownists*, that do most violently strive not to detain what they have unjustly obtained, but a degree far worse, to pull the sword out of their Prince his hand, and to place authority on them which have neither right to own it, nor discretion to use it; and that is,

either { 1. A Consistory of *Presbyters*: or } For
2. A Parliament of *Lay men*. }

Where the *Puritans* place the authority to maintain religion.

1. These new *Adversaries* of this Truth, that would most impudently take away from *Christian* Princes the *supreme* and immediate authority, under Christ, in all *Ecclesiastical* Callings and Causes, will needs place the same in themselves, and a Consistorian company of their own Faction: a whole Volume would not contain their absurdities, falsities, and blasphemies that they have uttered about this point. I will only give you a taste of what some of the chief of them have belched forth against the *Divine* Truth of God's Word and the sacred Majesty of Kings. *Natter Calvin* a man otherwise of much worth, and worthy to be honoured, yet in this point transported with his own passion, calleth those, *Blasphemers*, that did call King *Henry* the eight the *supreme* Head of this Church of *England*: and *Scapleton* saith, that he handled the King himself with such villany and with so spiteful words, as he never handled the *Pope* more spitefully; and all for this Title of *Supremacy* in Church causes: and in his fifty fourth *Epistle* to *Myconius*, he termed them *prophane* spirits and mad men, that perswaded the *Magistrates* of *Geneva*, not to deprive themselves of that authority which God hath given them: *Viretus* is more virulent; for he resembleth them not to mad men, (as *Calvin* did) but to white Devils, because they stand in defence of the Kings authority; and he saith, they are false Christians, though they cover themselves with the cloak of the Gospel, affirming that the putting of all authority and power into the *Civil* *Magistrates* hands, and making them masters of the Church, is nothing else but the changing of the *Popedome*, from the *Spiritual* *Pope* into a *Temporal* *Pope*, who (as it is to be feared) will prove worse and more tyrannous then the *Spiritual* *Pope*, which he laboureth to confirme by these three reasons:

1 In the Pref. bytery.

calvin in *A. mos* cap. 7.

Stapl. cons. Horn. l. 1. p. 22.

How *Viretus* would prove the *temporal* *Pope* (as he calleth the King) worse then the *spiritual* *Pope*.

1. Because the *Spiritual* *Pope* had not the *Sword* in his own hand, to punish men with death, but was fain to crave the aid of the *Secular* power, which the *Temporal* *Pope* needs not do.

1 Reason.

2. Because the old *spiritual* *Popes* had some regard in their dealings of *Councils*, *Synods*, and ancient *Canons*; but the new *Secular* *Popes* will do what they list without respect of any *Ecclesiastical* Order, be it right or wrong.

2 Reason.

3. Because the *Romish* *Popes* were most commonly very learned, but it happeneth oftentimes, that the *Regal* *Popes* have neither learning nor knowledge in divine matters; and yet these shall be they that shall command *Ministers* and and *Preachers* what they list; and to make this assertion good, he affirmeth that he saw in some places some *Christian* Princes, under the title of *Reformation*, to have in ten or twenty years, usurped more tyranny over the Churches in their *Dominions*, then ever the *Pope* and his adherents did in six hundred years.

3 Reason.

All which reasons are but meere *sopponeries*, blown up by the black Devil, to blast the beauty of this truth; for we speak not of the abuse of any Prince, to justify the same against any one, but of his right, that cannot be the cause of any wrong; and it cannot be denied but an illiterate Prince may prove a singular advancer of all learning, as *Bishop Wickham* was no great Scholler, yet was he a most excellent instrument to produce abundance of famous *Clerks* in this Church; and the King ruleth his Church by those *Laws*, which through his royal authority

Viretus his scandalous reasons answered.

T. C. l. 2.
P. 411.

Gilby in his admonition p. 69
Knox in his exhortation to the Nobility of Scotland, fol. 77.

* Which is most false.

The Gentilee Kings prefer-
vers of religion.

Synes. ep. 126.
Vide Arnif.
part. 2. pag. 14.
Ad magnas reipubl. utilitates retinetur religio in civitatibus. Cicero de divin. l. 2.

2. In the Parliament.

rity are made with the advice of his greatest Divines, as hereafter I shall shew unto you: yet these *spurious* and specious pretexts may serve, like *clouds*, to hide the light from the eyes of the simple. So *Cartwright* also, that was our English *firebrand*, and his Disciples teach, as *Harding* had done before, that *Kings and Princes* do hold their Kingdoms and Dominions under Christ, as he is the *Son of God only*, before all Worlds, *coequal with the Father*, and not as he is *Mediator and Governour of the Church*: and therefore the *Christian Kings* have no more to do with the *Church government*, then the *Heathen Princes*: so *Travers* saith, that the *Heathen Princes* being converted to the faith, receive no more nor any further encrease of their power, whereby they may deal in *Church causes*, then they had before; so the whole pack of the *Disciplinarians* are all of the same minde, and do hold that all Kings, as well *Heathen as Christian* receiving but one Commission and *equal Authority* immediately from God, have no more to do with *Church causes*, the one sort then the other. And I am ashamed to set down the railing and the scurrilous speeches of *Anthony Gilby* against *Hen. 8.* and of *Knox, Whittingham*, and others, against the truth of the King's *lawful right* and authority in all *Ecclesiastical causes*. For, were it so, as *Cartwright, Travers*, and the rest of that crew do avouch, that *Kings* by being *Christians* receive no more authority over Christ his Church, then they had before*; yet this will appear most evident to all understanding men, that all Kings, as well the *Heathens* as the *Christians*, are in the first place to see that their people do *religiously* observe the worship of that God which they adore: and therefore much more should *Christian Princes* have a care to preserve the religion of *Iesus Christ*.

For it cannot be denied, but that all Kings ought to preserve their Kingdoms; and all Kingdoms are preserved by the same means, by which they were first established; and they are established by obedience and good manners: neither shall you finde any thing that can beget obedience and good manners, but *Lawes and Religion*; and Religion doth naturally beget obedience unto the Lawes; therefore most of those Kings that gave Lawes were originally Priests; and as *Synesius* saith, *Ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ βασιλεὺς ἱερόν ἐσσαν ἀδελφοί*, a Priest and a Prince was all one with them: when the Kings, to preserve their Lawes inviolable, and to keep their people in obedience that they might be happy, became Priests, and exercised the duties of Religion, offering sacrifices unto their Gods, and discharging the other offices of the Priestly Function (as our factious Priests could willingly take upon them the offices of the King;) or if some of them were not Priests (as all were not Law-makers) yet all of them preserved Religion as the only preservation of their Lawes, and the happinesse of their Kingdomes, which they saw, could not continue without Religion. But

2. The wisdom of our grave Prelates, and the learning of our religious Clergie having stopped the course of this violent stream, and hindred the translation of this right of Kings, unto their new-born Presbytery and late erected Synods: There sprang up another generation out of the dregs of the former, that because they would be sure to be bad enough, out of their envy unto Kings, and malice unto the Church (that the one doth not advance their unworthyness, and the other doth not bear with undutifullness) will needs transfer this right of ruling God's Church unto a Parliament of Lay-men; the King shall be denuded of what God hath given him: and the people shall be endued with what God and all good men have ever denied them. I deny not but the Parliament men, as they are most noble and worthy Gentlemen, so many of them may be very learned, and not a few of them most religious; and I honour the Parliament rightly discharging their duties, as much as their modesty can desire, or their merit deserve; neither do I gain-say, but as they are pious men, and the greatest Council of our King, so they may propose things, and request such and such Lawes to be enacted, such abuses to be redressed, and such a reformation to be effected, as they think befitting for Gods Church; but for *Aaron's seed* and

and the Tribe of *Levi*, to be directed and commanded out of the *Parliament* chair, how to perform the service of the *Tabernacle*, and for *Lay* men to determine the *Articles* of faith, to make *Canons* for Church-men, to condemn heresies and define verities, and to have the chief power for the government of Gods Church, as our *Faction* now challengeth, and their Preachers ascribe unto them, is such a violation of the right of Kings, such a derogation to the *Clergy*, and so prejudicial to the Church of Christ, as I never found the like usurpation of this right, to the eradication of the true Religion, in any age; for seeing that, as the Proverb goeth, *Quod medicorum est, promittunt medici, & tractant fabrilis fabri*; what *Papist* or *Atheist* will be ever converted to profess that religion, which shall be truly, what now they alleadge falsely unto us, a *Parliamentary* religion, or a religion made by *Lay-men*, with the advice of a few that they choose to face *Clergy*? I must seriously profess what I have often bewayled, to see *Nadab* and *Abihu* offering strange fires upon Gods Altar, to see the sacred offices of the *Priests* so presumptuously usurped by the Laity, and to see the children of the Church, nay, the servants of the Church to prescribe Lawes unto their Masters; and I did ever fear it to be an argument, not onely of a corrupted, but also of a decaying State when *Moses* chaire should be set in the *Parliament House*, and the *Doctors* of the Church should never sit thereon: therefore I wish that the *Ark* may be brought back from the *Philistines*, and restored to the *Priests*, to be placed in *Shilo* where it should be; and that the care of the *Ark*, which king *David* undertook; may not be taken out of his hands by his people; but that he may have the honour of that service, which God hath imposed upon him. For

3. As nothing is dearer to understanding, righteous, and religious Kings, then the encrease and maintenance of true religion, and the enlargement of the Church of Christ throughout all their Dominions, so they have at all times employed their studies to this end; because it is an infallible maxime, even among the *Politicians*, that the prosperity of any Kingdome flourisheth for no longer time, then the care of Religion and the prosperity of the Church is maintained by them among their people: as we see *Troy* was soon lost, when they lost their *Palladium*, so it is the truest sign of a declining and a decaying State, to see the *Clergy* despised, and religion disgraced: and therefore the provision for the safety of the Church, the public injoying of the word of God, the form of Service, the manner of Government, and the honour and maintenance of the *Clergy*, are all, the duties of a most Christian King, which the King of Heaven hath imposed upon him for the happiness and prosperity of his Kingdom; and whosoever derive the authority of this charge, either in a blinde obedience to the See of Rome, as the *Jesuites* do, or out of their too much zeal and affection, to a new Consistory as the late *Presbyterians* did, or to a *Lay Parliament*, as our upstart *Anabaptists* and *Brownists* do, are most unjust usurpers of the Kings Right, which is not onely ascribed unto him and warranted by the Word of God, but is also confirmed to the Princes of this Land by several Acts of Parliament, to have the supremacy in all causes and over all persons, as well in the Ecclesiastical as in the Civil government; which being so, they are exempted thereby from all inforcement of any domestical or forraign power, and freed from the penalties of all those Laws, both Ecclesiastical and civil, whereunto all their Subjects, Clergy and Laity, and all inferiour persons, and the superiour Nobility within their Kingdomes, are obliged by our Laws and Statutes; (as hereafter I shall more fully declare.)

Therefore it becometh all Kings (and especially our King at this time) seriously to consider, what prejudice they shall create unto themselves and their just authority, if they should yeild themselves inferiour to their Subjects, (aggravative, or representative, or how you will) or liable to the penal Laws, (for so they may be soon dethroned by the unstable affection and weak judgment of discontented people) or subject to the jurisdiction of Lay Elders, and the excommunication of a tyrannous Consistory, who denouncing him, *tanquam Eth-*

Hugo de Sancto Viſſ. l. b. 2. de ſacr. ſid. par. 2. cap. 3.
Laiciſ Chriſtianis fidelibus terrena poſſidere concedunt, clericis vero ſanctum ſpiritalia committunt ut quæ a nemilla ſpiritalia ſunt, ſubjicit, c. 5. dicens; omnis eccleſiaſtica adminiſtratio in tribus conſiſtit, in ſacramentis, in ordinibus, in præceptis. Ergo, Laici nihil juris habent in legibus & præceptis condendis eccleſiaſticis.

3. Opinion. Of the Orthodox.

Quia religio eſt ex potioribus reipublice partibus: ut ait Ariſto. Polit. l. 7. c. 8. & ipſa ſola cuſtodit hominum inter ſe ſocietates: ut ait Laſſant. de ira Dei, cap. 12. Peritura Troja perdidit primum Deos, Therefore the Tyrians chayned their gods, leſt if they fled they ſhould be deſtroyed.

Q. Curtius de rebus Alexand. Joh. Bedæ, p. 22. 23.

Matth. 18. 17.

Deut. 17. 15. *nichm*, may soon add, *a stranger shall not reign over thee*, and so depose him from all government. For seeing all attempts are most violent, that have their beginning and strength from *zeal* unto Religion, be the same true or false, and from the false most of all, and those are ever the most dangerous whose ringleaders are most *base* (as the servile War under *Spartacus* was most pernicious unto the *Romans*) there can be nothing of *greater* use, or *more profitable* either for the *safety* of the King, the peace of the Church, and the quiet state of the Kingdome, then for the Prince, the King, to retain the *Militia*, and to keep that power and authority which the Laws of God and of our Land have granted to, and intailed upon him, in his own hands *unclipped* and *unshaken*: for when the multitude shall be *unbridled*, and the *rights* of the *Kings* are brandished in their hands, we shall assuredly taste, and I fear in too great a measure (as experience now sheweth) of those *miserable* evils, which *uncontrolled* ignorance, *furiosus* zeal, false *hypocrisy*, and the *merciless* cruelty of the giddy-headed people, and discontented *Peeres* shall bring upon us and our Prince.

How necessary it is for Kings to retain their just rights in their hands.

The Kings that maintain true religion make their Kingdoms happy.

*Exod. 14. 31.
Num. 12. 7.
Deut. 34. 5.
Josh. 1. 1, 2.

But to make it manifest unto the World, what power and authority God hath granted unto Kings, for the government of the Church, and the preservation of his true Religion; we finde them the *worst* men, at all times and in all places, that *mislike* their Government, and *reject* their authority; and we see those Churches most happy, and those Kingdoms most *flourishing*, which God hath blessed with *religious* Kings, as the State of the Church of *Jndaa* makes it plain, when *David*, *Ezechias*, *Josias*, and the other virtuous Kings restored the Religion, and purified that Service, which the *idolatry* of others their predecessours had corrupted, and we know that as *Moses*, * so kings are called the *servants* of God in a more *special* manner then all others are: that is, not onely because they *serve* the Lord in the Government of the *Common wealth*, but especially because he vouchsafeth to use their service for the advancement of his Church, and the honour of his Son Christ here on earth: or to distribute their duties more *particularly*, we know the Lord expecteth, and so requireth a double service from every Christian king.

The double service of all Christian kings.

1. As they are Christians.

Psal. 2. 10.

Rom. 2. 11.

Psal. 149. 8.

2. As they are Christian king: and that is twofold

1. The one common with all others, to serve him as they are his creatures and Christians; and therefore to serve him as all other Christians are bound to do.
2. The other proper and peculiar to them alone, to serve him as they are Kings and Princes.

In the first respect, they are no more *privileged* to offend then other men; but they are tyed to the *same* obedience of Gods Laws, and are obliged to performe as many virtuous actions, and to abstain from all vices, as well as any other of their Subjects: and if they fail in either point, they shall be called to the same account, and shall be judged with the same severity as the *meanest* of their people; and therefore, *Be wise O ye Kings, be learned ye that are Judges of the earth; Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoyce unto him with reverence; for with God there is no respect of persons*, but if they do offend he will *binde* Kings in fetters, and their Nobles with linkes of iron: and we dare not flatter you, to give you the least liberty to neglect the strict service of the great God.

In the second respect, the service of all *Christian* kings and princes hath (as I told you before) these two parts:

1. To protect the true religion, and to govern the Church of Christ.
2. To preserve peace, and to govern the *Common wealth*.

1. To protect the Church.
Aug. cont. lit. peil. l. 2.
Optat. Milit. lib. 3.

1. It is true indeed, that the *Donatists* of old, the *grand* fathers of our new *Se-ctaries*, were wont to say, *Quid Imperatori cum Ecclesia? What have we to do with the Emperour, or what hath the Emperour to do with the Church?* but to this *Optatini* answereth, that, *Ille solito furore accensum in hac verba prorupit.*
Donatus

Donatus out of his accustomed madness burst forth into these mad termes; for it is a duty that lyeth upon all Princes, (because all, both Christians and Pagans ought to be religious, as I shewed to you before) not onely to be devout, but also to be the means to make all their Subjects (so far as they can) to become devoted to Gods service, as the practice of those Heathens, that had no other guide of their actions then the light of nature, doth make it plain; for Aristotle saith, that, *Quæ ad Deorum cultum pertinent, commissæ sunt regibus, & magistratibus*, those things that pertain unto the worship of the Gods are committed to the care of Kings; and civil Magistrates: and whatsoever their religion was, (as indeed it was but meere superstition) yet because Superstition and Religion, *hoc habent commune*, do this in common:

Ut faciant animos humiles formidine divinum.

Therefore to make men better, the more humble and more dutiful, the transgression thereof was deemed worthy to receive punishment among the Pagans; and that punishment was appointed by them, that had the principal authority to govern the Common-wealth; as the Athenian Magistrates condemned *Socrates*, (though he was a man wiser then themselves, yet as they conceived very faulty) for his irreligion and derision of their adored gods: And *Tiberius* would set up Christ among the *Romane* gods (though the act added no honour unto Christ) without the authority and against the will of the Senate; to shew that the care of religion belonged unto the Emperour, or chief Magistrate; and therefore as the Lord commanded the kings of Israel to write a copy of his Law in a booke, and to take heed to all the words of that Law for to do them; that is, not onely as a private person, (for so every man was not to write it) but as King, to reduce others to the obedience thereof; so the examples of the best kings both of Israel and *Juda*, and of the best Christian Emperours do make this plain unto us: for *Josua* caused all Israel to put away the strange gods that were among them, and to incline their hearts unto the Lord God of Israel; *Manasses*, after his return from *Babylon*, tooke away the strange Gods, and the Idols out of the house of the Lord, and cast them all out of the City, and repaired the Altar of the Lord, and commanded *Juda* to serve the Lord God of Israel. And what shall I say of *David*, whose whole study was to further the service of God; and of *Jehosaphat*, *Asa*, *Josias*, *Ezechias*, and others, that were rare patternes for other kings for the well government of Gods Church? and in the time of the Gospel, *Quod non tollis precepta legis, sed perficis*, which takes not away the rules of nature, nor the precepts of the Law, but rather establisheth the one, and perfecteth the other; because Christ came into the world, non ut tolleret jura sacris, sed ut deleteret peccata mundi, not to take away the rights of the Nations, but to satisfy for the sins of the world; the best Christian Emperours discharged the same duty, reformed the Church, abolished Idolatry, punished Heresy, and maintained Piety: especially *Constantine* and *Theodosius*, that were most pious Princes, and of much virtues, and became, as the Prophet foretold us, nursing fathers unto Gods Church; for though they are most religious and best in their religion, that are religious for conscience sake, yet there is a fear from the hand of the Magistrate, that is able to restrain those men from many outward evils, whom neither conscience nor religion could make honest: therefore God committed the principal care of his Church to the Prince, and principal Magistrate.

And this is confirmed, and thoroughly maintained by sundry notable men, as *Brenius* against *Aforo*, Bishop *Horne* against *Eckenham*, *Jewel* against *Harding*; and many other learned men, that have written against such other Papists; and Puritans, Anabaptists and Brownists, that have taken upon them to impugn it; yea, many of the Papists themselves at unawares, do confesse as much; for *Orosius* saith, *Omne regis officium in religionis sanctissima rationem conferendum; & munus ejus est beare republ. religione & pietate*: all the office of a King is to be conferred, or employed for the regard of the most holy Religion, and his whole duty is

Prima omnium in republ. functionum est, ut populus deorum æmulatione. Arist. Polit. l. 3. c. 10.

The chief Magistrates of the Heathens had the charge of Religion.

Deut. 17. 18.

Josh. 24. 23. The care of the goodkings of the Jews to preserve the true religion.

The care of the good Emperours to preserve the true religion. Esay 49. 23.

who defended this truth. The Papists unawares confesse this truth. *Orosius de relig. p. 21.*

Whit. resp.
Camp. p. 302.

The Kings au-
thority over
Bishops.

1 Chron. 28.

13.

2 Chron. 29.

1 Reg. 2. 26.

* As Martian.

apud Binium.

l. 2. p. 178.

Iustinian. novel.

10. tit. 6.

Theodos. jun.

Evagr. l. 1. c. 12.

Basil. in

Council Con-

stant 8. añ. 1.

Binium tom. 8.

p. 880.

Reason confir-

meth, that

Kings should

take care of

religion.

Psal. 35. 27.

to bless, or make happy the Common-wealth with Religion and piety: *Quod enim est aliud reipublica principi munus assignatum, quam ut rempubl. florentem atque beatam faciat? quod quidem nullo modo sine egregia pietatis & religionis sanctitate persequitur.* For, though we confes with Ignatius, that no man is equall to the Bishop in causes Ecclesiasticall, no not the King himselfe; that is, in such things as belong to his office, as Whitaker saith; because he onely ought to see to holy things, that is, the instruction of the people, the administration of the Sacraments, the use of the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the like, matters of great weight, and exceeding the Kings authority; yet Kings are above Bishops in wealth, honour, power, government, and majesty: and though they may not do any of the Episcopall duties, yet they may, and ought lawfully to admonish them of their duties, and restrain them from evill, and command them diligently to execute their office; and if they neglect the same, they ought to reprove and punish them, as we read the good Kings of the Jewish Church, and the godly Emperours* of the Christian Church have ever done; and the Bishops themselves in sundry Councils, have acknowledged the same power and Authority to be due, and of right belonging unto them: as at Mentz, Anno 814. and Anno 847. apud Binium, tom. 3. p. 462. & 631. At Emerita in Portugall, Anno 705. Bin. tom. 2. p. 1183. and therefore it is an ill consequent, to say, Princes have no Authority to preach, Ergo they have no authority to punish those that will not preach, or that do preach false Doctrine.

This truth is likewise apparent, not only by the testimony of Scripture and Fathers, but also by the evidence of plain reason; because the prosperity of that Land which any King doth govern, without a principal care of Religion, decayeth and degenerateth into Wars, Dearth, Plagues and Pestilence, and abundance of other miseries, that are the lamentable effects and consequences of the neglect of Religion, and contempt of the Ministers of Gods Church; which I beleive is no small cause of these great troubles which we now suffer; because our God, that taketh pleasure in the prosperity of his servants, cannot endure that either his service should be neglected, or his servants abused.

CHAP VII.

Sheweth, the three things necessary for all Kings that would preserve true Religion; how the King may attain to the knowledge of things that pertain to Religion; by his Bishops and Chaplains, and the calling of Synods; the unlawfulness of the new Synod; the Kings power and authority to govern the Church; and how both the old and new Disciplinarians and Sectaries rob the King of this power.

Therefore seeing this should be the greatest care, that brings the greatest honour to a Christian Prince, to promote the true Religion; it is requisite that we should consider those things that are most necessary to a Christian King, for the Religious performance of this duty: And they are

Three things
necessary for
a king to pre-
serve the
Church and
the Religion.

1. A will to performe it.
 2. An understanding to go about it.
 3. A power to effect it.
- And these three must be inseperable in the Prince that maintaineth true Religion. For,

1. Our knowledge and our power without a willing minde, doth want motion.

2. Our

2. Our will and power without *knowledge* shall never be able to move right. And,

3. Our will and knowledge without *ability* can never prevail to produce any effect. Therefore Kings and Princes ought to labour to be furnished with these three special graces.

The first is a *good will* to preserve the purity of Gods service, not onely in his *Honse*, but also throughtout all his *Kingdom*: and this, as all other graces are, must be acquired by our faithfull *prayers*, and that in a more *speciall* manner for Kings and Princes then for any other; and it is wrought in them by *outward* instruction, and the often predication of God's Word, and the *inward* inspiration of Gods Spirit.

The second is *knowledge*, which is not much less necessary then the former; because not to run *right*, is no better then not to run at *all*, and men were as good to do *nothing*, as to do *amiss*; and therefore *true knowledge* is most requisite for that King that will maintain *true religion*: and this should be not onely in *generall*, and by others, but as much as possible he can, in *particulars*, and of himselfe; that himselfe might be assured what were fit to be reformed, and what warranted to be maintained in Gods service; for so *Moses* commandeth the chiefe Princes to be exercised in Gods Law day and night: because this would be a *special* means to beatifie, or make happy, both the Church and Common-Wealth: As the *neglect* thereof brought *ignorance* unto the Church, and *ruine* to the *Romane* Empire; for, as in *Augustus* time learning flourished, and in *Constantines* time piety was much embraced; because these *Emperours* were such themselves: so when the Kings, whose *examples* most men are apt to follow, either busied with *secular* affairs, or neglecting to understand the *truth* of things, and the state of the Church, do leave this care unto others; then others imitating their *neglect*, do ruse all things with *great* corruption, and as *little* truth; whereby *errors* and blindness will *over-spread* the Church; and *pride*, covetousness, and ambition will *replenish* the Common-Wealth; and these vices, like the *tares* that grow up in Gods field to *suffocate* the pure Wheat, will at last *choake* up all virtue and piety both in Church and State,

Therefore to prevent this *mischiefe*, the King, on whom God hath laid the *cure* of these things, ought himselfe (what he can) to learn and finde out the true state of things: and because it is far unbecomming the *honour* and inconsistent with the *charge* of great Princes, (whose other affairs will not permit them) to be *alwayes* poring at their books, as if they were such *critiques*, as intended to exceed all others in the *theorick* learning, like *Archimedes*, that was in his study drawing forth his *Mathematicall* figures, when the City was sackt, and his enemies pulling down the *house* about his eares; therefore it is wisdom in them to imitate the *discreet* examples of other *wise* Kings, and religious Emperours, in following the *means* that God hath left, and using the *power* and authority that he hath given them, to attain unto *more* knowledge, and to be *better* instructed in any religious matter. then themselves could possibly attaine unto by their own *greatest* study: and that is,

1. As *Alexander* had his *Aristotle* ready to inform him in any *Philosophicall* doubt, and *Augustus* his prime Orators, Poets, and Historians to instruct him in all affairs; so God hath granted this *power* unto his Kings, to call those *Bishops*, and command such *Chaplaines* to reside about them, as shall be able to informe them in any *truth* of Divinity, and so direct them in the *best* forme of Government of Gods Church; and these Chaplains should be well approved, both for their *learning* and their *honesty*; for to be *learned* without honesty, as many are, is to be witty to do evill, which is most pernicious, and doth often times make a *private* gaine by a publique loss, or an *advantage* to themselves by the detriment of the Church: and to be *honest* without knowledge, or to have *knowledge* without *experience*, especially in *such* places of eminency, and for the affaires

1. A willing minde to do it.

2. Understanding to know what is to be reformed, and what to be retained.

The kings neglect of religion and the Church, is the destruction of the Common-wealth.

How kings may attaine unto the knowledge of religion, and understand the state of the Church, and how to govern the same. 1. To call able Clergy-men about them.

How they should be qualified.

of importance, may be as dangerous; when their want of skill may counsel to do matters of much hurt: but when both are met together in one person, that man is a fit Subject to do good service both to God and the King: and the King may be assured, there cannot be a better furtherance to assist him for the well ordering of God's Church, then the grave advice and directions of such instruments, as it appeareth by that memorable example of King *Iosias*, (left to be remembred by all Kings) who, whilst the wise and religious Priest *Jehoiada* assisted and directed him, had all things successful and happy to his whole Kingdome; but after *Jehoiada's* death, the King destitute of such a Chaplain to attend, and such a Priest to counsel him, all things came speedily to great ruine.

Therefore I dare boldly avouch it, they are enemies unto Kings, and the undeterminers of God's Church, and such instruments as I am not able to express their wickedness, that would exclude such *Jehoiada's* from the Kings counsel; for was not *Saul* a wicked King, and *Ahab* little better? yet *Saul* would have *Samuel* to direct him, though he followed not his direction; and *Ahab* would ask counsel of *Micajah*, though he rejected the same to his own destruction: and King *David*, though never so wise and so great a Prophet, and *Josias*, and *Ezechias*, and all the rest of the good Kings, had always the Priests and the men of God to be their Counsellors, and followed their directions, especially in Church causes, as the oracles of God: so wicked *Herod* disdained not to hear *John* the Baptist, and to be reformed by him in many things; and happy had he been, had he done it in all things. And if you read *Eusebius* (which is called *Pamphilus*, for the great love he bare to that his noble Patron) and *Socrates*, and the rest of the Ecclesiastical Historians, or the Histories of our own Land, you shall finde that the best Kings and greatest Emperours had the best Divines, and the most reverend Bishops to be their chiefest Counsellors, and to be employed by them in their weightiest affairs. How then hath the Devil now prevailed to exclude them from all Counsels, and as much as in him lyeth, from the sight of Princes, when he makes it a suspicion of much evil, if they do but talk together? How hath he bewitched the Nobility to yield to be deprived of their Chaplains? Is it not to keep them (that have not time to study, and to finde out truth themselves) still in the ignorance of things; and to none other end, then to overthrow the true religion, and to bring Kings and Princes to confusion?

2 To call Synods to discuss and conclude the harder things.

2. When the King seeth cause, God hath given him power and authority to call Synods and Councils, and to assemble the best men, the most moderate and most learned, to determine of those things together, which a fewer number could not so well, or at least not so authoritatively conclude upon: for so *Constantine* the Great called the great Council of *Nice* to suppress the Heresie of *Arius*. *Theodosius* called the Council of *Ephesus* in the case of *Nestorius*: *Valentinian* and *Martinian* called the Council of *Calcedon* against *Eutyches*: *Iustinian* called the Council of *Constantinople* against *Severus*, that renewed the Heresie of *Eutyches*: *Constantine* the Fifth called the sixth Synod against the *Monothelites*; and so did many others in the like cases: God having fully granted this right and authority unto them, for their better information in any point of religion, and the government of the Church.

The unparalleled presumption of the Faction to call a Synod without the king

And therefore they that deny this power unto Kings, or assume this authority unto themselves, whether Popes or Parliament, out of the Kings hand, they may as well take his eyes out of his head; because this is one of the best helps that God hath left unto Kings, to assist and direct them in the chiefest part of their royal government: how presumptuous then, and injurious unto our King, and prejudicial to the Church of Christ, was the faction of this Parliament, without the Kings leave, and contrary to his command, to undertake the nomination of such a pack of Schismatical Divines for such a Synod, as might finally determine such points of faith and discipline, as themselves best liked of, let all the

the Christian world, that as yet never saw the *like* president, be the Judge; and tell us what shall be the religion of that Church, where the Devil shall have the power to prompt worldlings to nominate his prime Chaplains, Socinians, Brownists, Anabaptists, and the refuse of all the refractory Clergy, (that seem learned in nothing but in the contradiction of learning, and justifying Rebellion against their King and the Church) to compose the Articles of our faith, and to frame a new government of our Church? I am even ashamed that so glorious a Kingdom should ever breed so base a Faction, that durst ever presume to be so audacious; and I am sorry that I should be so unhappy to live to see such an unparallel'd boldness in any Clergy, that the *like* cannot be found in any Ecclesiastical History, from the first birth of Christ's Church to this very day, unless our Sectaries can produce it from some of the Utopian Kingdoms, that are so far South-ward *In terra incognita*, beyond the Torrid Zone, that we (whose zeal is not so fiery, but are of the colder spirits) could not yet perfectly learn the true method of their Anarchical government: or if our Lawyers can shew us the *like* president that ever Parliament called a Synod contrary to the King's Proclamation, I shall rest beholding to them, produce it if they can. *Credat Judeus apella; non ego.*

The quality of the Synodical men.

The third thing requisite to a King for the preservation of true religion, and the government of God's Church, is power and authority to defend it; for though the Prince should be never so religious, never so desirous to defend the faith, and never so well able in his understanding, and so well furnished with knowledge to set down what Service and Ceremonies should be used; yet if he hath not power and ability, which do arise from his right and just authority to do it, and to put the same in execution, all the rest are but fruitless embryos, like those potentials, that are never reduced into actions; or like the grass upon the house top, that withereth before it be plucked up.

3. An authority and power to guide the Church, and to uphold the true religion.

Pf. 119. 6.

But to let you see, that Kings and Princes should have this power and authority in all Ecclesiastical causes, and over all Ecclesiastical persons, we finde that all Ages and all Lawes have warranted them to do the same; for Solomon displaced Abiathar and placed Sadoc in his room; Jeremy's case was heard by the King of Israel; Theodosius, and Valentinian made a Decree, that all those should be deposed, which were infected with the impiety of Nestorius; and Justinian deposed Sylvester and Vigilius: and many other Kings and Emperours did the like; and not onely the Law of God, whereof the King is the prime keeper, and the keeper of both Tables, but also the Statutes of our Land do give unto our King the nomination of Bishops, and some other elective dignities in the Church, the custody of the Bishops Temporalities during the vacation, the Patronage Paramount, or right to present by the last lapse; and many other furtherances and preservatives of religion are, in terminis terminantibus, deputed by our Lawes unto the King; and for his care and charge thereof, they have settled upon him our first Fruits, Tenths, Subsidies, and all other contributions of the Ecclesiastical persons, which the Pope received while he usurped the government of this Church; these things being due to him that had the supreme power for the government.

1. Reg. 2. 27. & 35.
Jerem. 26.
How all kings and Emperors exercised this power over the Church.

And therefore seeing the examples of all good Kings in the Old Testament, and of the Christian Kings and Emperours in the New Testament, and all Lawes both of God and man, (excepting those Lawes of the Pontificals, that are made against the Law of God,) and all Divines, excepting the Jesuites and their sworn Brethren the Presbyterians, do most justly ascribe this right and power unto Kings; I may truly say with Cassianus, that there is no place of audience left for them, by whom obedience is not yielded to that which all have agreed upon; nor any excuse for those Subjects that assist not their Sovereign to enable him to discharge this great charge that is laid upon him.

Cassian. de Inicarn. l. 1. c. 6.

What then shall we say to them that pull this power, and tear this prerogative out of the King's hand, and place it in the hands of mad men, as the Prophet

prophet

Pfal. 64. 7.
How the Dis-
ciplinarians rob
the king of
this right.
Knox to the
Commonalty,
fol. 49. 50, 55.

phet epithets *the madness of the people*? For that furious *Knox* belched forth this *unsavory* Doctrine, That the *Commonalty* may lawfully require of their King to have true *Preachers*; and if he be negligent, they themselves may justly provide them, maintain them, defend them, against all that oppose them, and detain the profits of the Church Livings from the other sort of Ministers, a point fully practised by the *English* *Scotizers* of these dayes: and as if this Doctrine were not seditious enough, and abundantly sufficient to move Rebellion, *Goodman* publisheth that horrible tenet unto the world, that *it is lawful to kill wicked Kings*: which most dangerous and more damnable Doctrine, *Dean Whittingham* affirmeth to be the tenet of the best and most learned of them that were our *Disciplinarians*.

What true re-
ligion teach-
eth us.

But when as true Religion doth command us to obey our Kings, whatsoever their Religion is, *ant agendo ant patiendo*, either in suffering with patience, whatsoever they do impose, or in doing with obedience whatsoever they do command. Religion can be no warrant for those actions, which must remain as the everlasting blemishes of that Religion, which either commanded or approved of their doing, I am sure all wise men will detest these Doctrines of Devils: and seeing it is an infallible rule, that good deserveth then to be accounted evil, when it ceaseth to be well done, it is apparent that it is no more lawful for private and inferiour persons to usurp the Princes power, and violently to remove Idolatry, or to cause any Reformation; then it is for the Church of Rome by invasion or treason to establish the Doctrine of that See in this or any other forraign kingdome, because both are performed by the like usurped authority.

The old Dis-
ciplinarians.

Yet these were the opinions and practises of former times, when *Buchanan*, *Knox*, *Cartwright*, *Goodman*, *Gilby*, *Penry*, *Fenner*, *Martin*, *Travers*, *Trogmorton*, *Philips*, *Nichols*, and the rest of those introducers of *Our landish* and *Genevian* Discipline, first broached these *unconth* and *unsufferable* tenets in our Land, in the Realm of *England* and *Scotland*; and truly if their opinions had not dispersed themselves, like poison, throughout all the veins of this Kingdom, and infected many of our Nobility, and as many of the greatest Cities of this Kingdome, (as it appeareth by this late *unparallel'd* rebellion) these and the rest of the *traiterous* authours of those *unsavory* books, which they published, and those damnable tenets which they most ignorantly held, and maliciously taught unto the people, should have slept in silence; their hallowed and sanctified Treason should have remained untouched, and their memorial should have perished with them.

Our rebellious
Sectaries
far worse then
all the former
Disciplinari-
ans.

But seeing, as *Saint Chrysostome* saith of the *Hereticks* of his time, that although in age they were younger, yet in malice they were equal to the ancient *Hereticks*; and as the brood of *Serpents*, though they are of less stature, yet in their poyson no less dangerous then their dammes; so no more have our new *Sectaries*, our upstart *Anabaptists*, any less wickedness then their first begetters; nay, we finde it true, that as the *Poet* saith,

*Ætas parentum pejor avis
Tulit nos nequiores.* ———

*S i den lib. .
epist.*

These young cubbs prove worse then the old foxes; for if you compare the *Whelps* with the *wolves*, our latter *Schismaticks* with their former *Masters*, I doubt not but you shall finde less learning, and more villany, less honesty, and more subtilty, hypocrisy and treachery in *Doctor Burges*, *Master Marshall*, *Cafe*, *Goodwin*, *Burrowes*, *Calamy*, *Perne*, *Hill*, *Cheyne*, and the rest of our giddy-headed *Incendiaries*, then can be found in all the seditious Pamphlets of the former *Disciplinarians*, or of them that were hanged (as *Penry*) for their treasons: for these men do not onely (as *Sidonius* saith of the like) *apertè invidere, abjectè fingere, & serviliter superbire*, openly envy the state of the *Bishops*, basely forge lyes against them, and servilely swell with the pride of their own conceited sanctity and apparent ignorance; but they have also most impudently (even in their pulpits) slandered

dered the footsteps of Gods Anointed, and so brought the abomination of their transgression to stand in the holy place; they haue with *Achan* troubled *Israel*, and tormented the whole Land; yea, these three Kingdomes, *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and for inciting, provoking, and incouraging simple, ignorant, poore, discontented and seditious *Seſtaries*, to be *Rebels* and *Traytors* against their own most gracious King; they have not onely with *Ierusalem* justified *Samaria*, *Sodome* and *Gomorrah*, but they have justified all the *Samaritanes*, all the *Sodomites*, all the *Schismaticks*, *Hereticks*, *Rebels*, and *Traytors*, *Papists*, and *Atheists*, and all that went before them, *Judas* himself in many circumstances not excepted; and that which makes their doings the more evil, and the more exceedingly wicked, is, that they make *Religion* to be the warrant for their evil doings: the pack-horse to carry, and the cloke to cover all their treacheries: and thereby they drew the greater multitudes of poore *Zelots* to be their followers.

For which their intolerable villanies If I be not deceived in my judgement, they of all others, & above all the Rebels in the kingdom, deserve the greatest and severest punishment, God of Heaven give them the grace to repent.

And therefore seeing it is not onely the honour, but also the duty, as of all other Kings, so likewise of our King, to be as the *Princes* of our Land are justly stiled, the *Defenders of the Faith*; and that not only in regard of enemies abroad, but also in respect of those far worse enemies, which desire alteration at home, it behoves the King to looke to these *home-bred* enemies of the Church; and seeing the king, though never so willing for his piety and religion, never so able for his knowledge and understanding, yet without strength and power to effect what he desires, cannot defend the faith, and maintain the true Religion from the violence of *Seſtaries* and *Traytors* within his kingdom; it behoves us all to do these two things.

What Gods faithful servants, and the kings loyal Subjects must do in these times.

1. To justify the kings *Zeal*, his authority and right to the supreme Government and defender of the Church, and of Gods true religion and service, both in respect of Doctrine and Discipline; and that none else, *Pope* or Parliament, hath any power at all herein, but what they have derivately from him: which I hope we have sufficiently proved.

2. To submit our selves unto our king, and to add our strength, force, and power to inable his power to discharge this duty against all the *Innovators* of our Religion, and the enemies of our peace, for the honour of God, and the happiness of this Church and Common-wealth: for that power which is called the Kings power, and is granted and given to him of God, is not onely that *Heroick* virtue of fortitude, which God planteth in the hearts of most noble Princes, (as he hath most graciously done it in abundant measure in our most gracious king) but it is the collected and united power and strength of all his Subjects, which the Lord hath commanded us to joyn and submit it for the assistance of the kings power, against all those that shall oppose it, and if we refuse or neglect the same, then questionless whatsoever mischief, idolatry, barbarity, or superstition shall take root in the Church, and whatsoever oppression and wickedness shall impair the Common-wealth, Heaven will free His Majesty, and the wrath of God, in no smal measure, must undoubtedly light upon us and our posterity; even as *Deborah* saith of them, that refused to assist *Barak* against his enemies, *Curse ye Meroz, curse bitterly the Inhabitants thereof, because they came not forth to helpe the Lord against the mighty.* Jud. 5. 23.

2. To assist Him against the Rebels.

C H A P. VIII.

Sheweth it is the right of Kings to make Ecclesiastical Lawes and Canons, proved by many authorities and examples; that the good Kings and Emperours made such Laws by the advice of their Bishops and Clergy, and not of their Lay Counsellours; how our late Canons came to be annulled; that it is the Kings right to admit his Bishops and Prelates to be of his Council, and to delegate secular authority, or civil jurisdiction unto them; proved by the examples of the Hebrews, Jewes, and Christians.

Of all this that hath been spoken, it is more then manifest, that the king ought to have the supreme power over Gods Church, and the Government thereof, and the greatest care to preserve true Religion throughout all his Dominions: this is his duty, and this is his honour, that God hath committed not a people, but his people, and the members of his Son under his charge. For the performance of which charge, it is requisite for us to know that God hath granted unto him, among other rights, these two special prerogatives.

Two special rights and prerogatives of the King for the government of the Church.

1. To make Laws and Canons.

Aug. l. 3. c. 26.

Idem ep. 48. c. ep. 50. ad Bonifac.

So they are called the kings Ecclesiastical Lawes.

Psal. 72. 11.
Aug. cont. lit.
Peul. l. 2. c. 92
Idem in l. de
12. abus. grad.
grad. 2.

1. That he may and ought to make Lawes, Orders, Canons, and Decrees, for the well governing of Gods Church.
2. That he may, when he seeth cause, lawfully and justly grant tolerations and dispensations of his own Lawes and Decrees, as he pleaseth.

1. Not onely Solomon and Jehosaphat gave commandment, and prescribed unto the chief Priests and Levites, what form and order they should observe in their Ecclesiastical causes, and methode of serving God; but also Constantine, Throdosius, Justinian, and all the Christian Emperours that were careful of Gods service, did the like; and therefore, when the Donatists alleadged, that secular Princes had nothing to do to meddle in matters of Religion, and in causes Ecclesiastical, Saint Augustine in his second Epistle against Gaudentius, saith, I have already proved that it appertaineth to the Kings charge, that the Ninivites should pacifie Gods wrath; and therefore the Kings that are of Christs Church, do judge most truly, that it belongeth to their charge, to see that men Rebel not, without punishment against the same; because God doth inspire it in to the mindes of Kings that they should procure the Commandments of the Lord to be performed in al their Kingdomes; for they are commanded to serve the Lord in fear; and how do they serve the Lord, as Kings, but in making Lawes for Christ? as man he serveth him by living faithfully, but as King he serveth him in making Lawes that shal command just things, and forbid the contrary, which they could not do, if they were not kings: And by the example of the king of Ninive, Darius, Nebuchadnezzar, and others, which were but figures and prophetes that foreshewed the power, duty and service that Christian kings should owe and performe in like sort to the furtherance of Christs Religion in the time of the New Testament, when al kings shall fall down and Worship Christ; and all Nations shall do him service, he proveth, that the Christian kings and Princes should make Lawes and Decrees for the furtherance of Gods service, even as Nebuchadnezzar had done in his time. And upon the words of the Apostle, that the king beareth not the sword in vain, he proveth against Petilian, that the power and authority of the Princes, which the Apostle treateth of

of in that place, is given unto them, to make sharpe penall Lawes to further *true religion*, and to suppress all *Hereses* and *Schismes*.

And so accordingly we finde the good Emperours and Kings have ever done; for *Constantine* caused the idolatrous religions to be suppressed, and the *true* knowledge of *Christ* to be preached and planted amongst his people, and made many wholsome *Lawes*, and godly *Constitutions*, to restrain the *sacrificing* unto Idols, and all other *devillish* and superstitious *south-sayings*, and to cause the *true service* of God to be rightly administred in every place, saith *Eusebius*. And in another place he saith, that the same *Constantine* gave *injunctions* to the chiefe Ministers of the Churches, that they should make speciall supplication to God for him; and he enjoyned all his *Subjects* that they should keep *holy* certain dayes dedicated to *Christ*, and the *Sabboth*, or *Saturday* (which was then wont to be kept *holy*, and as yet not *abrogated* by any Law among the *Christians*;) he gave a *Law* to the Ruler of every Nation, that they should celebrate the *Sunday*, or the Lords day in like sort; and so for the dayes that were dedicated to the *memory* of the *Martyrs*, and other *festival* times; and all such things were done according to the ordinance of the Emperour.

Nicephorus writing of the excellent virtues of *Andronicus*, son to *Immanuel Palaeologus*, and comparing him to *Constantine* the Great, saith, thou hast restored the *Catholique* Church, being troubled with new opinions, to the old State, thou hast banished all *unlawfull* and impure doctrine, thou hast established the *truth*, and hast made *Lawes* and *Constitutions* for the same.

Sozomen speaking of *Constantines* sons, saith, the Princes also concurred to the increase of these things, *μετ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐκδόσαντες*, shewing their good affections to the Churches, no less then their father did, and honouring the *Clergy* their servants with singular promotions and immunities, both confirming their fathers *Lawes*, and making also new *Lawes* of their own, against such as went about to *sacrifice*, and to worship Idols, or by any other means fell to the *Greekish*, or *Heathenish* superstitions.

Theodoret tells us, that *Valentinian* at the Synod in *Illirico*, did not onely confirme the true faith by his Royall assent, but made also many godly and sharpe *Lawes*, as well for the maintenance of the *truth* of *Christ* his doctrine, as also touching many other causes *Ecclesiasticall*, and, as ratifying those things that were done by the *Bishops*, *τοὺς ἀποστολικῶν ἐκπαῖδας*, he sent abroad to them that doubted thereof.

Honorius, at the request of *Boniface* the first, made a *Law*, whereby it might appear what was to be done, when two *Popes* were chosen at once by the indiction of the Electors.

Martianus also made a *Statute*, to cut off, and put away all manner of contention about the *true faith* and Religion, in the Councell of *Calcedon*.

The Emperour *Iustinus* made a *Law*, that the Churches of *Heretiques* should be consecrated to the *Catholique* Religion, saith *Martinus Penitentiarius*. And who knowes not of the many *Lawes*, and *Decrees*, that *Iustinian* made in *Ecclesiasticall* causes for the furtherance of the true Religion? for in the beginning of the *Constitutions* collected in the Code of *Iustinian*, the first 13 titles are all filled with *Lawes* for to rule the Church; where it forbiddeth the *Bishops* to reiterate baptism, to paint, or grave on earth the *Image* of our Saviour. And in the *Novels* the Emperour ordaineth *Lawes*, of the creation and consecration of *Bishops*; that *Synods* should be annually held; that the *holy* mysteries should not be celebrated in private houses; that the *Bishops* should speak aloud when they celebrate the Sacraments of Baptisme and the Eucharist; and that the *holy Bible* should be translated into the *vulgar* tongue, and the like.

And not onely these and the rest of the godly Emperours that succeeded them, but also *Ariamirus*, *Wambanus*, *Richardus*, and divers other Kings of *Spaine*

The good Emperours have made Laws for the government of the Church.

Euseb. in vita Constant. l. 2. c. 3.

Idem de vita Constant. l. 1. c. 3. & 4. c. 18.

Niceph. in praefation. Eccles. bist.

Sozomenus l. 3. c. 17.

Theodor. l. c. 5. 6, & 7.

Distinct. 79. siduo.

L. 1. tit. 5.
L. 1. tit. 7.
Novel. 123.
c. 10.
Novel. 58.
Novel. 137. c. 6.

* Intituled, *A Treatise of Charlemaigne against the Greekish Synod touching Images.*

did in like manner: And *Charlemaigne*, who approved not the decisions of the Greekish *Synod*, wrote a book against the same *, whereby the King maintained himself in possession, to make *Lawes* for the Church (saith *Johannes Beda*) of which *Lawes* there are many in a book, called *The capitulary Decrees of Charles the Great*, who as *Pepin* his predecessour had done in the City of *Bourges*, so did he also assemble many Councils in divers places of his Kingdoms, as at *Mayns*, at *Tours*, at *Reims* at *Chaulons*, at *Arles*, and the sixt, most famous of all, at *Francfort*, where himself was present in person, and condemned the errour of *Felician*, and so other Kings of *France*, and the Kings of our own Kingdom of *England*, both before and after the Conquest, (as Master *Fox* plentifully recordeth) did make many *Lawes* and *Constitutions* for the government of God's Church.

The saying of *Dioclesian*.

* That is, to rule the Common-wealth.

Tacitus Annal. lib. 12.

But as *Dioclesian*, that was neither the best nor the happiest governour, said most truly of the civil government, that there was nothing harder then to rule well *, so it is much harder to govern the Church of Christ; therefore as there cannot be an argument of greater wisdom in a Prince, nor any thing of greater safety and felicity to the Common-wealth, then for him to make choice of a wise Council to assist him in his most weighty affaires, saith *Cornelius Tacitus*: So all religious Kings must do the like in the government of the Church, and the making of their *Lawes* for that government; for God out of his great mercy to them, and no less desire to have his people religiously governed, left such men to be their supporters, their helpers and advisers in the performance of these duties: and I pray you, whom did Kings chuse for this business, but whom God had ordained for that purpose? for you may observe that although those Christian Kings and Emperours made their *Lawes*, as having the supremacy and the chiefest care of God's religion committed by God into their hands, yet they did never make them, that ever I could read, with the advice, counsel, or direction of any of their Peers, or Lay Subjects; but, as *David* had *Nathan* and *Gad*, *Nebuchadnezzar* had *Daniel*, and the rest of the Jewish Kings and Heathens had their Prophets onely and Priests to direct them in all matters of religion; so those Christian Kings and Princes took their Bishops and their Clergie onely to be their counsellors and directors in all Church causes, as it appeareth out of all the fore-cited Authors, and all the Histories that do write thereof: and *Justinian* published this Law, that when any Ecclesiastical cause or matter was moved, his Lay officers should not intermeddle with it, but should suffer the Bishops to end the same according to the Canons: the words are, *Si Ecclesiasticum negotium sit, nullam communionem habento civiles magistratus cum ea disceptatione, sed religiosissimi Episcopi secundum sacros canones, negotio suum impendant.* For the good Emperour knew full well, that the Lay Senate neither understood what to determine in the points of faith, and the government of Christ's Church, nor was ever willing to do any great good, or any special favour unto the Shepherds of Christ's flock, and the teachers of the true religion; because the Son of God had fore-told it, that the world should hate us, that secular men and Lay Senatours should commonly oppose, cross, and shew all the spite they can unto the Clergie, of whom our Saviour saith, *Behold I send you forth, as sheep in the midst of wolves.* Whence this, *μὴν χάρις*, great distance between their dispositions being observed, it grew into a Proverb, that *Laici semper infesti sunt Clericis.* And Doctour *Meriton* In a Sermon before King *James*, observed this as one of the good favours the Clergie of *England* found from our Parliaments since the reformation, (when many men first began to be translated from the seat of the scornfull to sit in *Moses* chaire, and to prescribe *Lawes* for Christ his Spouse) to make an Act, that all wandering beggars after their correction by the Constable, should be brought to the Minister of the Parish, to have their names registred in a Book, (and the Constable used to give to the Minister 2^d. for his paines for every one so registred) but if he refused or neglected to do it, the Statute saith he should be punished

The good Kings & Emperours made their *Lawes* for the government of the Church, onely by the advice of their Clergie. A good Law of *Justinian*. *Constit. 123.*

John. 15. 19.
Matth. 10. 16.

How the Laity love the Clergie. A very memorable act. Anno 39. Eliz. cap. 4.

punished five shillings for every one that should be so omitted; where, besides the honourable office, I will not say to make the Minister of Christ a Bedle of the Beggars, but a Register of the vagrants; you see the punishment of one neglect amounteth to the reward of thirty labours: therefore all the Christian Emperours and the wisest Kings, considering this great charge that God had laid upon them, to make wholesome *Laws* and Constitutions for the government of his Church, and seeing the inclinations of the *Lairy*, would never permit any of these Lay-*Elders*, and the *Citizens* of the world, to usurp this authority, to be the composers, contrivers, or assistants in concluding of any Ecclesiastical Law, until the fences of God's vineyard were pulled down, and the wilde Boar out of the Forrest, the audacious presumption of the unruly Com-monalty ventured either to govern the Church, or to subdue their Prince; since which *incroachment* upon the rights of Kings, it hath never succeeded well with the Church of Christ; and I dare boldly say it, & *fidenter quia fideliter*, and the more boldly because most truly: the more authority they shall gain herein, the less glory shall Christ have from the service of his Church; and therefore *Be wise & ye Kings*. And consider how any new Canons are to be made by our Statute, 25 Hen. 8.

That the *Lairy* should have no interest in making Laws for the Church.

Ob. But then it may be demanded, if this be so, that the *Lairy* hath no right in making *Laws* and Decrees for the government of God's Church; but that it belongs wholly unto the King to do it, with the advice of his *Bishops* and the rest of his Clergy: then how came the *Parliament* to annul those *Canons* that were so made by the King and Clergy; because they had no vote nor consent in confirming of them?

Sol. Truly I cannot answer to this Objection, unless I should tell you what the *Poet* saith,

Dum furor incursu, currenti cede furori;
D. ffisiles aditus impetus omnis habet.

They were furiously bent against them; and you know, *furor arma ministrat*: & *dum regnant arma, silent leges*, all *Laws* must sleep while *Armes* pre-vaile: besides, you may finde those *Canons*, as if they had been prophetically made, fore saw the increasing strength of *Anabaptisme*, *Brownisme*, *Purita-nisme*, most likely to subvert true *Protestantisme*, and therefore were as equally directed against these *Seſtaries* of the left hand, as against the *Papists* on the right hand; and I think the whole Kingdom now findes and feels the strength of that virulent Faction; and therefore what wonder, that they should seek to break all those *Canons* to pieces, and batter them down with their mighty *Ordinances*, for seeking to subdue their invincible errours; or else, because (as they say) the Ecclesiastical State is not an independent society, but a member of the whole, the *Parliament* was not so to be excluded, as that their advice and approbation should not be required, to make them obligatory to the rest of the Subjects of the whole Kingdom, which claim this priviledge, to be tyed to the obser-vation of no humane *Laws*; that themselves by their representatives have not consented unto.

2. As the King is intrusted by God to make *Laws* for the government of the Church of Christ, so it is a rule without question, that *ejus est dispensare & absolvere, cujus est condere*, he hath the like power to dispense with whom he pleaseth, and to absolve him that transgresseth, as he hath to oblige them: there-fore our Church being for reformation the most famous throughout all the parts of the Christian world, and our King, having so just an authority to do the same, it is a most impudent scandal, full of all malice and ignorance, not to be endured by any well affected Christian, that the new brood of the old *Ana-baptists* do lay upon our Church and State, that they did very unreasonably, and unconſcionably by their *Laws*, grant *Dispensations* both for *Plurali-ties*

1. To grant dispensations of his own *Laws*.

The scandals of the malicious ignorants against the worthier clergy.

Three special points handled.

1 Point.

The great respect of the Clergy in former ages.

Saravia l. 2. c. 2. p. 103. 1. Among the Gentiles.

Osor. p. 231. De iura Syria & Palestina refert Dion. l.

37. quod rex summi Pontificis nomen habet. Apud Terent. advers. Valent.

Hermetem legimus appellari & Max. sacerdotem, & maximum regem.

Ciceron. l. 2. de legibus.

Diogenes apud Stob. d. cit. ἀνάρχον & τὸν βασιλέα

ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀρχόντων & ἀρχόντων & ἀρχόντων & ἀρχόντων

reges suos delgebant ex numero sacerdotum. Di-

odor. l. 3. c. 1. Titus Vespasianus Pontificium maximum idem

sele professus est accipere, ut parvas servaret manus. Sueton. in Tit. cap. 9. In Aricia regnum erat contrarium cum sacerdotio Diana, ut inquit Ovid. De arte amandi, lib. 1. Ecce (suburbana) templum nemorale Diana,

Paridaeque per gladios regna nocente manu, & Strabo lib. 5.

ties and Non-residency, onely to further the corrupt desires of some few, to the infinite wrong of the whole Clergy, besides the hazard of many thousands of souls, the intolerable dishonour of Gods truth, and the exceeding disadvantage of Christ his Church: for, seeing God hath principally committed, and primarily commended the care of his Church and service unto Kings, who are therefore to make Laws and Orders for the well governing of the same, I shall make it most evident, that they may, as they have ever done, most lawfully and more beneficially, both for Gods Church, and also for the Common-wealth, do these three things.

1. To grant that grace and favour unto their Bishops and other Ecclesiastical persons, as to admit them of their counsel, and to undertake secular authority and civil jurisdiction.

2. To allow dispensations of Pluralities, and Non-residency, which they may most justly and most wisely do, without any transgression of the Law of God.

3. To give tolerations (where they see cause) of many things prohibited by their Law, to dispench with the transgressions, and to remit the fault of the transgressours. For

1. Though the world relapsed from the true light, and declined from the sincere Religion to most detestable superstition: yet there remained in the people certain impressions of the divine truth, that there was a GOD, and that this God, was religiously to be worshipped; and those men that taught the worship of that God, how fowly soever they did mistake it, were had in singular account and supereminent authority among all Nations: and as Saravia saith, they were competitors with Kings in their Government, so that nothing was done without their counsel and consent; and as Theophrastus was the first, that Cives Atticos ἐπεγίγιντο ἐν αὐτοῖς, and put the difference betwixt Nobles, Husbandmen, and Artificers; so the Priests were always selected out of the noblest families, and were ever in all their public counsels, as the Divines sate among the Athenians, and the South-sayers sate with the King among the Lacedemonians in all their weightiest consultations: and Strabo tells us, that the Priests of Bellona, which were in Pontus and Cappadocia (for that Goddess was honoured in both places) were regarded with the greatest honour next to the King himself: and the Romans that were both wealthy, warlike, and wise, did almost nothing without the advice and counsel of their Priests. I will omit what Valerius Maximus setteth down of their care of Religion, and their great respect unto their Priests, and religious persons; and I will refer you onely to what Tully writeth of this point, where he saith, that the greatest and worthiest thing in their Commonwealth, was the privilege and prebeminence of the Divines, which was joyned with the greatest authority; for they dismissed the companies and the Councils of the chiefest Empires and the greatest Potentates, when they were proposed; they restrained them when they were concluded; they ceased from the affaires which they had in hand, if but one Divine did say the contrary; they appointed that the Consuls should depose themselves from their Magistracy; and it was in their private power, either to give leave or not to give leave, to deale with the people, or not to deale; to repeal Laws not lawfully made, and to suffer nothing to be done by the Magistrate in peace or war without their leave or authority: this was their Law, (though I believe it was not always observed by their proud Consuls, and unruly Magistrates.) Ciceron de nat. deorum, l. 2.

In like manner Caesar writeth of the Gauls and Britons, that they had two sorts of men in singular honour; the one was their Druides or Divines, the other was their Souldiers or men of war; and he saith, that their Druides determined of all controversies (in a manner) both private and public; and if there were any crime committed, any murder attempted, if any controversy

sele professus est accipere, ut parvas servaret manus. Sueton. in Tit. cap. 9. In Aricia regnum erat contrarium cum sacerdotio Diana, ut inquit Ovid. De arte amandi, lib. 1. Ecce (suburbana) templum nemorale Diana, Paridaeque per gladios regna nocente manu, & Strabo lib. 5.

about

about inheritance, or the bounds of lands did arise, they also did set down their Decree, and appointed the penalty: and whosoever rejected their order, or refused their judgement they excommunicated him from all society, and he was then deemed of all men as an *ungodly* and a most graceless person. Thus did they, that had but the *twilight* of corrupted Nature to direct them, judge those that were most conversant with the *mind* and will of the gods, to be the *finest* Counsellors and Judges of the actions of men: and I fear these children of nature will rise in judgement, to condemn many of them that profess themselves to be the sons of *grace*, for coming so short of them in this point.

2. The *Jewes* also which received the oracles of God, were enjoined by God to yield unto their *Priests* the dispensation both of *divine* and humane Lawes; and the Lord enacted it by an *irrevocable* Law, that the judgement of the High Priest should be observed; as *sacred*, and inviolable in all controversies; and if any man refused to submit himselfe unto it, his death must make recompence for his contumacy. And *Josephus* saith, *Si iudices nesciant de rebus ad se delatis pronunciare, integram causam in urbem sanctam mittent, & convenientes Pontifex & Prophetæ & Senatus, quod visum sit, pronuntiant*: and in his second book against *Appian* he saith, *Sacerdotes inspectores omnium, iudices controversiarum, punitores damnatarum constituti sunt à Moysè*: The Priests were appointed by *Moses* to be the lookers into all things, the Judges of controversies, and the punishers of the condemned. And they were of that high esteem amongst the *Jewes*, that the royall blood disdained not to match in marriages with the Priests, as *Jehojada* married the daughter of King *Jehoram*; and in the *vacantie* of Kings they had all the affaires of the Kingdom in their administration, and when they became tributaries unto the *Romans* after *Aristobulus*, the royall government was often annexed to the Priesthood: and *S. Paul* argueth from hence, that if the administration of death was glorious, how shall not the administration of the Spirit be rather glorious? for, if the ministration of condemnation be glory, much more doth the ministration of righteousness exceed in glory; or otherwise it were very strange, that the Ministers of the Gospel should be deemed more base and contemptible, because their calling is far more glorious and excellent, yea, so excellent, that to all good Christians the Prophet demandeth, *quàm speciosi pedes eorum?*

And for the discharging of *secular* employments, we have not onely the example of the Priests and Prophets of the Old Testament, but we have also the testimony, and the practice of many godly Bishops, and Fathers of the Church of Christ, under the New Testament, to justify this truth. For,

1. Not onely *Moses* and *Aaron* that were both the Priests of the most high God, and the chiefe Judges in all secular causes, but also *Joseph* had his jurisdiction over the *Egyptians*, *Daniel* had his Lieutenancie over the *Babylonians*, and *Nehemias* was a great Courtier among the *Persians*: and yet these secular employments were no hinderance to them in the *divine* worship and service of God. So *Ely* and *Samuel* both, were both Judges and Priests together: and the most religious Princes, *David*, *Solomon*, *Jehosaphat*, and others, used the Priests and Levites at their command in the civil government of their Dominions; for, when *David* caused all the Levites to be numbered from 30 years old and upwards, and that they were found to be 38 thousand, he appointed 24 thousand of them to be *over-seers* of the works of the house of the Lord, and he ordained the other six thousand to be Judges and Rulers in all *Israel*; and so did *Jehosaphat* likewise: for though the last verse of the said chaptes seems to port a difference betwixt the Civil matters and the Ecclesiastical affaires, yet it is rightly answered by *Saravia*, that this *error* riseth from a misconceived opinion of their government, as if it were the same with the government of some of our reformed Churches, which was nothing less; for if you compare this

2. Among the Jewes.

Deut. 17.

Joseph. contra Appi. lib. 2.

2 Chron. 23.

11.

2 Cor. 3. 7.

8, 9.

Esay. 52. 7. Priests employed in secular affaires.

1. Among the Jewes.

Psal. 99. 6, Priests and

Prophets among the Jewes exercised secular jurisdiction.

1 Chron. 23. 4.

2 Chron. 19.

11.

The place explained.

*Sigonius legis,
super opera qua
ad regis officia
pertinent. l. 6.
p. 315.
1 Sam. c. 8.*

Verfu fo.

*Ezech 44 23.
Vide locum.
Sigon. ait: &
circa iudicium
sanguinis ipsi
insistent.*

*2. In the Pri-
mitive Church
Salmer tra8
18. in parabol.
hominis divitis
lo. 16. num. 1.*

*Bellar. de Rom.
Pont. l. 5. c. 9.*

Theod. l. 2. c. 30

*Hem. of Hun-
tington, Hist.
Engl.*

*Aug. tom. 3.
de scrib. Mo-
nach. c. 29.*

*Socrus, Eccl.
hist. lib. 7.*

28. num. 1.

23. num. 1.

this place with the 26. chap. of the 1. Chron. vers. the 29, 30, and 32. you may easily finde, that the Kings service, or the affairs of the King, doth not signifie the civil matters, or the politique affairs of the Kingdom, over which *Amaria* here, and *Halhabia* and his brethren there (1 Chron. 26. 30.) were appointed the chief Rulers; but it signifieth those things which pertained to the Kings right, betwixt him and his subjects; (as those things that were described by *Samuel*, and were retained, and perhaps augmented, either by the consent of the people, or the incroachment of the succeeding Kings, as the special rights of the Kings) over which *Zebadiah* the son of *Ismael* was appointed by *Iehosaphat* to be the Ruler; and the business of the Lord is fully set down, vers. 10. to be not onely the Church affairs; but all the affairs of the Kingdom, between blood and blood, between Law and Commandment, Statutes and Judgements; over which the Priests and Levites were appointed the ordinary Judges, and the Interpreters of the Law, as well Civil as Ecclesiastical; for the Lord saith plainly, that every question and controversie shall be determined according to the sentence of the Priests; which certainly he would never have so prescribed, nor these holy men have thus executed them, if these two Functions had been so averse, and contrary the one to the other, that they could never be exercised together by the same man.

2. In the Primitive times under the Gospel, *Salmeron* saith, that in the time of *S. Augustine*, as himself teacheth, *Episcopi libris Christianorum vacare solebant*, the Bishops had so much leisure, that they were wont to judge of the quarrels of Christians: yet they did not so spend their time in judging their contentions, that they neglected their Preaching and Episcopal function: and now that they do judge in civil causes, *consuetudine Ecclesia introductum est*, ut peccata caverentur. And *Bellarmino* saith, *Non pugnat cum verbo Dei, ut unus homo sit Princeps Ecclesiasticus & politicus simul*, it is not against the word of God, that the same man should be an Ecclesiastical and a Secular Prince together, when as the same man may both govern his Episcopacy and his Principality. And therefore we read of divers men; that were both the Princes and the Bishops of the same Cities: as the Archbishop of *Collen*, *Metz*, *Triers*, and other German Princes; that are both Ecclesiastical Pastours, and great secular Princes. And *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was for a long while Viceroy of this Kingdom: And so *Leo. 9. Julius 2. Philip* Archbishop of *York*, *Adelboldus. Innocent 2. Collenatus* and *Blondus*, and many others, famous and most worthy Bishops, both of this Island and of other Kingdoms, have undertaken and exercised both the Functions. And *Saint Paul* recommendeth secular businesses and judgements unto the Pastours of the Church, as *S. Augustine* testifieth at large; where he saith, I call the Lord *Iesus* a witness to my soul, that for so much as concerneth my commodity, I had rather work every day with my hands, and to reserve the other houres free to read, pray, and exercise my self in Scriptures, then to sustain the tumultuous perplexities of other mens causes; in determining secular Controversies by judgement, or taking them up by arbitrement; to which troubles the Apostle hath appointed us, nor of his own will, but of his that spake in him. And as this excellent Father, that wrote so many worthy volumes, did notwithstanding employ no small part of his time in these troublesome affairs, so *S. Ambrose* twice undertook an honourable Embassy for *Valentinian* the Emperour unto the Tyrant *Maximus*. And *Marrutha* Bishop of *Mesopotamia* was sent by the *Roman* Emperour, an Ambassador to the King of *Persia*, in which employment he hath abundantly benefited both the Church and the Emperour: and we read of divers famous men that undertook divers Functions, and yet neither confounded their offices, nor neglected their duties; for *Spiridion* was an husbandman, and a Bishop of the Church: a Pastour of sheep, and a feeder of soules; and yet none of the ancient Fathers, that we read of, either enjoyed his Farm, or blamed his neglect in his Bishoprick; but they admired his simplicity, and commended his sanctity: they

they were not of the spirit of our hypocritical Saints. And Theodoret writeth, ^{Theodor. lib. 4. c. 13.} that one James Bishop of Nisib, was both a Bishop and a Captain of the same City, which by the help of his God he manfully preserved against Sapor King of Persia. And Eusebius Bishop of Samosits, managing himself with all warlike habiliments, ranged along throughout all Syria, Phœnicia, and Palæstina; and as he passed, erected Churches, and ordained Priests and Deacons, and performed such other Ecclesiastical pensions, as pertained to his office in all places; and I fear me the iniquity of our time will now call upon all Bishops, that are able, to do the like: to preach unto our people, and to fight against God's enemies, (that have long laboured to overthrow his Church) as we read of some Bishops of this Kingdom, that have been driven to do the like: and if these men might do these things without blame, as they did, why may not the same man be both a Bishop and the Kings Counsellour? both a Preacher in the pulpit, and a Justice of the peace on the Bench? and yet the callings not confounded, though the same man be called to both offices; for you know the office of a Lawyer is different from the office of a Physician, and the office of a Physician as different from the duty of a Divine; and yet as Saint Luke was an excellent Physician, and a heavenly Evangelist; and S. Paul as good a Lawyer, as he was a Preacher, (for he was bred at the feet of Gamaliel) as was Master Calvin too, as good a Civilian as he was a Divine (for that was his first profession:) so the same man may, as in many places they do, and that without blame, both play the part of a Physician to cure the body, and of a Divine to instruct the soul; and therefore why not of a Lawyer? when as the Preachers duty, next to the teaching of the faith in Christ, is to persuade men to live according to the rules of Justice, and Justice we cannot understand without the knowledge of the Laws, both of God and men; and if he be obliged to know the Law, why should he be thought an unfit man to judge according to the Law? But.

CHAP. IX.

Sheweth a full answer to four special Objections that are made against the Civil jurisdictions of Ecclesiastical persons; their abilities to discharge these offices, and desire to benefit the Common-wealth; why some Councils inhibited these offices unto Bishops; that the King may give titles of honour unto his Clergy; of this title, LORD; not unfitly given to the Bishops, proved; the objections against it answered, six special reasons why the King should confer honours and favours upon his Bishops and Clergy.

I. IF you say the office of a Preacher requireth the whole man, and where ^{Ob., 1.} the whole man is not sufficient to one duty, for *πῶς ταῦτα ἴσχυς?* then ^{2 Cor. 1. 16.} certainly one man is never able to supply two charges.

Answer, that this indefinite censure is uncertainly true, and most certainly Sol. false, as I have proved unto you before, by many examples of most holy men, that discharged two offices with great applause, and no very great difficulty to themselves; for though Saint Matthew could not return to his trade of Publican, because that a continued attendance on a secular business, would have taken him from his Apostolate, and prove an impediment to his Evangelick ministration; yet Saint Peter might return to his nets, as he did, without blame; because that a temporary employment, and no constant secession, can be no hinderance

N
o man is al-
wayes able to
do the same
thing.

Change of la-
bour is a kinde
of recreation.

John. 4. 34.

Ob. 2.

Sol.

1. The abi-
lity of the
Clergy to ma-
nage civil af-
faires.

Ignat. Epist. ad
Ephes.
ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
τοῦ ἔργου
ἐκκλησίας δὲ
παρεστέοντες.

The Clergy of
better abilities
to benefit the
Common-
wealth, then
many others
that now sway
it.

The employ-
ment of the
Bishops in ci-
vil affaires is
the good of
the Common
wealth.

Petrus Blesen-
sis, ep. 84.

derance to our Clericall office; when there is no man that can so wholly ad-
dict himselfe to any kinde of art, trade, or faculty, but that he must sometimes
interchangeably afford himselfe leisure, either for his recreation, *Ut quicquid*
animo possit sufferre laborem; or the recollection of strength and abilities to dis-
charge his office by the undertaking of some other exercise, which is to many
men their chiefest recreation; as you see, the husband-mans change of labour
doth still inable him to continue in labour; and the Courtier cannot *alwayes*
wait in the same posture, nor the Scribe *alwayes write*, nor the Divine *alwayes*
study; but there must be an exchange of his actions for the better perfor-
mance of his chiefest employment: and that time, which either some Gentle-
men, Citizens, or Courtiers spend in playing, hawking, or hunting, onely for
their recreation, the better to inable them to discharge their offices, why may
not the Divine employ it in the performance of any other duty, different, but
not destructive, or contradictory to his more special function? especially con-
sidering that the discharging of those good duties, to give *counsell*, to do *justice*,
to relieve the *distressed*, and the like, are more *acceptable* recreations unto them
(as it was *meate* and drink to Christ to do his fathers will) then the other fore-
named exercises are or can be to any others; and considering also, that where
the Bishop or Pastor hath great affairs, and much charge, he may have great
helpes, and much aid to assist him. You will allow us an *hour* for our recreati-
on, why, will you not allow us that hour to do *justice*?

2. If you say, they are *spirituall* men, and therefore cannot have so great a
care of the *temporall* state, and Common-wealth.

I answer, that as now the *Common-wealth* is the Church, and the Church is
the Common wealth, and have as good *interest* therein, and better we hope there
many of the *Common-wealth* have in the Church; and they should be as able
to understand what is *beneficiall* to the Common-wealth as any other; for *Ixi-*
natus saith, that Kings ought to be served by *wise* men, and by those that are
of great *understanding*, καὶ οὐκ ἀπαρασκευάστοις τοῖς σώματι, and not to be attend-
ed upon by *weak* and simple men; and if Kings must be served by *such* men,
then certainly the service of God is not to be performed by *Weavers* and Tay-
lors, and others like *Jeroboams* Priests; but it will require men of *great* abili-
ties, *learning*, and understanding in *all* businesses whatsoever, such as are in-
deed well able to discourse *De quolibet ente*: And they have very *unprofitably*
consumed themselves with their time in their head-pain *vigils*, and heart-break-
ing *studies*, in traversing over *all* the Common-wealths of the world, if they
have learned *nothing*, whereby they may benefit their own Common-wealth,
or do understand *less* what belongeth unto the good of their Countrey, especi-
ally in matters of *equity* and right, then *illiterate* Burgessees, and meere Chap-
men: for, if you read but the bookes of the *Prophets*, you shall finde how
plentifull they are in the *precepts* of peace, in the *policies* of war, and in the
best *counsels* for all things which concern the good of the Common-wealth:
and do not the Divines read the Histories of *all*, or *most* other Common-
wealths? how else shall they be *inabled* to propole unto their people the exam-
ple of Gods *justice* upon the wicked, and his *bounty* and favour unto the obser-
vers of his Lawes, throughout all *ages*, and in all places of this world? and
will you deprive the King of the *assistance* of such instruments for the govern-
ment of his people, that are stronger then any one man can rule, and would
quickly *despise* Heaven, and *destroy* the earth, if their *consciencs* were not aw-
ed with Religion? or would you damme up the *channels* of those benefits that
should flow from *them* to the Common-wealth? for it is not the addition of
any *honour* to the calling of a Bishop, but the King's *interest*, and the peoples
good that is aimed at, when we assert the *capacity* of the Clergy to discharge the
offices of the most *publique* affaires; because, as *Petrus Blesensis* saith, it is the
office of the Bishops to instruct the King to *righteousness*, to be a rule of *San-*
ctity, and sobriety unto the Court, to mix the influences of Religion with the
designes

designes of State, and to restrain the malignity of the ill-disposed people; and all histories do relate unto us, that when pious Bishops were employed in the King's Counsels, the rigour of the Lawes was abated, equity introduced, the cry of the poor respected, their necessities relieved, the liberties of the Church preserved, pride depressed, religion increased, the devotion of the Laity multiplied, the peace of the Kingdom flourished, and the tribunals were made more just and merciful, then now they be.

And therefore the sacred histories do record of purpose, how the people of God never adventured upon any action of weight and moment, before they had well consulted with the Priests and Prophets, as you see in the example of *Abah*, that was none of the best Kings, yet would not omit this good duty: and such was the custom of all other Countries, wheresoever there was any religion or reverence of God; *Quæ enim est respub. ubi ecclesiastici primum non habeant locum in comitiis & publicis de salute reipub. deliberationibus?* for which is that Common-wealth, where the Ecclesiastical persons had not the first place in all meetings and publique consultations about the welfare of the Common-wealth? as in *Germany* the three spiritual Electours are the first; in *France* the three Ecclesiastical persons were the first of all the Peers; in *England* (till this unhappy time) the two Archbishops, and in *Poland* as many, were wont to have the chiefest place, and not unworthily: *quia æquum est, antequam in concilio qui antestant prudentiâ, nec videtur novisse res humanas, nisi qui divinas cognitæ habet*; as the *Indian* said unto *Socrates*: and therefore the *Chaldeans*, the *Egyptians*, the *Gracians*, the *Romanes*, the *French*, and the *Britons*, thought it alwayes ominous to attempt any notable thing in the Common-wealth, without the sad and sage advice of their Priests and Prophets; for they knew the neglect of God was never left without due revenge; and though their false gods were no gods, yet the true God was found to have been a sharp revenger of the contempt of the false gods; because that to them they were proposed for the true gods, and they believed them so to be, as *Lactantius* sheweth: and therefore all antiquity that bare any reverence to any Deity, shewed all reverence and respect unto the teachers of his religion; but now men desire to throw learning over the Bar, because it should not discover the ignorance of the Bench, or rather piety is excluded, because it should not reprove their iniquity: And the Clergy must not sit on the seat of judgement, that the Laity may do injustice without controul; or perhaps revenge themselves upon their Ministers on the Bench, for reprovng their vices in the Church: so the Devil gaineth, whatsoever piety loseth by their depression.

No Nation attempted any great matter without the advice of their Priests.

Apud Euseb. Pamphilum, l. 11. Strabo l. 4. Caesar de bello Gallico lib. 6.

2. As the Clergy-men are as able, so they are as willing and as careful to provide for the good of the State, as any other; for themselves are members of the Common-wealth, and they are appointed by God to be watchmen and overseers, to foretel what mischiefs or felicities are like to ensue, and to admonish as well the Prince as the people, of such things as are to be avoided and to be performed; which they cannot do, if they be strangers from the conscience, and excluded from the conference of such things that are to be done in the Common-wealth.

3. The desire of the Clergy to do good to the State.

Therefore, seeing the good of the Common-wealth is their own good, and the good of the Church is the good of the Common-wealth, when a Christian Common-wealth and the Church of Christ are embarked in the same Vessel, and do sayle together with the same success, aiming both at the same Port: and God hath commanded his Ministers to be no less solicitous for the one, then the other: it is incredible to think that a godly Minister should have lesse care of the Common-wealth, then the best of our common Burgo-Masters; and it is impossible to conceive any true reason, why the Bishops and Pastours above all others, should be excommunicated out of their assemblies, and excluded from their Parliaments, and other civil Courts; when it doth most chiefly concern them, to see unto the welfare of their flock, not onely in such things

The Church of Christ and a Christian common-wealth sail together.

A miserable thing, that the Ministers of the Gospel should be made more slaves, then the basest calling in the World.

as concern the safety of their souls, but also in all other things that may pertain; either to the security of their bodies, or the quietness of their estates; because this is a thing utterly against the equal right of all Subjects, that the Ministers of the Gospel, being *Subjects* unto the king, and Citizens of the Commonwealth should have nothing to do in the Government thereof, but must be governed, not as *strangers*, that may have admission, but as *slaves* with an impossibility to be received into the civil administration of any matter: and their exclusion is as prejudicial to the king and kingdom, as it is injurious unto the Clergy; when they must be deprived of the grave advice and faithful service of so learned and religious assistants for the government of the people, as the reverend Bishops and devout Doctors have ever been.

Ob. 3.
Act. 15.
S. Cyprian punished *Geminus Faustinus* for undertaking the Executorship of *Geminus Victor*, ep. 66.

Sol.
Good to be excluded from the counsel of the wicked.

Psal. 1. 1.

The giving of *Caesar's* due doth not hinder us to give to god his due

3. If you say the sixth Canon of the Apostles, the seventh Canon of the Council of *Calcedon*, and *Saint Cyprian* in his Epistle to the Priests of *Furnam*, do forbid these things in Ecclesiastical persons; and so many Fathers have accordingly refused these civil employments and jurisdictions.

I answer briefly, that while the Emperours were *Heathens*, and neither the Kings nor their Kingdoms Christian, but their counsells were often held for wicked ends, private gain, or privy deceit, for bloody murders, or horrid treasons, the Clergy were inhibited; and the godly Bishops were ashamed to sit in such ungodly assemblies, that would neither be converted to Christ, nor reformed from their sins; and so now, when the *Puritan* faction prevailed in our Parliament, and our *Sectaries* disdained in their counsells, to take the counsel of Religion, and resolved to banish GOD from their assemblies, to make the Church and Church-men a publick scorn unto the wicked, and the Commonwealth a private gain to every broken Citizen, and every needy Varlet; I say, happy are those Bishops that are excluded, and well it is for those Ministers that are furthest off from such godless and irreligious, not Parliaments, but Parrisides; even as the Psalmist testifieth; *Blessed is the man that hath not sate in the seat of the scornful*; and therefore if they had not been excluded, I am sure, that as the case now standeth, they would have seceded themselves.

But when the civil Magistrates became Christians, and the Christians consulted with God in all their actions, then it was no indecorum for the servants of Christ to be seen in the Congregation of Saints, and to sit as Judges among gods, where the judgement shall pass for the glory of God; neither is it any prejudice to our holy calling, to give unto *Caesar* those things that are *Caesar's*, and that we owe unto him, as our service and our counsel, and whatsoever else lyeth in us to do for the good of the Commonwealth, as we are his Subjects and the Tenants of the Commonwealth: nor do the rendering of those things to *Caesar* any wayes hinder us to give unto God the things that are God's, and that we owe to God, as our prayers and our care over God's flock, as we are Christians and Bishops over the Church of Christ; but the same man, if he will be faithful, may justly perform both duties, without giving over or neglecting either. And when our men shall return to God, and take him along with them into their counsells, and desire the assistance of his servants (as I hope they will have grace to do) I assure my self the Reverend Bishops will not refuse to do them service.

Ob. 4.
Sol.

But you will say the Emperours were good Christians, when the Council of *Calcedon* put out their Canons.

I answer, the Emperours were, but all Kings were not: besides, that Canon clears it self; for it sheweth that Clergymen did at that time undertake secular employments. *Propter lucra et curpia, ministerium Dei parvi pendentes, for gaine, neglecting their duty; and therefore the Council forbade all Clergy-men, negotia secularia se immiscere; because the Apostle saith, idcirco sperabo quod curam huiusmodi non sitis recipiunt; no man that warreth, intangleth or insnareth himself with the affairs of this life; and so neither the Apostle nor the Council doth absolutely forbid all secular affairs, as inconsistent with this function; but as the Council*

2 Tim. 2. 4.

The Wickednesses of the pretended Parliament.

51

cil of Arles saith, Clericus turpis lucris gratia aliquod genus negotiationis non exercet, so they forbid all Clerks to meddle with any business for the love of gain, and filthy lucre, that might insnare him to neglect his duty: or as the Canon of the Apostle saith, ἐπισκοπὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἀναλαμβάντω, a Bishop should not assume unto himself, or seeke after worldly cares, but if either necessity or authority impose them on him, I see not how he can refuse them; because there is no absolute prohibition of such imployments in any place, but as it might be a hinderance to discharge his office: or otherwise Saint Paul's Tent-making was as much against the calling of an Apostle, as the sitting in a secular tribunal is against the office of a Bishop; because there is no reason we should deny that benefit to a publick necessitated community, which we will yeeld to a private personal necessity.

And so indeed these very men that cry out against our Bishops, and other grave Prelates of the Church, for the least meddling in these civil affaires, do not onely suffer their own Preachers to strain at a gnat, but also to swallow a Camel; when M. Henderson, Marshal, Case, and the rest of their new inspired Prophets shall sit as Presidents in all their Counsels, and Committees of their chiefest affaires and consultations, either about War or Peace, or of any other civil cognizance; how these things can be answered, to deny that to us, which they themselves do practise, I cannot understand, when as the light of Nature tells us.

*Quod tibi vis fieri, mihi fac, quod non, mihi noli:
Sic potes in terris vivere jure poli.*

And therefore when as there is no politick Philosophy, no imperial constitution, nor any humane invention, that doth or can so strictly binde the consciences of men unto subjection and true obedience, as the Doctrine of the Gospel; and no man can perswade the people so much unto it, as the Preachers of Gods word; (as it appeareth by this Rebellion, perswaded by the false Preachers) because the Principles of Philosophy, and the Laws of many nations do permit many things to be done against tyrants, which the Religion of Christ and the true Bishops of Gods Church do flatly inhibit; it is very requisite and necessary for all Christian Kings, both for the glory of God, their own safety, and the happiness of the Common-wealth, to defend this their own right, and the right of the Clergy, to call them into their Parliaments and Counsels, and to demise certain civil causes and affairs to the gravest Bishops, and the wisest of the Ministers; and not suffer those Rebellious Anabaptists and Brownists, that have so dishonourably laboured to pull off the Crown from their Kings head, to bury all the glory of the Church in the dust, to bring the true Religion into a scorn, and to deprive the King of the right, which is so necessary for his safety, and so useful for the Government of his people, that is, the service of his Clergy in all civil Courts and Councils.

And as it is the Kings right to call whom he pleaseth into his Parliaments and Councils, and to delegate whom he will to discharge the office of a civil or Ecclesiastical magistrate, or both, wheresoever he appoints within his Realms and Dominions: so it is primarily in his power and authority and his regal right, to give titles of honour and dignity to those officers and magistrates whom he chooseth: for, though the Barbarians acknowledge no other distinction of Persons, but of Master and Servants, which was the first punishment for the first contempt of our Superiors; therefore their Kings do raige and domineer over their Subjects, as Masters do over their servants; and the Fathers of Families have the same authority over their Wives and Children, as over the slaves and vassals; and the Muscovites at the day do rule after this manner, neither is the great Empire of the Turke much unlike this Government; and generally all the Eastern Kingdomes were ever of this kinde, and kept this

Concil. Arelai.
Can. 14.

The words of
the Canon ex-
plained,

The Presbyte-
rians will be
the directors
of all affaires.

Unde Baldus
jubet, ut quis in
alios non aliter
judicet, quam
in se iudicari
vellet.

How requisite
it is for Kings
to delegate ci-
vil affaires un-
to their Cler-
gie.

That it is the
Kings right to
give titles of
honour to
whom he plea-
seth.

Gen. 9. 25

Saravia c. 28.
P. 194.

The milde go-
vernment of
our Kings.

Of the Title
of Lord.

rule over all the Nations whom they Conquered; and many of them do *still* retain it to these very times. Yet our *Western* Kings whom charity hath taught better, and made them milder, and especially the Kings of this *Island*, which, in the sweetness of Government exceeded all other Kings, (as holding it their *chiefest* glory to have a free people subject unto them, and thinking it more *Honourable* to command over a *free*, then a *servile* nation,) have conferred upon their subjects many *titles* of great honour, which the Learned Gentleman M. Selden hath most Learnedly treated of: and therefore I might well be *silent* in this point, (and not to write *Iliads* after *Homer*) if this title of *Lord*, given by His Majesty unto our Bishops, (for none but he hath any *right* to give it) did not require that I should say something thereof: touching which, you must observe, that this name *dominus* is of *divers* significations, and is derived *à domo*, as *Zanchinus* observeth, where every man is a *Lord* of that house and possession which he holdeth; and it hath relation also to a *servant*; so that this name is *ordinarily* given among the *Latinists* to any man that is able to keep *servants*: and so it must needs appear, how great is the *malice*, I cannot say, the *ignorance*, (when every school-boy knows it) of those *Seſtaries* that deny this title to be consistent with the *calling* of a Bishop, which indeed cannot be denied to any man of any *ordinary* esteeme.

But they will say, that it signifieth also *rule* and authority, and so, as it is a title of *rule* and *Dominion*, it is the invention of *Antichrist*, the donation of the Devill, and forbidden by our Saviour, where he saith, *ὁ ἐξουσιάζων αὐτῶν ἀνέχεται καὶ αὐτοὶ*, *ἡμῶς δὲ ἐχ ἔτι*: that is, in effect, *be not you called gracious Lords*, or benefactors (which is the proper signification of *ἀνέχεται*;) therefore these *titles* of honour are not fit for the *Preachers* of the Gospel, to puffe them up with *pride*, and to make them swell above their brethren.

Luke 22. 25.
ἐχ ἔτι δὲ
ἔτι ἐν ὑμῶν.
Math. 16. 30.

That there is a
double rule or
dominion.

It is answered, that if our Saviours words be *rightly* understood, and his meaning not *maliciously* perverted, neither the *authority* of the Bishops, nor the *title* of their honour is forbidden; for as *κλεισ* is a title of *dominion*, so it is fit to be ascribed to them, unto whom the Lord and author of all *rule* and *dominion*, hath committed any *rule* or Government over his People; and our Saviour forbiddeth not the same; because you may finde that there is a *double* rule, and dominion; the one *just* and approved, the other *tyrannicall* and disallowed; and the *tyrannicall* rule, or as S. Peter saith, *κατακλιθεὶς*, the *domineering* authority over Gods inheritance, both Christ and his Apostles do forbid; but the *just* rule and dominion they deny not; because they must do it, *ὡς υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, as the son of man doth it; so the *manner* of their rule, *ὡς ἀρχόντες ἐν ἡμῶν*, as the Kings of the Nations rule with *tyranny*, he prohibiteth; but, as the servants of Christ ought to rule with *charity*, not with *austerity*; with *humility*, and not with *insolence*, he denieth not; and so he denieth not the name of *Lord*, as it is a title of *honour* and reverence, *given* unto them by the King, and *ascribed* by their people; but he forbiddeth an *ambitious* aspiring to it, and a *prond* carriage, and deportment in it; yet it may be so with you, *ὡς υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, as it is with the son of man, whom no man can exceed in *humility*; and yet in his greatest *humility*, he saith, ye call me, *διδασκαλὸν καὶ κλεισ*, Master and Lord: *καὶ καλῶς λέγετε*, and ye say well, for so I am: *John. 13. 13*. And therefore he forbad not this *title* no otherwise then he forbad them to be *Fathers*, *Doctors*, and *Masters*; and I hope you will confesse he doth not inhibit the *Children* to call them *Fathers* that begat them, nor forbid us to call them *Doctors*, unto whom the Lord himselfe hath given the name, *διδασκαλῶν*, of *Doctors* in his Church, *Ephes. 4. 11*. otherwise we must know why S. Paul doth call himselfe the *Doctor* of the Gentiles, *1 Tim. 2. 7*. and why doth the Law command us to *honour* our *Father* and our *Mother*, if we may call no man *Father*.

But Christ coming not to *diminish* the power of Princes, nor to make it *unlawful* for Christian Kings to *honour* his servants, which the heathen Princes did

to the servants of God, as *Nebuchadnezzar* preferred *Daniel* among the *Babylonians*, and *Darius* advanced *Mordecai* among the *Persians*; nor to deny that honour unto his servants, which their own honest demerits, and the bounty of their gracious Princes do confer upon them; it is apparent, that it is not the condition of these names, but the ambition of these titles and the abuse of their authority, is forbidden by our Saviour Christ. For, as *Elias* and *Elizabeth* in the old Testament suffered themselves with no breach of humility to be called *Lords*; as where *Abdias*, a great officer of King *Ahab* saith, art not thou my Lord *Elias*? and the *Shunamite* called *Elizabeth* Lord, 4 Reg. 4. 16. So in the new Testament *Paul* and *Barnabas* that rent their cloaths when the people ascribed unto them, more than humane honour; yet refused not the name of *Lords*, when it was given them by the keeper of the prison, that said, *Lords, what shall I do to be saved?* which title certainly they would never have endured, if this honour might not be yielded, and this title received by the Ministers of the Gospel: and Saint *Peter* tells us, that Christian women, if they imitate *Sarah* (that obeyed *Abraham* *) whom he propounded to them as a pattern, may, and should call their husbands, though mean *Mechanicks, Lords*: or else he proposeth this example to no purpose; and therefore me thinks they should be ashamed, to think this honour may be afforded to poor *Trades-men*, and to deny it to those eminent pillars, and chief governours of God's Church. And as the Scripture gives, not only others the like eminent, and more significant titles of honour unto the governours of the Church, (as when it saith, they are *wise-men, Presidents, Rulers, Counsellors & Judges, Princes*; as where the Psalmist saith, instead of thy Fathers, thou shalt have children, whom thou mayest make Princes in all lands, which the best interpreters do expound of the *Apostles* and *Bishops*, that are called the *Princes* of God's Church, but also giveth and alloweth this very title of *Lord* unto them, as I shewed before: so the fathers of the Primitive Church did usually ascribe the same one to another, as Saint *Hierom* writing to Saint *Augustine* saith, *Domine verè sancte*, and the Letters sent to *Julian* Bishop of *Rome* had their superscription, *To our most blessed Lord*. And *Nazianzen* saith, *Let no man speak any untruth of me, nor of us, as we are known of the Lords the Bishops*: and in all antiquity as *Theodoret* sheweth, this title of *Lord* is most frequently ascribed unto the Bishops: Saint *Chrysostom* in Plal. 13. as he is cited by *Baronius*, Anna 58. m. 2. saith, that *Heresicks* have learned of the Devil to deny the due titles of honour unto their Bishops: neither is it strange, that he which would have no Bishops, should deny all honour unto the Bishops: but they can be contented to transfer this honour, though to cover their hypocrisie in another title, that shall be as *Emperour* instead of *King*, from the *Episcopacy* to the *Presbytery*: so that indeed it is not the honour which they bate, but the Persons of the Bishops that are honoured.

Therefore, though for mine own particular, I do so much undervalue the *manly* of all titles, that we eat not the *duty* of the people, to give it; more than the *desire* of the *Bishops*, to have it, I should have shared all this Discourse: yet seeing it is the *right* of Kings to bestow *honours*, and it is an *argument* of their *love* to Christ, to honour them that honour God, to magnifie the *order* of their Religion, and to *account* the chief Ministers of the Gospel among the *chief* States of the Land, I could not pass it over in silence, but shew you how it belongs to him to give this *honour* to whom he will: and because this dignity cannot be given to all that are in the *same* order, it is *wisely* provided by the King, that the whole order or Ministry should be honoured in those few, whose *learning* and wisdom he hath had most *use* and *experience* of, or is otherwise *well* informed thereof, and it is no small wonder unto me, that any *learned* man should be so blinded with this error, as any wayes to oppose this truth, or that any *Christian* should be like the sons of *Jacob*, so transported with *envy*, when they see any of their brethren made more *honourable* then themselves, for they ought

when the Lord
Bishops are
down, the
Lords Tempo-
ral shall not
cont. nuelong,
for as Geneva
put away their
Bishop, their
Prince: so the
Cantons and
Switzers put a-
way all Lords.
A just judge-
ment of God,
that they
which will
have no spiri-
tual Lords,
should not be
any temporall
Lords; but
should be as
little regarded
by their crea-
tures, as they
regard the ser-
vants of their
Creator.
Six special rea-
sons, why the
King should
confer his fa-
vours and ho-
nours upon
the Bishops.
1. Reason.

Rex in unum
non est merns
Laicus, Guime-
rus, lit. 12.
sect 9.
33. Edw. 3.
lit. Aide le Roy
2. Reason.

ought to thinke themselves *honoured* in the honour of their *brethren*; but that, *pride*, is such a beast, that thinketh himself the most *worthy*, and *envy* is such a *monster*, that cannot endure any happiness to any other.

And that which makes me wonder most of all, is to see those Lords, whose *honours* scarce saw the age of a man, and some pretending great *loyalty* to His Majesty, and wishing *happiness* to His posterity, so far yeilding to the *misguided* Faction, to darken the *glory* of Gods Church, and to *undervalue* Christs Mi- nisters, as to obliterate that *dignity*, and rase out those *titles* which are inherent to the *Ministry* from the foundation of the Church, and are ascribed unto the Bishops by the same Majesty that honoured them; and for some by-respect and *private* ends to perfwade the King, to desert the Church, to leave the *Prelates* in the luds, their honour to be laied and buried in the dult, and their *revenues* to be *devoured* by the enemies of all Godliness.

But do these men thinke that *blessings* come from God, or that this is the way for God to bless the King, or themselves, or this Kingdome, to *visifie* those that honour God, and of whom Christ *directly* saith, *He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me*? for alas, who were more *favoured, protected*, and blessed by God, then *Constantine, Theodosius, and the rest* of those good *Emperours* and Kings, that gave most *immunities*, and conferred most *dignities* upon the Bishops, and *Prelates* of Gods Church? because that hereby they testified their love to *Christ* himself, and did not God *withdraw* his *favour* and *protection* from those kings and Potentates that neglected to *protect* his *servants*? therefore they cannot wish well unto the king, that wish him to give way to deride the Church, and to desert the defence of the Bishops. For, be- sides many other reasons, we finde six special arguments *proving*, that our king, rather then any king in *Enrope*, should uphold his *Clergy*, and confer his *favours* and *honours* upon them, I say, not *more* then upon his nobility, for that would *procure hatred* unto the king, *envy* unto them, and *ruine* unto all, but as well as upon any other state in this kingdome. As

1. Not onely the *relation* betwixt them and their *Prince*, as they are his faith- ful Subjects, and he their *Soveraigne King*, but as he is the *Lords Anointed*, and the *Defender* of that faith which they teach and publish unto his people, for this *anointing* of him by God for this end, *superinduceth* a brother-hood betwixt the king and the Bishops, and makes him *quasi unus ex nobis*, and the chief guide and guardian of the *Clergy*; because that thereby he is *mixta persona*, more then a *meere* Lay-man, and hath an *Ecclesiastical* *supreme Government*, as well as the civil, and *ut oleo sancto uncti sunt, spiritualis jurisdictionis capaces sunt*, and as it was said in the time of *Edward the third*, and therefore as in *relation* to the *tem- porality*, the king is *supremus iusticiarius totius Anglia*; so in respect to the *spi- rituality*, he is as *Constantine* stiled himself in the Council of *Nice*, *Emperor* & *imperator* as the chief Christian Bishop among his Bishops.

2. Our *Bishops* and *Clergy* are *truer* and *faithfuller* *Subjects* to their Prince then any other *Clergy* in *Christendome*; because the *Clergy* of *France* and *Spain*, and other *Popish* States and *Dominions*, are not simply *Subjects* unto their king, but deny civil obedience unto their *Prince*, where canonical obedience commands the contrary, and you see how the *Presbytery* not only deny their just allegiance, but incite the people to unjust *Rebellion*; but the Bishops and their *Clergy* *renounce* all obedience to any other Potentate, and *anathematize* as ut- terly unlawful, all resistance against our lawful *Soveraigne*; and in this *hearty adherence* to His Majesty, as they are *wholly* his, so they do expect *favour* from none, but onely from His Highness; and yet *Philip* the second of *Spaine*, not- withstanding he had but half the obedience of his *Clergy*, advised his son *Philip* the third to *stick fast* unto his *Bishops*, even as he had done before him; therefore our king that hath his *Bishops* so totally faithful unto him, hath *more reason* to *succour* them, that they be not nor the object of contempt unto the vul- gar.

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament.

55

3. The state of the Clergy is constantly and most really to their power, the most beneficial state to the Crown, both in ordinary and extraordinary revenues, of all others; for though their means is much impaired, and their charges increased in many things, yet if you consider their first fruits the first year, their Tenth every year, Subsidies most years, and all other due and necessary payments to the king, I may boldly say, that *computatis computandis*, no state in England of double their revenue scarce renders half their payments; and now in the kings necessity for the defence of Church and Crown, I hope my Brethren the Bishops, and all the rest of the loyal Clergy, will rather empty themselves of all they have, and put it to His Majesties hands, then suffer him to want what lyeth in them, during all the time of these occasions.

3. Reason.

Or else they are much to blame, and far unworthy to be Bishops.

4. They bestow all their labours in Gods service, continually praying for blessings upon the head of His Majesty, and his posterity; and next under god relying onely upon His favour and protection.

4. Reason.

5. God hath laid this charge upon all Christian kings, to be our nursing fathers, and to defend the faith that we preach, which cannot be done when the Bishops and Prelates are not protected, and God hath promised to bless them, so long as they discharge this duty, and hath threatened to forsake them when they forsake his Church, and leave the same as a prey to the adversaries of the Gospel.

5. Reason.
Esay 49. 33.

6. Our king hath, like a pious and a gracious King, at his Coronation promised and engaged himself to do all this that is desired of him. And as for these and other reasons His Majesty should, so we do acknowledge with all thankfulness that he hath and doth His best endeavour to discharge this whole duty, and do beleive with all confidence, that maugre all open opposition, and all secret insinuation against us, He will in like manner continue his grace and favour unto the Church and Church governours unto the end. And if any, whatsoever they be, how great or how powerful soever, either in kingdome or in Court shall seek to alienate the Kings heart, or diminish His affection and furtherance to protect and promote the publishers of the Gospel, (which we are confident all their malice cannot do, because the God of Heaven, that hath built his Church upon a rock, and will not turn away his face from his Anointed, will so bless our King, that it shall never be with him as it was with Zedechia, when it was not in his power to save Gods Prophet, but said unto his Princes, Behold he is in your hand, for the King is not he that can do any thing against you,) yet as Mordecai said to Hester, God will send enlargement and deliverance unto his Church, and they and their fathers houses that are against it, shall be destroyed, because as Saint Peter saith, we have forsaken all to become his servants, that otherwise might have served Kings with the like honour that they do, and we have left the world to build up his Church, we put our trust under the shadow of his wings, and being in trouble we do cry unto the Lord, and therefore he will hear our cry and will helpe us, and we shall never be confounded. Amen.

6. Reason.

Quia non plus valet ad deiciendum terram miles quam ad erigendum divina tutela: Cyp.

Jerem. 28. 5.

Hester 4. 14.

CHAP

C H A P. X.

Sheweth, that it is the Kings right to grant Dispensations for Pluralities and Non-residency; what Dispensation is; reasons for it, to tolerate divers Sects, or sorts of Religions; the foure special sorts of false professors; S. Augustines reasons for the toleration of the Jewes; toleration of Papists, and of Puritans; and which of them deserve best to be tolerated among the Protestants; and how any Sect is to be tolerated.

1. That the King may lawfully grant his dispensation for Pluralities and Non-residency.

2. **W**Hereas the *Anabaptists* and *Brownists* of our time, with what conscience I know not, cry out, that our *Kings* by their Lawes do *unreasonably*, and *unconscionably* grant dispensations both for *Pluralities* and *Non-residency*, onely to further the *corrupt* desire of some few aspiring Prelates, to the *infinite* wrong of the whole Clergy, the *intolerable* dishonour of our Religion, the exceeding *prejudice* of Gods Church, and the *lamentable* bazard of many thousand soules.

In Anno 112.

In Anno 636.

The first distribution of Parishes.

I say, that the *Pluralities* and *Non-residency* granted by the King, and warranted by the Lawes of this Land, may finde sufficient *reasons* to justify them; for, if you consider the first limitation of *Benefices*, that either *Evaristus* Bishop of *Rome*, or *Dionysius* (as others thinke) did first assigne the *precincts* of Parishes, and appointed a certain *compass* to every *Presbyter*: and in this Kingdome *Honorius* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* was the first that did the like, appointed the *Pastorall charge* and the portion of *meanes* accrewing from that *compass*, to this or that particular person; whereas before, for many years, they had no *particular charge* assigned, nor any *Benefice* allotted them, but had their *Canonicall* pensions and *dividends*, given them by the Bishop out of the *common stock* of the Church, according as the Bishop saw their *severall* deserts, for at first the *greater Cities* onely had their standing Pastors, and then the *Country Villages* imitating the *Cities*, to allow maintenance according to the *abilities* of the inhabitants, had men of *lesser learning* appointed for those places.

Pluralities and Non-residency no transgression of Gods Law.

Gods Law admitteth an interpretation; not a dispensation of it.

Mans Law maybe dispensed with:

Therefore this *limitation* of particular Parishes being merely *positive*, and an *humane* constitution, it cannot be the transgression of a *divine* ordinance to have more Parishes then one, or to be absent from that one which is allotted to him, when he is *dispenced* with by the Law-maker to do the same; for, as it is not *lawfull* without a dispensation to do either, because we are to obey every ordinance of the *higher power* for the Lords sake; so for the *higher power* to dispence *with* both, is most agreeable to *reason*, and Gods truth; for all our *Lawes* are either *divine*, or *humane*: and in the *divine* Law, though we allow of interpretation, *quia non sermone res, sed rei sermo debet esse subiectus*, because the *words* must be applied to the *matter*, else we may fall into the *heresie* of those, that as *Alfonsus de Castro* saith, held it unlawfull upon any occasion to *swear*: because our Saviour saith, *swear not at all*: yet no man, King nor Pope, hath power to grant any *dispensation* for the least breach of the least precept of Gods Law: he cannot *dispence* with the doing of that which God *forbiddeth* to be done, nor with the *omitting* of that which God *commandeth*; but in all *humane* Lawes, so far as they are merely *positive* and *humane*, it is in the power of their *makers* to dispence with them; and so *quicquid fit dispensatione superioris, non fit contra preceptum superioris*, and he sinneth neither against

gainst the Law, nor against his own conscience, because he is delivered from the obligation of that Law by the same authority, whereby he stood bound unto it.

And as he that is dispensed with, is free from all sin; so the King, which is the dispenser, is as free from all faults, as having full right and power to grant His dispensations. For, seeing that all humane Lawes are the conclusions of the Law of nature, or the evidences of humane reason, shewing what things are most beneficiall to any society, either the Church or Common-wealth; and that experience teacheth us, our reason groweth often from an imperfection to be more perfect, when time produceth more light unto us, we cannot in reason deny an abrogation and dispensation to all humane Lawes, which therefore ought not to be like the Lawes of the Medes and Persians, that might not be changed; Aug. de libero and so Saint Augustine saith, *Lex humana quamvis iusta sit, commutari samentibus. l. 1. pro tempore iuste potest*, any humane Law, though it be never so just, yet for the time, as occasion requireth, may be justly changed: & dispensatio est iuris communis relaxatio, facta cum causa cognitione ab eo, qui ius habet dispensandi; and as the Civilians say, a dispensation is the relaxation of common right, granted upon the knowledge of the cause, by him that hath the power of dispensing; or as the etymologie of the word beareth, dispensare est diversa pensare to dispense is to render different rewards: and the reward of learning, or of any other virtue, either in the civil, or the ecclesiasticall person, being to be rendered (as one saith) not by an Arithmeticall, but a Geometricall proportion; and the division of Parishes being (as I said before) a positive, humane Law, it cannot be denied but the giver of honour, and the bestower of rewards, which is the King, hath the sole power and right to dispose how much shall be given to this or that particular person.

Dispensation, what it is.

The reward of learning and vertue, how to be rendered.

If you say the Law of the King, which is made by the advice of his whole Parliament, hath already determined what portion is fit for every one, and what service is required from him.

Ob.

I answer, that the voice of equity and justice tells us, that a generall Law doth never derogate from a speciall privilege, or that a privilege is not opposite to the principles of common right, and where the Law it selfe gives this privilege (as our Law doth it yet) envy it selfe can never deny this right unto the King, to grant his dispensation whensoever he seeth occasion; and where the Law is tacite, and saith nothing of any privilege, yet seeing in all Lawes, as in all other actions, the end is the marke that is aimed at, and this end is no other then the publique good of any society, for which the Law is made; if chiefly to be the King, which is the sole Law-maker, so, as I shewed in my Discovery of Mysteries, leeth this publique good better procured by granting dispensations to some particular men, doth he not performe thereby what the Law intendeth, and no wayes breake the Law of common right? as if a mans absence from his proper Cure should be more beneficiall to the whole Church, then his residence upon his Charge could possibly be. (as when his absence may be either for the recovery of his health, or to discharge the Kings Embassage, or to do his best to confute Heretiques, or to pacifie Schismes, or to consult about the Church affaires, or some other urgent cause that the Law never dreamt of when it was in making) shall not the King (whom the Lawes have intrusted with the examination of these things, and to whom the principal care of Religion, and the charge of all the People is committed by God himselfe, and the power of executing his own Lawes) have power to grant his dispensations for the same?

Sol.

The end of every Law is chiefly to be respected.

Reasons of dispensations.

Certainly, they that would perswade the world that all Lawes must have such force, that all dispensations are transgressions of them, (as if generall rules should have no exceptions) would manacle the Kings hands, and binde his power in the chains of their crooked wills, that he should not be able to do that good, which God, and Right, and Law it selfe do give him leave; and their envy

How God
doth diversly
bestow his
gifts.
Matth. 25. 15.
Gen. 43. 34.

towards other mens grace, is a great deale more, then either the grace of *humility*, or the love of *truth* in them; for doth not God give *five* talents to some of his servants, when he gives but *one* to some others? and did not *Joseph* make *Benjamin*nesse five times so much as *any* of his brethren's? and have not some Lords, six, or eight or ten thousand pounds a year, and some very good men in the Common-wealth, and perhaps *higher* in God's favour, not ten pounds a year? and shall not the King *double* the reward of them that *deserve* it in the Church of God? or shall he be so *curbed* and manacled, that he shall neither *alter* nor *dispense* with his own Law, though it be for the *greater* glory unto God, and the greater *benefit* both to the Church and Common-wealth?

Besides, who can deny, but that some mens *merits*, virtue, paines, and learning, are more worthy of *two* Benefices, then many others are of *one*? and when in his *younger* time he is possessed of a *small* Benefice, he may perchance afterwards, when his *years* deserve better, far easier obtain another *little* one to keep with it, then get (what I dare assure you, he would desire much rather *) one Living of *equall* value to them both: and shall the *unlearned* zeal of an *envious* minde so far prejudice a *worthy* man, that the King's lawful *right* shall be censured, and his *power* questioned and clipped, or *traded* by this *ignorant* ZeLOT? I will *blesse* my self from them, and maintain it before *all* the world, that the King's dispensations for *Pluralities*, *Non-residency*, and the like Priviledges, not repugnant to *common* right, are not against *Law*; nor the *giving* or *taking* of them upon *just* causes against *conscience*: but what the violence of this *viperous* brood proclaimeth an *intolerable* offence, we dare warrant both with good *reason* and true *Divinity* to be *no* sin, no fault at all, but an undoubted *portion* of the King's *right*, for the greater benefit both of the Church and State, and the greater *glory* unto God himself.

* For who
would not rather
chuse one
Living of an
100 l. a year
then two of
50 l. a peice.

The Author's
Petition to
His Majesty.

And therefore (most gracious King) we humbly *desire* your Majesty, suffer not these children of *Apollyon* to pull this *flower* out of your Royal Crown, to abridge you of your *just* right of granting *dispensations* for *Pluralities* and *Non-residency* (which the *Lawes* of your Land do yet allow you) and which they labour to annul, to darken the *glory* of God's Church, and to bring your *Clergy*, by depriving them of their meanes and honour, into *contempt*, lest that, when by *one* and *one*, they have robbed you of all your *rights*, they will fairly *salute* you, as the Jews did Christ; *Haile King of the Jewes*, when God knows they hated him, and stript him of all power, (I speak not of his *Divinity*) either to govern them, or to save himself.

3. The toleration
of divers
Sects and sorts
of religions.

3. As the King hath *right* and *power* to grant his *dispensations* both of *grace* and of *justice*, of *grace* when it is merely of the King's Princely *favour*, as in *legitimations* and the like, and of *justice* when the King findeth a *just* cause to *grant* it; so likewise it is in the King's *power* and *right* to remit any offence, (that is, the *mult* or *penalty*) and to *absolve* the offender from any, or all the *transgressions* of his own *Lawes*; from the *transgression* of God's Law, neither King, nor Pope, nor *Priest*, nor any other can *formally* remit the fault, and *absolve* *transgressors*, but as God is the *Law-giver*, so God alone must be the *forgiver* of the offence; so the *Jewes* say, *who can forgive sins but God onely*? Yet, as God which gives the Law can *lawfully* remit the sin, and forgive the *breach* of the Law, so the King, which makes these *positive* Lawes cannot be denied this power, to *pardon* when he seeth cause, or is so pleased, the offenders of his Lawes; as you see they do many times grant their pardons for the most *heinous* faults and capital crimes, as *treasons*, *murders*, *felonies*, and the like: and if they may grant their pardons for the *breach* of the Law, and remit the *mult* imposed for the *transgression* thereof, it is strange if they should not have *right* to *dispense* with whom they please, when they see cause, from the *bond* of the Law: and therefore, we are to discuss how far the King, (in these Lawes of the Church) may give *exemptions* and tolerations unto them, whose *consciences* cannot

Mar. 2. 7^o

As David pardoned *Abiathar*,
and Solomon
Abiathar.

cannot submit themselves to the observation of the established Laws; for seeing all men are not of the same faith, nor do profess the same Religion; and it is the nature of all men to dislike that which themselves will not profess, and if opportunity serve to root out that which they dislike; it is requisite it should be shewed, how far a prudent and a pious Prince may grant a toleration (the Law *in terminis* not forbidding it) unto any of these *sects* that may be commorant within his Kingdomes.

Touching which, I say that besides dissembling *hypocrites*, and *prophane* worldlings, that have no faith, nor any other Religion, but the shadow of that Religion, whatsoever it is, which is profest *wheresoever* they are, there may be in any Kingdom *Jewes*, *Turkes*, *Papists*, *Puritans*, and the like; or to call them otherwise, *Idolaters*, *Hereticks*, *Schismatickes*, &c. And

1. For the *Jewes*, though they have many things in their Religion, which will ever alienate them from the *Papists*, yet they have free leave to use their ancient Ceremonies in *Rome*, saith *Doctor Whitaker*; and it is well known, that many pious Princes have permitted them to dwell, and to exercise their own Religion in this kingdom; the old *Jury* in *London* is so called, because it was allotted for their abode; and the Lawes of many Christian Emperours have in like sort permitted them to do the like in their Dominions, but with those cautions and limitations that *Moses* prescribed unto the *Jewes*, to be observed with the *Heathens* and *Idolaters* that dwelt amongst them; that is, neither to make marriages with them, nor to communicate with them in their Religion. And *Saint Augustine* is reported to be so favourable towards them, that he alledgeth several reasons for their toleration. As

1. That above and before others they had the promise of salvation; and therefore though some of the branches be cut off, and the case of the rest be most lamentable, yet not altogether desperate and incurable, if we consider what the *Apostle* setteth down, of their conversion and re-union unto the good right olive tree.

2. That the Prophet *David* speaking of them, made that prayer unto God, *Slay them not, O Lord, lest my people forget it, but scatter them abroad among the Heathen, and put them down, O Lord, our defence*, for many excellent ends; as first, that their being scattered amongst the Christians, might shew both the clemency and severity of God, towards us mercy and clemency, and towards them justice and severity, which may likewise happen, unto us if we take not heed, as the *Apostle* bids us, *Be not high minded but fear*: and secondly, that being among the Christians, they might the sooner at all times by their charity and prayers be reduced, the more willingly to imbrace the faith of Christ, when as unwillingly we may neither compel them, nor take their children to be baptized from them. And therefore as the Princes of this Realm, for divers causes hurtful to their State, have banished them out of their Dominions: so if they see good cause to permit them (as time may change the condition of things) they may do, as by their counsel they shall be advised, either the one or the other, to receive them or reject them without offence; because we finde no special precept or direction in Gods Word either to banish or to cherish them in any kingdom.

2. For the *Turks*, the reasons are not much unlike, though something different, and in my judgement no less tolerable then the other, because somewhat nearer to the Christian faith; therefore I leave them to the Laws of each kingdom, to do as the wisdom of the prince shall think fit.

3. For the *Papists* the case is far otherwise with them, then either with the *Turks* or *Jewes*; because,

1. They profess the same faith, *quoad essentialia*, the same Creeds, the same Gospel, and the same Christ as we do.

2. It is not denied by the best of our Divines, but that they together with us do constitute the same Catholick Church of Christ; though they be sick and

Christ bid-
deth that the
tares should
grow. *Matth.*
13. 30. And
the *Apostle*
saith, *Sci-
entibus in vni-
versis*

erat. there
must be here-
sies: therefore
there must be
a toleration of
divers Sects.

1 Cor. 11. 19.

Four special
sorts of false
Professors.

1. Jewes
Whitak against
Campion, trans-
lated by *Ma-
ster Stoke*,
p. 311.

With what
cautions the
Jewes are to
be suffered.

Deut. 7. 3.

Exod. 23. 32.

Doctor Covell.

c. 14. p. 199.

1 Reason for
their tolerati-
on.

Rom. 11. 24.

25.

2 Reason.

Psal. 59. 11.

Rom. 11. 20.

We may not
force the *Jews*
to beleeve.

2 *Turkes*.

3 *Papists*.

corrupted, yet not dead; and we strong and sound, yet not unspotted members of the same; as I have more fully shewed in my book of the true Church.

Carol. Sigon.
l. 5. c. 13. p.
274.

3. It is not agreed upon by all our Divines, that they are *Idolaters*, though they be in *great* errors, and implunged in *many* superstitions; because every Church in *error*, though never so *dangerous*, is not so desperate, as that Church which is *Idolatrous*; or be it granted, (which some of our Protestants will not admit) that they were *Idolaters*; yet seeing not onely seven speciall sorts of *heresies*, as 1. the *Sadducees*. 2. the *Scribes*. 3. the *Pharisees*. The *Hemero-barists*, such as baptized themselves every day. 5. The *Esseni*, which *Iosephus* calleth *Essai*. 6. The *Nazarites*. And 7. the *Herodians*; whereof some denied the *resurrection*, and the being of *Angels* and *spirits*; but also *Idolaters* and heathens that knew not *God*, but worshipped the *Devill* instead of *God*, were not *inhibited* to dwell and inhabit among the *Jewes* (of whose *Religion* notwithstanding *God* was as *carefull* to preserve the purity of it, and as *jealous* to keep them from *Idolatry*, as of any Nation that then or ever after lived upon the earth) it is no question, but if it please the King, *permission* may be granted them to *exercise* their own *Religion*, not publickely and *authoritative*, equally with the Protestant, but quietly, and so as I have shewed in my *Grand Rebellion*; for, I am not of their faith, which hold it more *safe*, and less dangerous, to be conversant with the *Turkes*, or *Jewes*, and to have more *neerness* with them, then with an *Idolatrous* Church that professeth *Christ*; because, that where the greater distance is from the true *Religion*, there the lesser familiarity, and neerenesse should be in conversation, and the greater distance in communion; therefore as the *wrath* of *God* was kindled against the *Israelites*, because they had the *Jewes*, their own brethren, in greater detestation then the *Idumeans*, or the *Egyptians*, whose *idolatry* must needs be far greater, and their *Religion* far worse, in their own judgement, then that of the *Jewes*; so we may feare the like anger from *God*, if we will be so partiall in our judgement, and so transported with disaffection, as to prefer a *blasphemous* Turke, or an impious *Jew* before those men, though *ignorantly* idolatrous, that do with all feare and reverence worship the *same* *God*, and adore the *name* of *Christ* as we doe.

Grand Rebell.
c. 1. p. 5. & 6.

The least familiarity in conversation, where there is greatest distance from truth.

Bishop Horne
against Eckenham.

Justinus gave
a toleration to
the Arians.

And we read, that the Emperour *Justinus*, a right Catholique Prince, as Bishop *Horne* calleth him, at the request of *Theodoricke* King of *Italy*, granted licence, that the *Arians*, which denied the *Deity* of our *Saviour* *Christ*, and were the worst of Heretiques, and therefore worse then any *Papist*, should be restored, and suffered to live after their own orders; and *Pope John*, for the peace and quietness of the *Catholique* Church, requested him most humbly so to do, which he did for feare of *Theodoricke*, that otherwise threatned the *Catholiques* should not live.

Ob.

Deut. 17, 17,
19.

But you will say, the fatall *success* that befell to King *Dauids* house for *Solomons* permission of *divers* religions, to be divided into two parts, and the best ten Tribes for two to be given unto a stranger; and the principall care of a pious Prince, being to preserve *pure* *Religion*, which is soon infected by *Idolatrous* neighbours, do rather *disprove* all toleration, then any wayes *connive* with them that are of a *different* *Religion*: and if we read the Oration of the league to the King of *France*, wherein that *Orator* numbereth their *victories*, and innumerable successes, whilst they had but one *Religion*, and their *miseries*, and ill fortunes, when they fostered two *Religions*; it will appeare how far they were from allowing a toleration of any more then one *Religion* in one Kingdome.

Sol.
The true cause
of renting *Solomons*
Kingdome.
Pf. 106. 35.

Yet to this it may be easily answered, that *Solomons* Kingdome was not rent from his posterity for his permission of idolaters to dwell in his Kingdome, which the *Law* of *God* did not forbid; but for that fault which his father taxed the *Jewes* with, they were mingled among the heathen, and learned their works, for his commixion of *alliances* with strangers, and the corruption of true Religion

gion, by his marrying of so many idolatrous wives, and so becoming idolatrous himself, and thereby inducing his subjects the *Israelites* to be the like: and for the *Oration* of the league, there is in that brave Orator want of Logic, & *ignoratio elenchi*, *non causa ut causa*; for you know what the *Pois* faith,

— Careas successibus opto,
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat:

and we must not judge of true causes by the various success of things, and I may say, it was not the professing of one religion, but the sincere serving of God in that true religion, which brought to them, and will bring to others, prosperous success against the infidels: neither was it the permitting of two religions, or to speak more properly, the diversity of opinions in the same religion, but their emulation and hatred one against another, their pride and ambition, and many other consequences of private discords might be the just causes of their misfortunes.

4. For the Puritans, Brownists, Anabaptists, Heretiques, and Schismatiques, that are deemed neither Infidels nor Idolaters, but do obstinately erre in some points of faith, as the Arians, that denied the Divinity of Christ, and the Nestorians to them which sinned after baptism, and the like pernicious heresies, though not all alike dangerous; or do make a Schisme or a rent in the Church of Christ, as the Donatists did in Saint Augustin's time, and the Anabaptists and Puritans do in our dayes; I say, these are not to be esteemed and expelled as deadly enemies, but to be suffered and respected as weak friends, if they proceed not to be turbulent and malicious, who then may prove to be more dangerous both to Church and State, then any of the former sort that profess their religion with peace and quietness: for it is not the Profession of this or that religion, but the malice and wickedness of the professor, that is the bane and poyson of the Church wherein it resteth: for what is diversity of opinions in the Church of God, but *sares* among the wheat? and our Saviour sheweth, that the sares should not be plucked up, but suffered to grow with the wheat; to teach us, that in respect of external communion, and civil conversation, all sorts of Professors may live together, though in respect of our spiritual communion and exercise of our religion, the Heretique shall be cast forth, and be unto me *tantum Ethnicus & Publicanus*, with whom notwithstanding I may converse, as our Saviour did, with hope that I may convert them unto him; which could never be done, if they should be quite excluded our company, and banished from all holy society.

And therefore as the prudent Prince seeth the disposition, and observeth the conversation of any Faction, and the turbulency of any Sect, so he knoweth best how to advise with his Council to grant his toleration to them that best deserve it, not so much in respect of the meliority of their religion, as their peaceable and harmless habitation among their neighbours without railing against their faith, or rebelling against their Prince.

And thus, as the case now standeth, I see not any Sect, or any sort of Professors, that for turbulency of spirit, madness of zeal, and violency of hatred and persecution to the true Protestants, are more dangerous to the true religion, and deserve less favour from their pious Prince then these Anabaptists, Brownists, and Puritans, that have so maliciously plotted, and so rebelliously profected their damnable designs, to the utter ruine both of Church and State. Doctor Covell long ago, when they were not half so bad as they be now, saith, they pretend gravity, reprehend severely, speak gloriously, and all in hypocrisie; they daily invent new opinions, and run from error to error; their wilfulness they account constancy, their deserved punishment persecution, their mouths are ever open to speak evil; they give neither reverence nor sister to any in place

4. Puritans.

What wrong Professors are chiefly to be suffered.

Matth. 13. 29.

Why to be suffered: either for the exercise of the godly, or in hope to convert the ungodly.

Doctor Covell, cap. 15. p. 2 m. His description of the Puritans.

And to confirm this description, read what King JAMES writeth of them in his *Basilicon Doron* p. 160. & 161 and in the History of the conference at Hampton-Court in anno 603. p. 81, 82. * *Huc usque*. Our factious Puritans bitter against Kings then the Jesuites.

place above them: in one word, the Church cannot fear a more dangerous and fatal enemy to her peace and happiness, a greater cloud to the light of the Gospel, a stronger band to pull in barbarisme and poverty into all our Land, a more furious monster to breed contempt and disobedience in all estates, a more fretting canker to the very marrow and sinewes of this Church and kingdome, then this beast, who is proud without learning, presumptuous without authority, zealous without knowledge, holy without Religion, and in brief a most dangerous and malicious hypocrite, and were therefore banished from amongst us in the dayes of Queen Elizabeth, but now deserve it far better; being more dangerous, because far more numerous; * and therefore I cannot say with Saint Bernard, *Aut corrigendi ne pereant, aut coercendi ne perimant*; for in my judgement they are incorrigible, and in their own opinion they are invincible, having by lyes and frauds gathered so much wealth, and united such strength together, that, except the Lord himself had been on our side, and made our very enemies the Papists to become our friends, and to hazard their lives and fortunes according to their duty, to preserve the Crown and Dignity of their king, as God most wisely disposeth of things, when he produceth light out of darkness, and against their wills support our true Protestant Religion from being quite defaced by these mercilesse enemies, we might well fear what destruction would have come upon us.

And therefore considering the bitter writings of their Prophets old and new, being fuller of gall and venome against Christian Kings, then can be found in the bookes of the Jesuites; and considering the wicked practices, and this unparallel'd rebellion of these new Profelytes, and the loyalty of those that heretofore received least favour from the Church, and not much from the State: Tell me I pray you which of these deserve best to be suffered in a Protestant Church? they that maliciously seeke her ruine, or they that unwillingly support her from falling? for my self, I will ever be of the true Protestant faith; yet for this loyalty of the Papists unto their King, I will ever be in charity, and rest in hope, though not in the same faith with them: and I doubt not but His Majesty will thinke well of their fidelity.

But as Saint Bernard saith, *Non est mea humilitatis distitare vobis*, it is not for me to prescribe who are most capable of Grace, or who best deserveth the Kings favour, when his Princely Grace presupposeth a sufficient merit, but in humility to set down mine own opinion in this point of toleration, with submission to the judgement of this Church: wherein also I humbly desire my reader not to mistake me, as if I meant such a publick and legal toleration, as might breed a greater distraction in a kingdome, then the wisdom of the State could well master, and raise more spirits then they could lay down; but such as I have exprest in my *Grand Rebellion*; that is, a favourable connivence to enjoy their own consciences, so long as they live in peace and amity with their neighbours, but without any publick exercise of their Religion, which can produce nothing else but discord, distraction, and destruction to that Kingdome, where two religions are profest in *Aquilibrio*, with the same priviledges and authority.

These and many more are the rights of Kings; granted them by God for the Government of his Church, which they are to looke unto, and to protect in all her rights, service, maintenance, ordinances, governours, and the like, if they looke that God should bless and protect them in their ways, dignities, and dues; because it is their duties and the first charge that God layeth upon them, to be nursing Fathers unto his Church: for God knew the Church should have many enemies; & *intus est equus Trojanus*, and they are the worst that are nearest unto kings, and do with Judas kisse, with fair words, and Machiavilian counsels, betray both Church and

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 63

and King, and in the end destroy themselves; for who deceived *Absolon* though rightly, but his own Counsellors? who betrayed *Ahab*, and that most wickedly, but his lying Parasites? and who overthrew *Rehoboam*, and that foolishly, but his young favourites? * and whom may the Church fear most of all, but her dissembling friends, that are in most favour with Kings, and therefore seduce them soonest, insensibly to wound the Care, and neglect the Charge that is laid upon them; because, as *St. Bernard* saith, *Longe plus nocet falsus Catholicus, quam si apertus appareret hereticus*, those care-wigs are most pernicious, whose counsels seeme to be most specious, when they are but as the spirit of darkness, appearing like an Angel of light, when they say, God indeed must be served, and the Word must be preached, but, whether Bishop or no Bishop, whether in a sumptuous Church, or private house, whether by an esteemed Clergy, or a poore meane Ministrie, in this manner, or in another fashion, it skilleth not much; Kings may well enough give way to spare that cost, to lessen that Revenue, and to pull down these Cathedrals, especially to give content unto the People, and to defray the expensive charge of the Commonwealth.

* Which thing is purposely set down in the holy scripture, to be a caveat for all Kings, not to rely too much upon young Counsellors; not that wisdom and prudence are intailed to old age, and inseparable from gray-haires, or di-

vorced from green heads; but because commonly experience is the fruitfull mother of these faire issues, and the multitude of yeares teacheth wisdom: for otherwise there may be *delirium senectutis*, the dotage of old age, as well as *vanitas juventutis*, the folly of youth; and as *Alibi* saith, *Gravi men are not alwayes wise*, neither do the aged understand judgement: but as *Solomon* saith, *Wisdom, even in youth, is the gray haire*, and an undesired life is the old age; as we see, young *Ioseph* was the wisest in all Egypt: *Solomon*, *Daniel*, and *Titus*, how wise, how learned, and how religious were they in their younger yeares? So *Alexander*, *Hanniball*, *Scipio*, in the feates of war; *Lucan*, *Mirandula*, *Keckerman*, and abundance more in all humane learning that were but *Neophyti annis*, yet were *egregii virtutibus*, young in yeares, yet very admirable for their worth. And Princes do most wisely, when they make such election; especially when they are enforced to call men to places of labour, and industry, they must have some regard to the bodies, as well as to the mindes of their servants, and chuse men of younger yeares, though not to be their favourites, but their confidens, according to the French distinction, as His Majesty hath lately made choice of one noble servant, who is, (as *Naxianzen* speaks) *αδελφὸν τῆς συνουσίας, ὅτι τῆς νεότητος*: gray in the minde, though yellow in the head, and supplying in all manner of excellent parts, what may be conceived wanting in yeares, whose name, so much already caught at by envy, I shall ever reverence, though now I purposely passe it over in silence.

But these counsels will not excuse Kings in the day of their account; therefore let them take heed of such Counsellors; and when they hear them begin to speak against the Church, though they be-gild their beginnings never so slyly, let them either stop their eares with the Cockatrice, that will not heare the voice of the charmer, charme be never so wisely; or let them answer, as our Saviour answered their grand instructor, *Vade Satana, non tentabis*; for it is most true, that, *Qui deliberat, jam desinit*; he that listens to them is halfe corrupted by them; and so they may prove destructive both to themselves, and to their posterity; for, as nothing establisheth the Throne of Kings surer, then obedience to God; so nothing is more dangerous then rebellion against God, with whom there is no respect of persons; for he expecteth, that as he made Kings his Viceregents, so they should feare him, preserve the right of his Church, uphold his service, defend his servants, and do all that he commands them intirely, without taking the least liberty, for feare of the people, to dispense with any omission of his honour, or suffering the hedges of his Vineyard, the Governours of his Church, to be trodden down, and torne in pieces, that the beasts of the field may destroy the grapes, and defile the service of our God.

Therefore to conclude this point, let all Kings do their best to hinder their People to corrupt the Covenant of Levi, which is a Covenant of Sale, that is, to indure for ever; let them remember *Moses* prayer; *Blesse Lord his substance, and accept the worke of his hands; smite through the loynes of them that rise against him, and of them that hate him, that they rise not again; and let them alwayes consider, that God taketh pleasure in the prosperity of his servants.*

Psal. 38. 5.

Matth. 4. 10.

Rom. 2. 11.

Malach. 2. 8.
Deut. 33. 11.

Psal. 35. 27.

CHAP. XI.

Sheweth, where the Protestants, Papists, and Puritans, do place Sovereignty; who first taught the deposing of Kings; the Puritans tenet worse then the Jesuites; Kings authority immediately from God; the twofold royalty in a King; the words of the Apostle vindicated from false glosses; the testimony of the Fathers and Romanists for the Sovereignty of Kings; the two things that shew the difficulty of government; what a miraculous thing it is; and that God himself is the governour of the people.

HAVING set down some particulars of the Kings right in the Government of Gods Church, it resteth that I should shew some part of his right and duty to serve God, as he is a King, in the government of the Commonwealth; touching which, for our more orderly proceeding, I will distribute my whole discourse into these five heads.

Five points handled.

1. To justify his right to govern the people.
2. To shew the difficulty of this government.
3. To set down the assistants that are to helpe him in the performance of this duty.
4. To distinguish the chiefest parts of this Government.
5. To declare the end for which this Government is ordained of God.

1. Point.
1. Where the Protestants place Sovereignty.

1. We say that the Kings Sovereignty or royal power to govern the people, is independent from all creatures solely from God, who hath immediately conferred the same upon him, and thus we are able to make good, with abundance both of divine and humane proofes, and yet we finde the same adversaries of this truth (though with a far less shew of reason) that we met withall about Government of Gods Church. For

2. In whom the Papists do place Sovereignty.
The Pope's sad Message to Hen. 3. Imp. *Quem meritum investivimus, quare immeritum non devesimus? quia ad quem perinet institutio, ad eundem perinet definitio.*

2 They that are infatuated with the cup of Babylon, the Canonists and some Jesuites do constantly aver, that *summum imperium*, the primary supreme power of this Government, is in the Pope, *unicuique*, absolutely and directly, as he is the Vicar of Christ, who hath all power given him both in Heaven and earth; from whom it is immediately derived unto his Vicar, and from him to all Kings mediately by subordination unto him: so *Barbinius*, *Cacerius*, and others. But *Bellarmin* and the rest of the more moderate Jesuites say, that this *imperium in reges*, the Popes power over all Kings and States is but *indirectum dominium*, a power by consequent and indirectly, *in ordine ad bonum spirituale*, as the civil State hath relation to Religion, and this great *Cardinal* lest he should seeme *sine ratione insanire*, doth (as the *Hereicks* did in *Terevalli*'s time) *eadem Scripturarum facere ad materiam suam*, allegadge two and twenty places of Scripture misinterpreted, to confirme his indirect Divinity: and as *Persphus* wife, he produceth very honest *appeal*, but to prove a very bad cause; and therefore attributing to the Pope by the greatness of his learning, and the excellency of his wit, more then he could justify with a good conscience, he was so far from satisfying the then Pope, that he was well nigh resolved to condemne all his works for this one opinion: and *Cacerius* undertooke his confutation *ex professo*, and taxeth him so bitterly, that he putteth him *inter impios haereticos*, which he indeed

Cacerius, lib. 1. cap. 5.

needed not to have done; because the difference is onely in the expression, when the Pope by this indirect power may take occasion to king and unking whom he pleaseth, and do what he will in all Christian States.

3. The Anabaptists and Puritans either deny all government, with the Fratricelli, and all superiority by the title of Christianity, as the Author of the Tract of Schisme and Schismatics; or do say that originally it proceedeth, and habitually resideth in the people; but is cumulatively and communicatively derived from them unto the King; and therefore the people (not denuding themselves of their first interest, but still retaining the same in the collective body, that is, in themselves suppletive, if the King in their judgement be defective in the administration, or neglect the performance of his duty) may question their King for his mis-government, dethrone him if they see cause, and resuming the collated power into their own hands again, may transfer it to any other whom they please.

Which opinion, if it were true, would make miserable the condition of all Kings; and I believe they first learned it from the Sorbonists, who to subject the Pope to the community of the faithful, say, that the chief spiritual power was first committed by Christ unto them, and they to preserve the unity of the Church remitted the same communicatively unto the Pope, but suppletively, (not privatively, or habitually divesting themselves thereof) retaining the same still in themselves, if the Pope failed in the faith of the Church; and therefore he was not onely censurable, but also deposible by the Council, if he became an heretique, or apostated from the religion of Christ, and to make this both the more plausible and probable, they alleadged, how Kings were thus eligible, and likewise deposible by the community of the people; for out of this Buchanan saith, *Romani Pontifices longè regum omnium conditione superiores, legum tamen pœnis haud eximuntur; sed & eos, quanquam sacrosanctos Christianis omnibus semper habitos, Synodus Basiliensis communi ordinum consensu senatim sacerdotum obnoxios esse pronuntiavit*: that is, in brief, the Popes are deprivable by the Council; So are Kings by the community of the people: and so both the Papist and the Puritan do agree to depose their Kings, and as the Poet saith,

*Ausum uterque nefas, domini respersus uterque,
Insontis iugulo. —*

*Clandian de A.
Consul. Honorii*

never a barrel better herring; both alike friends to Kings.

But to this Blackvoodam answereth most truly, that although the Pope should be deprivable by the Council, (which I am sure neither Pope nor Jesuite will allow) yet for divers different reasons betwixt the examples, Kings are not deposible by their Subjects; especially if you consider the great difference betwixt the Church of Christ, that is guided by the Spirit of God, and the representation thereof in the flower of her Clergy, and a giddyheaded multitude, that is led by their unruly and unreasonable passions, and are represented by those, that either basely bought their Votes, as the Consuls and other great men did the votes of the people of Rome, or that their partial and most ignorant affection, oftentimes without judgement, have made choice of: *ex quo sequitur, ut non sit eadem populi potestas in regem, qua in pontificem est Ecclesia*: So that the reason is far unlike.

But, though the Sorbonists, to justify their former tenet, were the first broachers of this unjust opinion of the deposition of Kings by the people, from whence the Jesuites, to subject the King unto the Pope, suck't it afterward: Yet in two main Respects I finde this tenet, as it is held by the Puritans, far worse then the doctrine of the Jesuites.

1. Because some of them say, that the people may not restrain the power, which they have once transmitted unto the King: when the Law of justice doth not permit, that Covenants should be repealed or a donation granted should be revoked

Bellar. in tract.
cont. Pat. Paul.

2 Respect.

Judges 9.

Our Opinion
proved.

Anti-Cav. in
Os Offor. p. 25

* So acknow-
ledged by Act
of Parliament,

25 H. 8. c. 12.
28. c. 10.

Dr Sarav. fol.
175.

Bellar. de Lai-
cis, cap. 6. & 8.

Idem de Rom.
Pont. l. 5. c. 3.

Iroinus de jure
regni. c. 2. p. 40.

Heningus fufe,
c. 1. p. 4 & 5. de
difinit. duplici
jurisdick. Sive
electione five po-
ftulatione, vel
fucceffione, vel
belli jure Prin-
ceps fiat, Prin-
cipi tamen factio
divinitus pote-
ftas data eft. Ca-
merus, c. 5. de
offic. Princip.

Pfal. 61. 11.

Rom. 13. 2.

revoked, though it were never fo prejudiciall to the donor: and *Bellarmino* makes this good by the example of the *souldiers*, that had power to accept or reject their Emperour before he was created, but being once *elected*, they had no *coactive* power over him, whereas all the *Puritans* will make and unmake, promise and breake, doe and undoe at their pleasure.

Because the *Jesuites* permit not the people nor any *Peers* to depose their King, untill the *Pope*, as an indifferent judge deputed by *Christ*, shall approve of the cause; and our *Sectaries* depresse kings so far, as to submit them to the *weake* judgment, and *extravagant* power of the people, who to day cry to *Gideon*, *raign thou and thy son over us for ever*, and to morrow joine with the *base* son of *Jerubbab* and the *Sichimites* to kill seventy of the Children of *Gideon*, and to create *Abimilech* to be their king.

But, though the *Anti-Cavalier* takes it ill, that I should affirm that the kings power and right unto his government is *immediately* from God; yet if he would believe *learned* Authours, he might find enough of this judgment; for the *sublime* power and authority that resideth in earthly *Potentates*, is not a *derivation* or collection of *humane* power scattered among many, and gathered into one head, but a power *immediately* granted by God to his *Viceregents**, *quam nunquam fuisse populo demandatam legimus*, which God never communicated to any multitudes of men, saith *Saravia*.

And *Bellarmino* himself against the *Anabaptists* confuteth their error, that denied the power and authority of kings to be immediately from God; I. From *Script. Sap. 6. Esay, 45. Hierem. 27. Dan. 2. Rom. 13. 1 Pet. 2. II. From the Council of Constans. Sess. 8. & 15. III. From S. Aug. de civit. Dei. l. 5. c. 21.* where he saith, *non tribuamus dandi regni potestatem nisi Deo vero*; which giveth felicity in the kingdom of Heaven onely to the godly, but the earthly kingdoms he giveth both to the godly, and to the wicked; *nam qui dedit Mario, ipse & Casari, qui Augusto, ipse & Neroni, qui Vespasiano, vel patri vel filio, suavissimis imperatoribus, ipse & Domitiano crudelissimo, qui Constantino Christiano, ipse & Apostata Juliano*; And IV. it is proved from the confession of the Popes of Rome, as *Leo. ep. 38. & 43. Gelasius epist. ad Anastasium. Greg. l. 2. epist. 61. Nicholaus epist. ad Michaelem*: out of all which saith *Iroinus*, it is apparent, all and every king, *non multitudini aut hominibus sed Deo soli regem regi, quicquid juris habent, acceptum ferre*, And he might consider that a thing may be said to be *immediately* from God divers wayes, as specially.

1 *Amōs, absque ullo signo creato.*

2 *Kazā nīcum aliquo actū conjuncto.*

that is,

1. *Solely* from God and no other; presupposing nothing *previous* to the obtaining of it; So *Moses* and *Joshua* had their authority from God.

2. *Jointly* with an *interposed* act of some other instrument, as the *Apostolicall* power of *Matthias* was *immediately* from God; though his *constitution* was from the *Apostles*; so *Kings* though some of them be after a sort *elected* by men; yet as our Saviour saith to *Pilate*, that his power was from *above*, though he was deputed by *Cesar*; So may they be said to have their authority *immediately* from God, though they should be some wayes deputed by men: for we must distinguish betwixt the *soveraignty*, the *Subject*, and the collation of the *Soveraignty* to the *Subject*; the *Soveraignty* is *immediately* from God, the *Subject* is from its *naturall* cause, and the *union* of the *Soveraignty* to the *Subject*, is likewise *immediately* from God, not onely approving, but *appointing* the same in all the *Kings* of his ordination: or to speak with the *Schooles*, we must distinguish betwixt *deputationem personæ*, and *collationem potestatis*, the designation of the *person*, which is sometimes done by men, and that is where the *King* is *elective*, and the donation of the power which is *proper* onely unto God; for so the *Psalmist* saith, *God hath spoken once and twice; I have also heard the same, that power belongeth unto God*: and the *Apostle* saith, *the powers that are, are ordained of God*, which is to be understood of the *regall*, or *Monarchicall* power, because

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because Saint Paul's *ἡγεμονίαι*, higher powers are interpreted by Saint Peter, to be βασιλῆς *ὑπερχόντες*, Kings that are supreme: where Saint Peter makes an excellent distinction betwixt the superiour and the inferiour Magistrates: the superiour is that which Saint Paul saith is ordained of God, and the inferiours, are they which Saint Peter calleth *δι' αὐτοῦ πρυμάρχους*, such as are sent by the King: for the better explanation of which place, you must know that in every King or supreme Magistrate, we may conceive a double royalty.

The 1 is *merum imperium*, or *regni potestas*, *summa & plenissima*; and this *λαοκρατία*, this fulnesse of power, and independent of any creature, and immediately received of God, which the Civilians call *jus regis*, or *munus regni*, is in the person of the King indivisible, not to be imparted by the King to any creature; because he cannot *devest* himself, divide this power, or alienate the same to any subject, no not to his own son, without renouncing or dividing his Kingdome; and by this the Civilians say, the King may governe *sine certa lege, sine certo jure, sed non sine aequitate & justitia*, without Law, but not without equity: whereupon it is a rule in the Common Law, *hoc unum rex potest facere, quod non potest injuste agere*, which is to be applyed to this inseperable regality of the King; and hath been often alleadged by other Parliaments to justify the King from all blame. The 2 is, *imperium dispositivum*, or *jus gubernandi vel jurisdictionis* the right of governing, or jurisdiction and distribution of justice; and this may be derived and delegated from the King, *legatis vitalitiis*, either for terme of life, or during the Kings pleasure. But how? not *privative*, when the King doth not denude himself thereof, but *cumulative* and *executive*, to execute the same, as the Kings Instruments for the preservation of peace, and the administration of justice, as it appeareth in their patent; and this subordinate power is not inherent in their persons, but onely committed unto them for the execution of some office; because that when the supreme power is present, the power of the inferiour officers is silent, it is in *nubibus*, fled into the clouds, and like the light of the Moon and Stars vanishing, whensoever the Sun appeareth, for Kings, when they do transfer any *actuell* power to the subalternate Officers, retain the *habitual* power still in their own hands, which upon any emergent occasion they may *actually* resume to themselves again, which they could not do, if they parted with the *habite* and forme of this *despoticall* power of government, that they have immediately received from God.

And, as the Scriptures make it plain, that the Kings right and power to govern is immediately from God, so they make it as plain, that it is the greatest right, and most eminent highest power that is on earth; for though the cavillers at this power translate the words of Saint Paul, *ἡγεμονίαι*, *ὑπερχόντες*, but *potestatibus sublimioribus* or *supremis*, but *potestatibus superexcellenibus*, and say, that the word or particle *ὡς ὑπερχόντῃ* where S. Peter bids us submit our selves to the King; *ὡς ὑπερχόντῃ*, as to the cheif, intends a resemblance onely, and not a reall demonstration to prove the King to be the cheif: Yet the malice of these men, and the falshood of these glosses will appear, if you consider that the word, *ὑπερχόντῃ*, *habens se super alios*, or *ἡγεμονίαι*, *ὑπερχόντες* joyned with *πρυμάρχους* to the powers that are ordained of God, must needs signify not any subordinate power, but the supreme power on earth; because the other powers are directly said by Saint Peter to be sent by the King, and the article *ὡς* doth as really expresse the matter there, as in John i. 14. where the Evangelist saith, *and we beheld his glory, ὡς ἡ ἐκ μωϋσῆως*, as the glory of the onely begotten Son of God. And I hope our Sectaries will not be so impudent, as to say that this signifieth but a resemblance of the Son of God.

But to make this point more plain, you shall heare what the Fathers and the learned say; for,

I told you before, Tertullian saith of Kings and Emperours, *inde potestas, unde & spiritus*, and he is *solo Deo minor* inferiour to none but God. Saint Chrysostome saith, he hath no peer on Earth, but is the top of all men living. Athana-

2 Pet. 2. 13. Saint Peters description betwixt the King and the inferiour Magistrates. A twofold royalty in a King. 1 Merum imperium.

How the King cannot do unjustly.

2 Imperium dispositivum.

How the King delegates his power to his inferiour Magistrates.

The words of the Apostles vindicated from the false glosses of the Sectaries. Rom. 13. 1. 1 Pet. 2. 13. The testimony of the Fathers for the Sovereignty of Kings. Tertul. ad Scap. & in apologet. c. 30. Iren. advers. heres. Valent. l. 5. c. 20. Optat. contr. Parmen. l. 3. βασιλῆς ὑπερχόντῃ καὶ πρυμάρχῃ ἐν παντί. Chrysost. tom. 6. orat. 40. orat. 2. Aug. de civit. Dei. l. 5. c. 21.

Q. CURTII, 1, 9.

Cassan. Catal.
glor. mundi p.
3. consider. 28.
Card. Cusan.
concord. Cathol.
l. 3. c. 5.
Vide Arnif. p.
5. de dist. dñp.
jurisdicth.

Homer
Plutarch.

Ovid. Fast. l. 5.
Quia à jove nu-
trui & ab eo re-
gnum adepti
sunt.

Scapula in ver-
bo Dioscorus.
* Many-head-
ed beast.

2. The diffi-
culty of Go-
vernment.

2. Things
shewing the
difficulty of
Government.

Cicero. Tusc. 3.
& de finibus
lib. 2.
Plutarch. in
Alcibiad.

Orosius his de-
scription of the
famous Puri-
tans, most
plainly seen
verified in our
Rebels

thus saith, there is none above the Emperour, but only God that made the Emperour. Saint Cyrill in a Sermon upon that text, *I am the vine*, commendeth the answer of a King, (whom Quintus Curtius affirmeth to be Alexander,) that being shot, and his Subjects would have him bound to pull out the arrow, said, *non decet vinciri Regem*, Bern. Tractat. de pass. Dom. c. 4. it becomes not Kings to be bound, because none is superiour unto them: Agapetus, a Deacon of Constantine, saith as much; and because it is a rule in the Civill Law, *testem quem quis inducit pro se, tenetur recipere contra se*: the testimony of our adversaries is most convictive: therefore I beseech you hear what they say; for Rosellus a great Catholique saith, it is heretical to affirm, that the universal administration of the temporall affaires is or must be in the Pope; when the King hath no superiour on earth, but the Creator of heaven and earth. Caninus also saith, that the Apostle, Rom. 13. spake of the Regall and secular Power, and not of the Ecclesiasticall; and Cassianus saith, that Kings are the highest, and most paramount secular power and authority that ever God appointed on earth, and denies that either the old, or the new Testament, makes any mention of an Emperour: & juris utriusque testimonia manifestè declarant imperialem dignitatem & potestatem immediatè à filio Dei ab antiquo processisse, said Philip King of France, in Constit. de potest. elect. Imperat. Irwin. p. 33, 34, 35. quoteth many authors to confirme the same truth: Lombard, Gratian, Melancthon, Cranmer, Tyndall, and abundance more without number do likewise most peremptorily affirme, that the Kings Power is the supreme power on earth: and as the mirror of our time, the Bishop of Winchester, observeth, the Scripture testifieth, that their Throne, their Crowne, their Sword, their Scepter, their Judgement, their Royalty, their Power, their Charge, their Person, and all in them are of God, from God, and by God; to shew how sacred they are, and ought to be unto us all; and so the very Heathens teaching sounder Divinity then our Sectaries thought, and said, that Kings were *θεοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, and *ἐμμετάς τῷ θεῷ*, the Ministers of God, and not the servants of the people.

Good God! what shall we say then to those children of Adam, that will not onely with Adam be content to be like God, but with Antichrist, this *ἐνείκω τοῦ λυχάρου*,* as Plato calleth them, wil exalt themselves above all that is called God? they will devalue the King, and invest themselves with his right; and therefore,

2. This sheweth how difficult a thing it is to rule and govern this unruly, aspiring, and ambitious multitude: for the fuller understanding of which difficult duty, Orosius saith, that two things are to be considered.

1. *Suscepti muneris amplitudo*, the greatness of the charge, which is of that weight, that we can scarce think of a greater in all our life; the care of Church and Common-wealth, and to rule millions of men far and neare.

2. *Gubernandorum qualitas*, the quality and conditions of those men that are to be governed; which (if there were nothing else to prove it) will sufficiently shew the difficulty of their government; for, if it be a very hard thing to govern a mans selfe, how much harder is it to govern such a multitude of mad men? for Cicero saith, the multitude is the greatest teacher of error, the unjustest judge of dignity, being without counsell, without reason, without judgement; and Plutarch calleth them, *peffimam veritatis interpretem*, whereunto agreeth the answer of that Pope, who being demanded what was furthest from truth, answered, *populi sententia*, the opinion of the People; and as they are the weakest for judgement, so they are most instable in their resolutions; to day crying *Hosanna*, and to morrow *Crucifige*; this is the nature of the People, of whom these our Sectaries are the very dregs, the worst, and the basest of all: I must crave leave to set down what Orosius saith of them long ago, and you may finde, that this rebellion proves his words most true: for he saith, the desire and end of this faction is too much liberty, then which nothing can be more averse to the office and government of Kings; for, it is the duty of

of a King to cut off all *hainous* offences with just punishments, the *unbridled* people desires to be free from all fear of punishment; the King is the *Minister* of the Law, the *Keeper* of it, and the *avenger* of the transgression thereof, the people as much as possibly they can, with an *impetuous* temerity, pulleth down all Laws; the King laboureth to preserve peace and quietness, the people with an *untameable* lust turmoileth and troubleth the peace of all men: lastly, the King thinks not fit to distribute rewards and compensations indifferently to all men alike, but the people desire to have all difference of worth and dignity taken away, & *infima summis permisceri*, and to make the *basest* equal with the best, whence it happeneth so, that they hate all *Princes*, and especially all Kings *quos immani odio persequuntur*, whom they persecute with a deadly hate; for they cannot endure any excellency or dignity: and to that end they use all endeavour, *ut principes interimant, vel saltem in turbam conjiciant*, either utterly to take away and destroy their *Princes*; or to impunge them into a World of troubles; which thing at first doth not appear, but when the multitude of *furious* men hath gathered strength, then at last their impudent boldness, being confirmed by daily impunity, breaketh forth to the destruction of the royal Majesty. And a little after he saith, add to these things the abolition of Laws, the contempt of Rule, the hatred of royal Majesty, and the cruel lying in wait, which they most *impiously* and *nefariously* do endeavour, for their *Princes*: add also their clandestine and secret discourses, where their confederacies are made for the extirpation of their Kings, and to plot with unspeakable mischief the death of them, whose health and safety they ought most heartily to pray to God for: and then he addeth, *cum immodica libertatis cupiditate rapiantur, leges odierunt, judicia detestantur, regum majestatem extinctam cupiunt, ut licentius & impunitius queant per omnia libidinum genera vagari*, and this is most manifest (saith he) all their endeavours ayme at this end, that *Princes* being taken away, they may have an *uncontrollable* leave and liberty to commit all kinde of villanies; and to that purpose they have *poysoned* some kings, and *killed* others with the sword, and to root out all rule, *Consilia plena sceleris inierunt*, they are full of all wicked counsels.

And therefore this being the condition of the people, as the Scripture sheweth plainly in the *Jews*, by their continual Rebellion: and murmurings against *Moses* and *Aaron*; and we see it as plainly in our own time, when our people hath confirmed all that this Bishop said; it is not an *easy* matter to govern such an unruly people: But we finde that the rod of Government is a miraculous rod, that being in *Moses* hand was a fair wand, but cast unto the ground turned to be an ugly and a poysonous *Serpent*; to shew that the people, being subject to the hand of Government, is a goodly thing, and a glorious society; but let loose out of the *Princes* hands, they are as *Serpents*, crooked, wriggled, verispetles, and as full as may be of all deadly poyson: and the Prophet *David* makes the ruling of the people to be as great a miracle, as to appease the raging of the Seas; and therefore he ascribes this Government to be the proper work of God, when speaking unto God, he saith, *Thou rulest the rage of the Seas, the noise of his waves, and the madness of the people*; for Kings are but Gods instruments, and God himself is the ruler of his people, even as the same King *David* sheweth, saying still to God, *Tu duxisti populum tuum*, Thou ledest thy people like sheep by the hands of *Moses* and *Aaron*; God was the leader, and they were but the hands by which he led them; for where God hath not a hand in the government of the people, it is impossible for the best and most politick heads to do it: and this *Solomon* knew full well, when God bade him aske what he should give him, and he said, *Thou hast made me King* (he doth not say the people hath made me) and I know not how to go out or in; that is, to govern them: therefore I pray thee, give thy servant an understanding heart to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and bad: for who is able to judge this thy so great a people? that is, what one man is able to govern an innumerable multitude of men? Thou therefore

Oforin in ep.
Regina Eliza-
bethæ præfix.
l. de relig.

Pagina 24. &
25.

Revera mihi vi-
detur esse ars
artium, ho mi-
nem regere, qui
certè est inter
omnes animen-
tes maximè &
moribus varius,
& voluntate
diversus. Na-
zian in Apol.

A people well
governed very
glorious.

psal. 65. 7.
God is the go-
vernour, and
Kings are but
Gods instru-
ments.
psal. 77. 20.

1 Reg. 3. 7 9.

They that re-
ject their King
reject God,

1 Sam. 8. 7.

ἡ μὲν ἀδυναμία
ἀδυναμία τῆς ἀπο-
στασίας τοῦ μ.ε.
Luk. 10. 16.

therefore must be the *Governour*, and I am but thine *instrument*; and that I may be a *fit instrument* to do thy work, I desire thee to give me a docible heart.

Wherefore, O you Subjects without obedience, and you Divines without *Divinity*, how dare you put any *instruments* into Gods hands, and refuse, nay *reject* the *instrument* that he chuseth, for the performance of his own work, to *rule* the people? you may as well refuse God himself, even as God saith unto *Samuel*, *They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me*; so you that do *rebel* and cast away your *King* that God hath chosen, as his hand to guide you, and his *instrument* to govern you, I pronounce it to all the World you have *rebelled* against God, and you have cast away your God; for the *rule* of *Christ* must stand infallible, he that rejecteth (or despiseth) him that is sent, rejecteth him that sent him.

CHAP. XII.

Sheweth, the assistants of Kings in their government; to whom the choice of inferiour Magistrates belongeth; the power of the subordinate officers; neither Peers nor Parliament can have supremacy; the Sectaries chiefest argument out of Bracton answered; our Lawes prove all Sovereignty to be in the King; the two chief parts of the regal government; the four properties of a just War; and how the Parliamentary Faction transgress in every property.

3. The assistance that God alloweth unto Kings to help them in their government, of two sorts.

1. Wise Counsellors,

Tacit. annal.
lib. 2.

Dionys. Halicar.
lib. 2.

1. Subordinate Magistrates.

3. Seeing it is so hard and difficult a matter, *ars artium gubernare populum*, the Mistress of all Sciences, and the most dangerous of all faculties to govern the people, that *Saturninus* said truly to them that put on his Kingly ornaments, they knew not what an evil it was to rule, because of the many dangers that hang over the rulers heads, which under the seeming shew of a *Crown* of gold, do wear indeed a *Crown* of thornes: therefore, *Ut rari eminentes viros non magnis adiutoribus ad gubernandam fortunam suam usus invenies*, saith *Paterculus*; as great men, of a wealthy and vast estate, are seldome without great counsel to assist them to govern, and to dispose of that great fortune; so Kings having a great charge laid upon them, are not onely permitted, but advised and counselled by God, to have

1. Faithful and wise Counsellors to direct them
2. Subordinate Magistrates to assist them } in the government of the people.

1. *Tacitus* (as I said before) saith, *There cannot be an argument of greater wisdom in a Prince, nor any thing of greater safety to the Common-wealth, then for him to make choice of a wise and religious Counsel*; because the most weighty labours of the Prince do stand in need of the greatest helps: therefore *Agamemnon* had his *Nestor* and *Chalcas*; *Augustus* had *Mecenas* and *Agrippa*, two wise Counsellors, to direct him in all his affairs; *David* had *Nathan*, *Gad*, *Achitophel*, and *Hushai*; and *Nebuchadnezzar* had *Daniel*, *Shadrach*, *Mesbac*, and *Abednego*: and so all other Kings in all Nations do chuse the wisest men, that they conceive, to be their Counsellors.

2. For subordinate Magistrates, *Jethro's* counsel unto *Moses*, and *Moses* hearkning unto him, as to a wise and faithful Counsellor, makes it plain, how necessary it is for the supreme Magistrate to chuse such assistants, as may bear with him some part of the great burthen of government. Thus far it is agreed upon on all sides, but the difference betwixt us and our new *State-Divines*, consisteth in these two points.

1. About

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{ 1. About the choice } of these officers. For
{ 2. About the power }

A twofold difference.

1. We say, that by the Law of nature, every master hath right to chuse his own servants: this is *Lex gentium*, ever practised among all Nations; why then should not the King make choice of his own Counsellors and Servants? they will say, because he is the servant of the Common-wealth: But how is that? I hope none otherwise then the Minister is the servant of the Church, for Christ his sake; and shall he therefore, that is your King, lose the privileges of a common Subject? Besides, hath not God committed the charge of his people into the Kings hand, and will he not require an account of him of their government? how then shall he give an account to God when the government is taken out of his hands, and subordinate officers and servants put upon him? I am sure, when the 70 great Senators of Israel, the great Sanhedrim of the Jewes were to be chosen; Jethro saith unto Moses, Thou shalt provide out of the people able men: mark I pray you, thou and not the people, shalt provide them; neither shall you find it otherwise in any History: Pharaoh, and not his people, made Joseph ruler over all the Land of Egypt. Nebuchadnezzar, and not his people, made Daniel ruler over the whole Province of Babylon: and Darius set over his Kingdom a hundred and twenty Princes, and made Daniel the first of the three Presidents that were over all these. And what shall I say of Ahasuerus, and all other kings, Heathens, Jewes, or Christians, that ever kept this power, to chuse their own servants, Counsellors, and Officers, except they were infant Kings, in their non-age, and so not able to chuse them.

But you will say that our Histories tell you, how Ric. 2. Edw. 2. and others of our Kings, had their Officers appointed, and themselves committed unto Guardians by the Parliament; therefore why may not our Parliament do the like in case of male-administration?

I answer, that I speak of the right of kings, and not justify the wrongs done to Kings. Adramelech and Shabazzar killed Sennacherib their own Father; is it therefore lawfull for other children so to do? Why should we therefore alleadge those things, *Qua insolentia populari, qua vi, qua furore, non ad imitationem exemplo proponenda, sed iusto legum supplicio vindicanda sunt*; which should rather have been revenged by the just punishment of the Law, then proposed to be imitated by the example?

Therefore I say, that whosoever abridgeth the King of this power, robbeth him of that right which God and nature hath allowed him: whereby you may judge how justly the Parliamentary faction would have dealt herein with our King, by forcing Counsellors and great Officers upon him; but I hope you see, it is the Kings right to chuse his Servants, Officers, and Counsellors; what manner of men he should chuse, Jethro setteth down. And I have most fully described the qualities and conditions that they should be indued withall in my True Church.

2. As our Sektaries differ much from the true Divines, about the choice, so they differ much more about the power of these subordinate officers, and inferior Magistrates; for we say, they are alwayes to be obedient to the supreme power: or otherwise, *cujus est deponere, cujus est constituere*, he can displace them that hath appointed them; or if you say no, because I cited you a place out of Bellarmine, where he saith, the Souldiers had power to refuse their Emperour while he was in fieri, to be elected; but not when he was in facto, fully chosen and made Emperour: so the King hath power to chuse them, but not to displace them. I answer briefly, that in creating or constituting our inferiours, we may; but our superiour we may not: because inferiours, in the judgment of all men, have no jurisdiction over their superiours. And therefore elective Kings are not deposable in a Monarchicall government: where the supreme power resides in the Monarch; though perhaps the Kings of Lacedemon might be justly deposed, because by the constitution of their Kingdome, the supreme power was not in their Kings, but in their Ephori.

1. About the choice of inferiours and Officers.

2. Difference about the power of the subordinate Magistrates.

Gen. 41. 41.

Dan. 2. 48.

Cap. 6. 1. 2.

All kings chuse their own Officers.

ob.

sol.

2 Reg. 19. 37.

True Church. lib. 6. c. 4. &c.

2. Difference about the power of the subordinate Magistrates.

None can depose him in whom the supreme Majesty resideth.

But

But our new Sectaries out of *Junius Brutus*, *Burcher*, *Altham*, *Knox*, and *Cartwright*, teach very devoutly, but most falsely, that in case of *disfai*lance to do his duty, they may with the *Tribunes* of *Rome*, or the *Demarchi* at *Athens*, censure and depose him too, if they see just cause for the same.

Blacvod. c. 33.
p. 285.
Grand Rebellion,
c. 7. p. 52.

To confute which *blasphemous* doctrine against God, and so *pernicious* and *dangerous* to this State, though others have done it very *excellently* well already, and I have formerly shewed the absurdity of it in my *Grand Rebellion*; yet, because all books come not to every hand, I will say *somewhat* of it in this place. If these *Counsellors*, *Magistrates*, *Parliament*, call them what you will, have any *power* and *authority*, it must be either *subordinate*, *coordinate*, or *supreme*.

1 Subordinate officers can have no power over their superiors.

1. If *subordinate*, I told you before, they can have no power over their *superior*, because all inferior *Magistrates* are *Magistrates* onely, in respect of those that are *under* their *jurisdiction*; because to them they *represent* the *King*, and supply the office of the *King*; but in reference to the *King*, they are but *private* persons and *Subjects*, that can challenge no *jurisdiction* over him.

2. that neither Peers nor Parliament can have the supremacy. None above the King at any time.

2. If they be *supreme*, then *Saint Peter* is much mistaken, to say the *King* is *supreme*; and they do ill to *disclaim* this *supremacy*, when in all their *Petitions*, (not *disjunctively*, but as they are an *united* body) they say, *Your Majesties humble Subjects the Lords and Commons in Parliament*: and besides, they are *perjur'd* that deny it, after they have taken the *Oath* of *supremacy*, where every one saith, *I A. B. do utterly testifie and declare in my conscience, that the Kings Highness is the onely supreme Governour of this Realme, &c.* But this is further, and so fully proved out of *Bracton*, the nature of all the *Subjects* *tenures*, and the *constitution* of this government, by the *Author* of *The unlawfulness of Subjects taking up armes against their Sovereigne*, that more needs not be spoken to any rational man. Yet because this point is of such great concernment, and the chiefest argument they have out of *Bracton*, is, that he saith, *Rex habet superiorem, legem, curiam suam, comites, Barones; quia comites dicuntur, quasi socii Regis, & qui habet socium, habet magistrum; & ideo si Rex fuerit sine fratre, id est, sine lege, debent ei frenum ponere, nisi ipsimet fuerint cum rege sine fratre*: and all this makes just nothing in the World for them, if they had the *honesty* or the *learning* to understand it right, for what is above the *King*? the *Law*, and the *Court* of *Peers* and *Barons*; but how are they above him? as the *Preacher* is above the *King*, when he preacheth unto him; or the *Physician* when he gives him *Physick*; or the *Pilot* when he sayleth by *Sea*; that is, *quoad rationem consulendi, non cogendi*, they have *superioritatem directivam, non coactivam*; for so the *teacher* is above him that is taught, and the *Counsellor* above him that is counselled, that is, by way of advice, but not by way of command; and to shew you that this is *Bractons* true meaning, I pray you consider his words; *Comites dicuntur quasi socii*, they are as his fellows or *Peeres*, not simply but *quasi*: and if they were simply so, yet they are but *socii*, not *superiours*; and what can *socii* do? not *command*, for *par in parem non habet potestatem*, that is, *præcipiendi*; otherwise, you must confesse, *habet potestatem consulendi*: therefore *Bracton* addes, *qui habet socium, habet magistrum*, that is, a *teacher*, not a *commander*; and to make this yet more plain, he addes, *Si Rex fuerit sine fratre, id est, sine lege*, if the *King* be without a *bridle*, that is, saith he (lest you should mistake what he meanes by the *bridle*, and thinke he meanes *force* and *armes*) the *Law*: they ought to put this *bridle* unto him, that is, to presse him with this *Law*, and still to shew him his duty, even as we do both to *King* and *people*, saying, this is the *Law*, this should *bridle* you: but here is not a word of *commanding*, much lesse of *forcing* the *King*: not a word of *superiority*, nor yet simply of *equality*: and therefore I must say, *hoc argumentum nihil adrobombum*, these do abuse every author.

The Sectaries chiefest argument out of *Bracton* fully answered.

How the Law and the Court of Barons is above the King

3 That neither Peers nor Parliament are coordinate with the King.

3. That neither *Peers* nor *Parliament* are *coordinate* with the *King*. If their *Authority*, (I speak not of *Divines*, their natural strength and power) but of their right and authority, be *coordinate* and equal with the *Kings* authority,

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rity, then whether given by God (which they cannot prove) or by the people
 there must be *duo summa imperia*, two supreme powers; (which the philoso-
 phers say cannot be; *nam quod summum est, unum est*, from whence they prove
 the unity of the God-head, that there can be but one God) and if this supreme
 power be divided betwixt King and Parliament, you know what the Poet
 saith,

——— *Omnisque potestas,
 Impatiens consortis erit,* ———

*Omnisque Phi-
 losophi. & juris-
 consulti, ponunt
 summum in eo
 rerum genere
 quod dividi non
 possit. Laetant.
 l. i. c. 3.*

Or you may remember what our Saviour saith, *If a Kingdom be divided a-*
gainst it selfe it cannot stand, and therefore when *Tiberius*, out of his wonted
subtily, desired the Senate to appoint a colleague and partner with him, for the
 better administration of the Empire, *Afinius Gallus*, that was desirous enough
 of their *Pristine* liberty, yet understanding well with what *minde* the subtle
 fox spake, (onely to decry his ill willers) after some jests answered seriously,
ἀδύνατον τὴν ἀρχὴν διαρκεῖναι, that government must not be divided; because
 you can never have any happiness where the power is equally divided in two
 parts, when according to the well known axiome to every one, *Par in parem non*
habet potestatem. But to make the matter cleare, and to shew that the Sovereign-
 ty is inseparably inherent in the person of His Majesty, we have the whole cur-
 rent of our very Acts of Parliament acknowledging it in these very termes,
 Our Sovereigne Lord the King, and the Parliament, 25. Hen. 8. saith, *This*
your Graces Realme, recognizing no superiour under God, but your Grace, &c. And
 the Parliament 16. Rich. 2. c. 1. affirmeth the Crown of England to have been so
 free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly subjection, but immediately to
 God, in all things touching the regality of the said Crown, and to none other,
 and in the 25. of Hen. 5. the Parliament declareth, that it belongeth to the Kings
 regality, to grant or deny what Petitions in Parliament he pleaseth: and so indeed
 whatsoever authority is in the constant practice of the Kingdom, or in the known
 and published Laws and Statutes, it concludeth the Sovereignty to be fixed in the
 King, and all the Subjects virtually united in the representative body of the Parlia-
 ment, to be obliged in obedience & allegiance to the individual person of the King:
 and I doubt not but our learned Lawyers can finde much more prooffe then I do,
 out of their Law to this purpose. And therefore seeing divers supreme powers
 are not compatible in one State, nor allowable in our State; the conceit of a mix-
 ed Monarchy is but a fopperry, to prove the distribution of the supreme power
 into two sorts of governours, equally indued with the same power; because the
 supreme power, being but one, must be placed in one sort of governours, either in
 one numerically man, as it is in Monarchy; or in one specificall kinde of men, as
 the optimates, as it is in Aristocracie; or in the people, as in Democracie; but if
 by a mixed Monarchy you meane, that this supreme power is not simply abso-
 lute, quoad omnia, but a government limited and regulated, &c. *ὅπως*, we will
 not much quarrell with our Sectaries, because His Majesty hath promised, and
 we are sure he will performe it, to govern his people according to the *Laws* of
 this Land.

*The Case of
 our Affaires.
 p. 19, 20.
 the Lawes of
 our Land ac-
 knowledge all
 Sovereignty in
 the King.*

*mislead; Ma-
 v. 15.*

And therefore they that would rob the King of this right, and give any part
 of his supreme power to the Parliament, or to any of all his inferiour Magi-
 strates, deserve as well to be expelled the Kingdom, as *Plato* would have *Homer*
 to be banished, for bringing in the Gods fighting, and disagreeing among them-
 selves; when as *Ovid*, out of him, saith,

*They deserve
 not to live in
 the Kingdom
 that diminish
 the supremacy
 of the King.*

Jupiter in Trojam, pro Troja stabat Apollo:

Because, as the Civilians say, *Naturale vitium est negligi, quod communiter pos-*
sideretur, utque se nihil habere putet qui totum non habeat, & suam partem corruptum-
pi patiat, dum invidet aliena; and therefore the same *Homer* treating of our
 humane Government, saith,

Nec multos reg-
nare bonum, rex
unicus esto.

Οὐκ ἀγαθόν πολυκρασίην, ἢς κρίνειτο ἕνα.
Ἐἰς βασιλῆς.

Arist. Metaph. which *Aristotle* doth so infinitely commend, where he disputeth, *ὅτις ἐν ᾧ πάντα*
lib. 1. *συμπταχθέν*; and so doth *Plato* and all the wise Philosophers that followed af-
Statius Thebaid. ter: because as the *Poët* saith,
lib. 1.

Summo dulcius unum
Stare loco: sociisque comes discordia regnis.

And, as our own most lamentable experience sheweth, what abundance of miseries happened unto our selves by this renting of the King's power, and placing it in the hands of the *Parliament*, and his own inferior officers: and as those sad Tragedies of *Etheotles* and *Polynices*, *Numitor* and *Amulius*, *Romulus* and *Remus*, *Antoninus* and *Geta*, and almost infinite more, do make it manifest to all the world.

§.

The two chiefest parts of the regal Government; the four properties of a just War; and how the Parliamentary faction transgresse in every property.

4. The chiefest
parts of the
Regal govern-
ment, which
are two.

Exod. 2. 14.

1 Sam. 8. 20.

2 Sam. 5. 2.

4. HAVING spoken of those assistants, that should further and not hinder the King in the Common-wealth, it resteth that I should now speak of the chiefest parts of this government: when *Moses* killed the *Egyptian* that wronged the *Israelite*, and the next day said unto the *Hebrew*, that did injure his fellow, *Wherefore smitest thou him?* the oppressor answered, *Who made thee a Prince and a Judge over us?* and the people say unto *Samuel*, we will have a King over us, that our King may judge us, and go out before us and fight our battails. Out of which two places, we finde two special parts of the King's government.

Sigon. l. 7. c. 1.

1 Sam. 9. 16.

1 Reg. 3. 9.

Plal. 72. 2.

Arnsiens de

jure Majest. l. 2.

c. 1. p. 214.

1. *Principatum bellorum*, the charge of the wars; in respect whereof the Kings were called *Captains*, as the Lord said unto *Samuel* concerning *Saul*, *Unge eum ducem*, thou shalt anoint him to be Captain over my people *Israel*.

2. *Curam judiciorum*, the care of all judgments; in respect whereof *David*, and *Solomon*, and the other Kings are said to judge the people.

So *Arnsiens* saith, *Majestatis potestas omnis consistit vel in defendenda repub. vel in regenda*, all the power of royalty consisteth either in defending or in governing the Common-wealth, according as *Homer* describeth a perfect King;

Homer Iliad. 7.

Ἀρόττην, βασιλῆς τ' ἀγὰδός, κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής.

And so you see the two principal parts of the King's government are the Offices.

1. *Ducis in bello gerendo.*

2. *Judicis in jure reddendo.*

1. Part. In the time of War.

Ordo ille naturalis moralium cum aliquibus, ἀνδρῶν κοινῶν, δυνάσταις ἕνα ἑνός, and the *Julian* Law adjudgeth

paci accommo-

datus, hoc poscit ut suscipiendi belli auctoritas

atque consilium apud principes sit. Aug. cont. Faust. l. 22. & *Arnis. l. 2. c. 5. p. 345.* *Plato de legib. lib. 2.*

1. Of a Captain in the time of War.

2. Of a Judge in the time of Peace.

1. Then it is the proper right of the King, and of none but the King, or he that hath the regal and supreme power, to make war, and to conclude peace; for *Plato* in his Common-wealth ordained, that, *Si quis pacem vel bellum fecerit* him guilty of High Treason, *Qui injusta principis bellum gesserit, delictumve habuerit, exercitum vel comparaverit*, that either maketh War, or raiseth an Army without his Kings command.

And

And to this part of the regall government, which consisteth in the *Militia* in Armes, for the defence of the Kingdome, pertaineth, 1. The proclaiming of War, which our Saviour properly ascribeth unto the right of Kings, when he saith, not what State, or Common-wealth, but *What King going to war with another King?* &c. 2. The concluding of Peace, which our Saviour ascribeth also unto the King, in the same place. 3. The making of leagues and confederacies with other forraigne States. 4. The sending, and receiving of Ambassadors. 5. To raise Armes, and the like, which the Lawes of God, and of all Nations justifie to be the proper right of Kings, and to belong only unto the supreme Majesty.

Luc. 14. 31.
32.
Aristot. Polit.
l. 7. c. 3.
Aristot. l. 2. c. 1.

But then you will say, did not the Judges, Moses, Joshua, Gideon, Jephtha, Barac, Samson, and the rest make war, and yet they were no Kings? Why then may not the Nobles make war, as well as Kings? I answer, that they do indeed make war, and a miserable wretched war; but I speak of a just war, and so I say that none but the King, or he that hath the Kings power can do it; for though the Judges assumed not the name of Kings, nor Captains, *sed à potiore parte vocati sunt iudices*, but from the sweetest part of the Royall government were termed Judges; yet they had the full power, & *ducendi & iudicandi populum*, both of war and peace, saith Sigonius: and so the men of Gilead said unto Jephtha, *veni & esto princeps noster*: and they made him their head by an inviolable covenant. And of Moses it was plainly said, *He was King in Iesurun*; and when there was no Judge, it is said, *there was no King in Israel*: for I stand not about words, when some were called Kings, for the honour of the People, and yet had no more power then Subjects, as the Kings of Sparta; and others had not the name of Kings, and yet had the full power of Kings; as the Dictator, and the Emperour, and the great Duke of Muscovie, and the like.

Judges 11. 11.
Deut. 33. 5.
Judges 17. 6.
18. 1. 19. 1.

But, when a war is undertaken by any Prince, how shall we know which party is in the right? for to make an unjust war, cannot be said to be the right of any King: yet, as the Poet saith,

Quis iustus induit arma
Scire nefas, summo se iudice quisque tuetur.

Lucan lib. 1.

Every one pretends his cause is just, he fights for God, for the truth of the Gospell, the faith of Christ, and the liberty and Lawes of his Countrey: how then shall those poore men, that hazard their lives and their fortunes, yea, and soules too, if they war on the wrong side, understand the truth of this great, doubtfull, and dangerous point?

I answer, all the Divines that I read of, speaking of war, do concur with what Dambauderius writeth of this point, that there must be foure properties of a just war.

Dambaud. in
praxi criminal.
cap. 82.

1. A just cause.
2. A right intention.
3. Meet Members.

Foure properties of a just War.

4. The Kings authority. *Sine qua est laesa Maiestas*, without which authority the Warriours are all Traytors. And I would to God our Rebels would lay their hands upon their hearts, and seriously examine these foure points in this present War.

1. What cause have they to take Armes against their King, and to kill and murder so many thousands of their own Brethren? they will answer, that they do it for the defence of their Liberty, Lawes, and Religion: but how truly, let God himselfe be the Judge; for, His Majesty hath promised and protested they shall enjoy all these fully and freely, without any manner of diminution: and we know that never any rebellion was raised, but these very causes were still pretended. And therefore,

1. A just cause.

2. Consider with what intent they do all this? and I doubt not but you shall finde

2. A right intention.

What Lawes
and Religion
the Rebels
would fain
have.

finde foul weeds under this fair cloak; for under the shadow of liberty and property, they took the liberty to rob all the King's loyal Subjects that they could reach, of all or most of their estates, and to keep them fast in prison; because they would not consent to their lawless liberty, and to be Rebels with them against their conscience. And under the pretence of Lawes they aimed not to have the old Lawes well kept, which was never denied them, but to have such new ones made, as might quite rob the King of all his rights, and transfer the same unto themselves and their friends; so he should be like the King of Sparta, a Royal Slave; and they should be like the Ephori, ruling and commanding Subjects: And for the religion, you may know by their new Synod, which are a Synod not of Saints, but of Rebels, what religion they would fain have, not that which was professed in Q. Elizabeth's times, that was established by the Lawes, justified by the paines, and confirmed by the blood of so many worthy men and faithful Martyrs, but a new religion first hatched in Amsterdam, then nourished in New-England, and now to be transplanted into this Kingdom.

3. Meet Mem-
bers.

Who the Re-
bels are, and
what manner
persons they
be.

3. Who are the persons that are employed in this war? he first of all, that is the more disloyal, because he was a person of honour, that had so much honour conferred upon him by His Majesty, and so much trust reposed in him, and would notwithstanding prove so unthankful, as to kick with his heeles against his Master; and so follow, whom you know, *passibus agnis*, whose example, any other man, that were not rob'd of his understanding, would make a remora to retain him from rebellion: and what are the other heads, but a company either of poor, needy, and mean condition'd Lords and Gentlemen, or discontented Peers that are misled, or such factious Sectaries, whose blind zeal and furious malice are able to hurry them headlong to perpetrate any mischief? for their Captains and their Officers, I believe they fight neither for the Anabaptists creed, nor against the Romane faith, nor to overthrow our Protestant Church, but for their pay; for which, though they cannot be justified to take their hire for such ill service, to rebel against their King, and to murder their innocent brethren; Yet are they not so bad as their grand Masters; and for their common Souldiers, I assure my self many of them fight against their wills, many seduced by their false Prophets, others inticed by their factious Masters, and most of them compelled to kill their brethren against their wills; and therefore in some places, though their number trebled the Kings; yet they had rather run away then fight; and what a miserable and deplorable case is this, when so many poor foules shall be driven unto the Devil by Preachers and Parliament against their wills?

4. The su-
preme autho-
rity.

Albericus Gen-
tilis de jure bel-
li, l. 1. c. 2.
Subjects can
never make a
lawful war,
against their
King.

4. If you consider *quâ autoritate*, by what authority they wage this war, they will answer by the Authority of Parliament, and that is just none at all; because the Parliament hath not the supreme authority, without which the war is not publique, nor can it be justified: for a war is then justifiable, when there is no legal way to end the controversy by prohibiting farther appeales, which cannot be, but onely betwixt independent States and several Princes, that have the supreme power in their own hands, and are not liable to the censure of any Court; which power the Parliament cannot challenge; because they are or should be the King's lawful Subjects: and therefore cannot be his lawful enemies: but they will say, Master Goodwin, Burroughs, and all the rest of our good men, zealous brethren, and powerful Preachers do continually cry out in our eares, it is *bellum sanctum*, a most just and holy war, a war for the Gospel and for our Lawes and Liberties, wherein whosoever dies, he shall be crowned a Martyr.

Res dura ac
plena periculi est,
regale occidisse
genus.

I answer, that for their reward, they shall be indeed as Saint Augustine saith of the like, *Martyres frustra Philosophia*, when every one of them may be indicted at the bar of God's justice for a *felo de se*, a Malefactor guilty of his own untimely death: and for their good Orators that perswade them to the

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thi wickednesse, I pray you consider well what they are: men of no worth, rebellious against the Church, Rebels against the King, factious *Schismatics*, of no faith, of no learning, that have already forfeited their estates, if they have any, and their lives unto the king: and will any man that is wise, hazard his estate, his life and his soul to follow the persuasions of these men? my life is as deare to me, as the Earle of Essex his head is to him, and my soul dearer; and I dare ingage them both, that if all the Doctors in both Universities, and all the Divines within the kingdome of England, were gathered together to give their judgement of this War, there could not be found one of ten, it may be as I beleave not one of twenty that durst upon his conscience say, this war is lawful upon the Parliament side, for though these *Locusts*, that is, the *German*, *Scots*, *Irish*, and the *English* puritane, agreeing with the *Romane* Jesuite ever since the reformation, harped upon this string, and retained this *serpentine* poison within their bosome, still spitting it forth against all *States*, as you may see by their bookes; Yet I must tell you plainly, this doctrine of Subjects taking up armes against their lawful King, is point blank and directly against the received doctrine of the Church of England, and against the tenet of all true Protestants: and therefore *Andreas Rivetus* Professor at *Leyden* writing against a Jesuite that cast this aspersions upon the Protestants, that they jump with them in this doctrine of warring against, and deposing kings, saith, that no Protestant doth maintain that damnable doctrine, and that rashness of *Knox* and *Buchanan* is to be ascribed *prævidio Scotorum ingenio et ad audendum prompto*. *Jewel* and *Bilson* and all the Doctors of the Church are of the same minde; and *Litchfield* saith, no Orthodox father did by word or writing teach any resistance, for the space of a thousand yeares: and Doctor *Field* saith, that all the worthy fathers and Bishops of the Church perswaded themselves, that they owed all duty unto their kings, though they were Hereticks and Infidels; and the *Homilies* of the Church of England, allowed by authority, do plainly and peremptorily condemne all Subjects warring against their King for Rebels and Traytors, that do resist the ordinance of God and procure unto themselves damnation: and truly I beleave most of their own consciences tell them so; and they that thinke otherwise, I would have them to consider, that if they were at a banquet, where twenty should aver such a dish to be full of poyson, for every one that would warrant it good, would't thou venture to eate it, and hazard thy life in such a case? O then consider what it is to hazard thy soule upon the like termes. So you see the justnes of the War on the Parliament side. But.

1. On the Kings side, it cannot be denied, but his cause is most just; for his own defence, for the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, that is established by our Laws, and for the rights of the Church and the just liberties and property of all his loyal Subjects: this he testifieth in all his Declarations: and this we know in our own consciences to be true; and therefore

2. As his Majesty professeth, so we beleave him, that he never intended otherwise by this war, but to protect us, and our Religion, and to maintain his own just and unquestionable rights, which these Rebels would most unjustly wrest out of his hands, and under the shew of humble Petitioners to become at last proud Commanders; for as one saith,

— They whom no denial can withstand,
Seeme but to aske, While they indeed command.

3. For the persons that war with him, they are the chiefe of the Nobility, His assistants all the best Gentry, that hazard their lives, not for filthy lucre; for, the Kings Revenues, being so unjustly detained from him, they are faine to supply his necessities, and to bear their own charges; and the poor common Soldiers are nothing wanting to do their best endeavours; neither need they to fear any thing; because

4. The

4 His authority sacred and unquestionable. What the pretended Parliament is,

4. The King hath a just right, to give them full power and authority to do execution upon these Rebels, as I have proved unto you before.

And therefore the result of all is, that the Parliament side (under the presence of Religion, fighting if not for the Crown, yet certainly for the full power and authority of the King, who shall have the ordering of the Militia, that is, who shall have the government of this Kingdome, which is all one as who shall be the King, they or King CHARLES, and which is the very question that they would now decide by the sword) in taking away our goods, are sheeves and robbers; in killing their brethren, are bloody murderers, and in resisting their King, are rebellious traytors; that as the Apostle saith, purchase to themselves damnation: when (as the Prophet *Esay* speaketh of the like Rebels) being hardly bestead and hungry, (as I believe thousands of them are in London, and other Rebellious Cities) they shall fret themselves, and curse their King and their God, and looke upward (as I fear many of them do, curse the King with their tongues, and God in their hearts) and they shall looke unto the earth: and behold trouble and darknesse, dimnesse and anguish, and they shall be driven to darknesse even to niter darknesse, where there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, if by a true repentance they do not betimes rent their hearts and forsake their fearful sinns.

Esay 8. 11, 12.

Matth. 8. 12.

And the Kings side, in this war, doing no further then the king gives Commission, do no more then what God commandeth, and therefore, living, they shall be accounted loyal Subjects worthy of honour: and dying, they shall be sure to be everlastingly rewarded.

C H A P. XIII.

Sheweth, how the first Government of Kings was arbitrary: the places of Moses, Deu. 17. and of Samuel, 1 Sam. 8. discussed; whether Ahab offended in desiring Naboths Vineyard, and wherein; why absolute power was granted unto Kings; and how the diversities of Government came up.

2 part of the regal government in the time of peace. Master Selden in his titles of Honour p. 15. That the first government of Kings was arbitrary.

2. **H**AVING thus shewed you *poteſtatem ducendi*, the Kings right and power of making War, it resteth that I should speake *De poteſtate judicandi* of his power and right of judging and governing his people in the time of peace; touching which we finde none denying his right, but all the difference is about the manner: where

1. I finde Master Selden rejecting, as ridiculous, the testimony of *Justine*, which saith, *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur, sed arbitria regum pro legibus erant*; the people were kept under by no Lawes but the will of their Kings was all the Law they had; but as *oportet mendacem esse memorem*, so it behoves him that opposeth the truth to be very subtil, and very mindfull of his own discourſe; otherwise a meaner Scholler, having such advantage as the truth to asist him, may easily get the victory; for, though he goeth about to confute the reason that some alleadge, for the denial of those times to be governed by any Law, because the word *nomos* is not to be found in all *Homer*, but wheresoeuer he speaks of Justice, he expreſſeth the same by the word *Themis*, and saith, that this is false, which he proveth from *Homers* *νομοῖσι*, and his *νομὸς ἁδίκος*; and sheweth that there were Lawes before *Homers* time, from *Talus* his Lawes, that were written in brasse in the Isle of *Crete*; yet all this may be answered,

Homer ἁδικος in hymnis ἁδὲ ἀπολλ.

and

and *Justines* opinion prove most true; for *Talus* his time, must needs be under 70 *seph. advers.*
tain, and by *vous* & *adns*, *Homer* means the just measure of riming, but never *Appion. l. 51.*
useth *vous* for the set Law of living; besides, there were many ages, and *Plutarch in lib.*
many Kings before *Homers* time, and before *Talus*, *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, or *de Hero.*
any other Law-maker that you read of; *Moses* was the first that I finde, either
giving *Lawes*, or inventing *Letters*; and yet there were many Kings before
Moses; nine Kings named in one Chapter, and what *Lawes* had they to govern *Gen. 14. 1, 2.*
their people besides their own wills? and therefore Master *Selden*, *vi veritatis*
villius, confesseth that in the first times, in the beginning of States, there were no
Lawes but the arbitrements of Princes, as *Pomponius* speaketh: and pag. 4. he *Pompon. de ori-*
saith, the people, seeing the inconveniences of popular rule, chose one Monarch, *gine juris, ff.*
under whose arbitrary rule their happy quiet should be preserved; where also *l. 1. sect. 2.*
you may observe his great mistake, in making the Monarchy to spring out of *Josephus regni*
the Democracy; when as I have proved before, the Monarchical government *appellat impe-*
was many hundred of years before we heare mention of any other forme of go- *rium sumum*
vernment: but in any government, Doctor *Saravia* saith, and he saith most *unius hominis,*
truly, *Quisquis summum obtinet imperium; five is sit unus rex, five pauci nobiles,* *non ex lege, sed*
vel ipse populus univrsus, supra omnes leges sunt; ratio hac est, quod nemo sibi fe- *ex arbitrio im-*
rat legem, sed subditis suis, se legibus nemo adstringit: huc accedit & illa ratio; *peranti. Anti-*
quod neque suis legibus teneri possit (scil. rex) cum nemo sit seipso superior, nemo *quis. l. 4.*
a seipso cogi possit, & leges a superiore tantum sciscantur, denturque inferi- *Saravia de im-*
oribus. *perand. autor.*
l. 2. c. 3.
Barclaus l. 3.
c. 16.

And so *Arnifans* saith, and proveth at large, *Majestatis essentiam consistere in* *Arnif. l. 1. c. 3.*
summa & absoluta potestate, that the being of Majesty and Sovereignty consisteth *p. 49, 50.*
in the highest and most absolute power. And *Irvinus* alleadgeth many testimo- *Irvinus cap. 4.*
nies out of *Aristotle*, *Cicero*, *Ulpian*, *Dio*, *Constant. Harmenopolus*, and others, *p. 64, 65.*
to prove that *Rex legibus non subijcitur*.

And to make it yet more cleare, that the kings power to rule his people was
arbitrary; *Sigonius* saith most truly, that the power of governing the people
was given by God unto *Moses* before the Law was given; and therefore he
called the people to counsell, and without either Judges or Magistrates, *jura*
eisdem reddidit, he administred Justice, and did right to every one of them: So
Jeshua exercised the same right, and the Judges after him; and after the Judges *Sigon. de rep.*
succeeded the Kings, *quorum potestas atque auctoritas multo major, ut qua non tam* *Heb. l. 7. c. 3.*
a legibus quam ab arbitrio & voluntate regis profecta sit, whose power and au- *Hoc arbitrarium imperium*
thority was far greater, as proceeding, not so much from the Lawes, as from the *expressit Deus.*
arbitrement, and the will of the King, saith *Sigonius*: for they understood the *Sam. 8.*
power of a King in *Aristotles* sence, *Qui solutus legibus plenissimo jure regnaret,* *& David. Ps.*
who being freed from the Lawes, or not tyed to Lawes, might governe with a *11. Reges eos in*
plenary right. And so *Saul* judged *Israel*, and had altogether the arbitrary *virga ferrea.*
power both of life and death; & quodam modo superior legibus fuit, and was af- *Idem Ibidem.*
ter a sort above the Law, undertaking and making Warr, pro arbitratu suo, ac-
cording to his own will. And in his sixth book he saith, the Jewes had three
great Courts or Assemblies.

1. Their Councell, which contained that company, that handled those things *Cap. 2.*
especially, which concerned the State of the whole Common-wealth: as warre,
peace, provision, institution of Lawes, creation of Magistrates and the
like.

2. Their Synagogue, or the meeting of the whole Congregation or people, *Cap. 3.*
which no man might convocate, but he which had the chiefe rule, as *Moses*, *Jo-*
Jeshua, the Judges, and the Kings.

3. Their standing Senate, which was appointed of God to be of the seventy *Cap. 4.*
Elders; whereof he saith, that although this was alwayes standing for consulta- *Numb. 15.*
tion; yet we must understand that the kings, which had the Common-wealth *Plenum regnum*
in their own power, and were not obnoxious to the Lawes, made Decrees of *vocatur quo-*
themselves, without the authority of the Senate, *ut qui cum summo imperio essent, voluntate gerit.*
as *Idem.*

as men that were indued with the *chiefest* rule and command : And we find that the king judged the people two manner of wayes.

1. *Alone.*

2. Together with the *Elders* and *Priests*.

2 Sam. 15. 2, 6.

1 Sam. 8. 7.

For it is said, that *Abolon*, when any man came to the king for judgment, wished that he were made *Judge* in the Land, and he did in this manner to all *Israel* that came to the king for judgement : and when the people demanded a *King* instead of *Samuel* to reigne over them, and God said, *They had cast him off from being their King* ; he signifieth most plainly, that while the *Judges* ruled, which had their chiefest authority from the *Law*, God reigned over them, because his *Law* did rule them ; but the rule and government being translated unto *Kings*, God reigned no longer over them ; *Quia non penes legem Dei, sed penes voluntatem unius hominis summa rerum autoritas esset futura* ; because now all *authority*, and all things were not in the power of the *Law*, but in the power of one mans *arbitrary* will.

Deut. 17. 14.
usque ad finem.

But, seeing we are fallen upon the peoples desire of a king, let us examine what *right* God saith, belongeth unto him ; and because that place, 1 Sam. 8. is contradicted by another, Deut. 17. as it seemeth, we will examine both places, and see if *Moses* doth any wayes crosse *Samuel* : and truly I may say of these two places, that, as *S. Aug.* saith in the like case, *Alii atque alii, aliud atque aliud opinati sunt* ; for some learned men say, that *Moses* setteth down to the king, *legem regendi*, the Law by which he should governe the people, without wronging them ; and *Samuel* setteth down to the people *legem parandi*, the Law by which they should obey the king, without resisting him whatsoever he should doe to them ; And other Divines say, *Hac est potestas legitima, non tyrannica, nec violenta* : & ideo quando rex propria negotia non possit expedire per proprias res ac servos, possit pro negotiis propriis tollere res & servos aliorum : & isto modo dicebat Deus quod pertinebat ad jus regis, this is the lawfull and just right of the king. Therefore to find out the truth, let us a little more narrowly discusse both places. And

Spalat. tom. 2.
fol. 251.

G. Ocham, tract.
2. l. 2. c. 25.

1. In the words of *Moses*, there I observe two speciall things.

1. The charge of the people.

2. The charge of the king.

1. Popular election utterly forbidden.

2. The Kings charge.

1. The people are commanded very strictly, in any wise, saith the Text, to make choice of no king of their own heads, but to accept of him whom the Lord did chuse.

2. The king is commanded to write out the *Law*, to study it, and to practice it ; and he is forbidden to do foure speciall things, which are

1. Not to bring the people back into *Egypt*, nor to provide the means to bring them, by multiplying his horses.
2. Not to marry many wives that might intice him, as they did *Solomon*, unto *Idolatri*.
3. Not to hoord up too much riches.
4. Not to tyrannize over his Brethren.

Joseph. Anti-
quis. l. 4.

And *Josephus* to the same purpose saith, *Si regis cupiditas vos inceserit, is ex eadem gente sit, curam omnino gerat justitia & aliarum virtutum, caveat vero, ne plus legibus aut Deo sapiat, nihil autem agat sine Pontificis, Senatorumque sententia*, (which *Moses* hath not) *neque nuptiis multis utatur, nec copiam pecuniarum equorumque selectur, quibus partis super leges superbia offeratur*, that is, to be a Tyrant.

Rex Jacobus in
his true Law
of free Mo-
narchs.

2. The words of *Samuel* are set down, 1 Sam. viii. 11. to the 18. verse, whereof I confesse there are severall expositions ; some making the same a propheticall prediction of what some of their Kings would doe, contrary to what they should doe, as it was expressed by *Moses*. So King *James* himself takes it ; others take it Grammatically, for the true right of a King, that may do all this, and yet no way contradict those precepts forecited by *Moses* ; to confirme which

supposition

supposition, they say, 1. The phrase here used must beare it out; for as the Hebrew word signifieth, as Pagninus noteth, *Morem, aut modum, aut consuetudinem*, and many other things, as the place and the matter to be expressed do require, (because every equivocal word of various signification is not to be taken alike in all places, but is to be interpreted *secundum materiam subjectam*) yet the Septuagint that should know both the propriety of the word, and the meaning of the Holy Ghost in that place, as well as any other, translate the word to signify *δικαιωμα*; and we know the Greek word *δικαιωμα*, which the Septuagint useth, and *jus*, which the Latine useth, is never taken in the worse sense, the Scripture never using to call vices by the names of virtues, or to give a right to any one to exercise tyranny, which then might be better termed *jus latronis*, because an unjust tyrant is no better then an open thiefe. 2. There is nothing here set downe by Samuel, that is simply forbidden by the Law of God, but that any, the very best Kings may do, as the occasions shall require; for, being a King, he must have the royalty of his house supported, and the necessities of his war supplied: and you may read in Herodotus how Dioces, after he was chosen King, had all things granted unto him, that were needfull to expresse his royall state and magnificence; and here is nothing else in the text; for if you marke it, the Prophet saith not, he should kill their sons, nor ravish their wives, nor yet take their daughters to be his Concubines, which are the properties of a tyrant; * but he should take them to support his state, and to maintain his war, which, as his necessities require, is lawfull for him to do; so that, it is not the doing of those things, but the motives that cause the King to do them, or the manner of doing them, that do make it either an unjust tyranny, or the just right of a King; for as Doctor Bilson saith, kings may justly command the goods and bodies of all their Subjects, in the time both of war and peace, for any publique necessity or utility. And Hugo de Sancto Victore saith, *Nunquam possessiones a regia potestate ita elongari possunt, quin si ratio postulerit & necessitas, & illis ipsa potestas debeat patrocinium, & illis ipsa possessiones debeant in necessitate obsequium*. And so most Authors say, the Subjects ought to supply the kings necessities, and he may justly demand what is requisite and necessary for his publique occasions: and who shall judge of that necessity but his own conscience? and God shall judge that conscience, which doth unjustly demand what he hath no reason to require; because the greatness of his authority gives him no right to transcend the rules of equity, whereof both God and his conscience will be the impartiall Judges. And therefore in *Deut. Modus describitur, res non prohibetur*, and in Samuel, *Jus ponitur, & ratio subintellegitur*; for many things may be prohibited in some respect, that in other respects may be allowed; and many things lawfull in some wayes, which otherwayes may be most sinfull; as it is most lawfull to drink, *ad satietatem*, but not *ad ebrietatem*, and many other the like things: so it is lawfull for the king to do all that Samuel saith, *ad supplendam reipubl. necessitatem, & supportandam regiam majestatem*, but not *ad satisfaciendum suo festui, luxui, lucro, vanitati, aut carnali voluptati*; which is the thing that Moses forbiddeth: So that in brieft the meaning is, if the Subjects should be unwilling to do what Samuel saith, then the king, when just necessity requireth, may for these lawfull ends lawfully assume them. And if he takes them any other way, or for any other end then so, *habet Deum judicem conscientia, & ultorem injustitia*.

But then it may be said, Ahab did not offend in taking away Naboths vineyard, if Samuel did properly describe the right of kings.

I cannot say that Ahab sinned in desiring Naboths vineyard, neither do I finde that the Prophet blames him for that desire; there is not a word of that in the text, but for killing Naboth, and then taking possession; for this he might not do, the other he might do, so he do it to a right end, and in the right manner; wherein he failed,

ὁ νόμος τοῦ δικαιοῦς
δικαιωμα τὸ βασιλευς.
Apparet nomen
juris significare
hic potestatem
jure concessam.
Arnisæus c. 1.
p. 216.

* Instat terribilis
litis civis, morientibus heres.
Virginibus raptor, thalamis
obscenus adulter.
Dicibusque
dicit, & vox metuenda maritis;
Quisquis vel locuples, pulchra
vel conjuge notus,
Criminis pulsatur falso; si crimina defunct,
Accius corvina peris; mors
nulla refugit. Arisicem
Claudian. de bello Gildon.
Bilson diff. fol. 336.

Ob.

An.

Abahs sin.

1. In being so discontented for his denial, because his conscience telling him, that he had no such urgent necessity whereby he could take it; and *Naboth* being unwilling to sell it, he should have been satisfied.

2. In suffering his wife, whom he knew to be so wicked, to proceed in her unjust course against *Naboth*.

Naboths fault

3. In going down to take possession, when he knew that by his Wifes wicked practice the poore man was unjustly murdered, when he should have rather questioned the fact, and have punished the murderers

Lex posterior derogat priori, specialis generalis: & ceremonialiaque forensia cedunt moralibus.

And yet *Abahs* sin doth not excuse *Naboths* fault, both in the denial of the Kings right, if the king had a just necessity to use it; and also for his uncivil answer unto the King, far unlike the answer of *Arauna* to King *David*, but nearer like the answer of *Nabal*, which the Holy Ghost seemes to take notice of, when after he had said, *The LORD forbid it me*, which was rather a prayer and postulation that God would forbid it, as we say, *absit*, when we hear of any displeasing likelihood; then any declaration of any inhibition of God to sell it, who never denyed them leave to sell it until the yeare of redemption, the Prophet tells us in the next verse, that *Naboth* said, *I will not give thee the inheritance of my father.*

1 Reg 21. 4. Which very answer seemes to be the cause, why *Abah* was so much displeased.

But whether this speech of *Samuel* sheweth the just right of a King what he might do, or his power what he would do, what belongs to him of equity, or what his practice would be by tyranny, I will not determine: but I say, that although it should not be a just rule for him to command: yet it is a certain rule for them to obey; and though it should not excuse the king from sin, yet it wholly disables and disavowes the peoples resisting their king; because in all this the Prophet allows them none other remedy, but to cry unto the Lord: for seeing God hath given him *directum dominium*, & *absolutum imperium*, though he should fail of his duty, which God requireth, and do that wrong unto the people, which God forbiddeth; yet he is *solutus legibus*, free from all Lawes, quoad *coactionem*, in respect of any coercion from the people, but not quoad *obligationem*, in respect of obedience to God by his obligation; for though Kings had this *plenitudinem potestatis*, to rule and govern their people, as the father of the family rules his household, or the Pilot directs his Ship, *secundum liberum arbitrium*, according to his own arbitrary will: yet that will was to rule and to guide all his actions according to the strict Law of common equity and justice, as I have often shewed unto you.

The kings absolute power not given him to inable him for oppression, but to retaine his Subjects from rebellion.

But though this arbitrary rule continued long and very general for *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that excepting the Kings of *Egypt* that were indeed very strictly tied to live according to Law, all other Kings *infiniti à licentiâ ac voluntate suâ pro lege regnabant*, ruled as they listed themselves; Yet at last corruption so prevailed, that either the Kings abusing their power, or the people refusing to yeild their obedience, caused this arbitrary rule to be abridged and limited within the bounds of lawes, whereby the Kings promised and obliged themselves to govern their people according to the rules of those established lawes; for though the Supreme Majesty be free from all Lawes, *Sponte tamen ita accomodare potest*, the king may of his own accord yeild to observe the same; and as the *German* Poet saith,

Diodor. Siculus. l. 2. c. 3. Docuit Augustus tamen assensu voluntatem regum Aegypti, pro lege esse.

German. vates de rebus Frid. l. 8.

— *Nihil, ut verum fatear, magis esse decorum
Aut regale pato, quam legis jure solutum
Sponte tamen legi sese supponere regem.*

How diversities of government came up.

and according to the diversities of those Lawes, so are the diversities of governments, among the severall kingdoms of the earth; for I speake not of any Popular or Aristocratical state; therefore as some kings are more restrained by their Lawes then some others, so are their powers the lesse absolute; and yet all of them being absolute Kings and free Monarchs, are excepted from

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from any account of their actions to any inferior jurisdiction; because then they had not been *Monarchs*, but of Kings had made themselves *Subjects*.

Thus you see, that rule which formerly was arbitrary, is now become limited, but limited by their own lawes, and with their own wills, and none other-wise: for I shewed you else-where, that the *Legislative* power resided al-ways in the King, even as *Virgil* saith,

Virgil Aeneid.
1.

— Gaudet regno Trojannus Aestes,
Indicisque forum, & patribus dare iura vocatis.

And as that mirror of all learned Kings saith, King *Fergus* came to Scotland before any Statutes, or Parliament; or Lawes were made; and you may easily finde it, that Kings were the makers of the Lawes, and not the Lawes the makers of Kings; for the Lawes are but craved by the Subjects, and made onely by him at their rogation, and with their advice: so he gives the Law to them, but takes none from them; and by their own Lawes Kings have limited, and abridged their own Right and Power, which God and nature have conferred upon them, some more, some less, according as their grants were unto their people.

Rex Jacobus in the true Law of free Monarchs, p. 201.

§.

The extent of the grants of Kings; what they may, and what they may not grant; what our Kings have not granted, in seven speciall prerogatives; and what they have granted unto their people.

And here I would have you to consider these two points, concerning these grants of Kings unto their Subjects.

- { 1. Of the extents of these grants,
- { 2. Of the Kings obligation to observe them. }

Two things considerable about the privileged grants of Kings.

1. It is certain, that the people, always desirous of liberty, though that liberty should produce their ruine, are notwithstanding like the daughters of the *Horse-leech*, still crying unto their Kings, give, give, give us liberties and privileges more and more; and if they may have their wills, they are never satisfied,

1. The extent of the grants of Kings.
Prov. 30. 15.

Till Kings by giving, give themselves away,
And even that power, which should deny, betray.

For the concessions, and giving away of their right to govern, is the weakening of their government: and the more privileges they give, the less power they have to rule: and then the more unruly will their Subjects be: and therefore the people being herein like the horses the Poets faine to be in *Phaeton's* chariot, proud and stomachfull, Kings should remember the grave advice the Father gave unto *Phaeton*:

That it is to the prejudice of government to grant too many privileges to the people.

Parce puer stimulis, sed fortius utere loris:
Sponte sua properant, labor est inhibere volantes.

Ovid. Met. l. 1

They must be strongly bribled, and restrained, or they will soone destroy both horse and rider, both themselves and their Governours: Yet many Kings, either forcibly compelled by their unruly Subjects, (when they might think, and therefore not yield, that,

Constrained gifts not worthy of thanks.

Who gives constrain'd, but his own feare reviles,
Not thank't, but scorn'd, nor are they gifts, but spoiles.)

Or else (as some intruding usurping Kings have done) to retain their unjustly gained crownes without opposition, or as others, out of their Princely

What moved
Kings to grant
so many privi-
ledges to their
Subjects.

*Majora jura
inseparabilia à
Majestae, ne
queunt indul-
geri subditis,
& ita coherent
osibus, & ab
illo separari, si
ne illius destru-
ctione non pos-
sunt. Paris. de
pueo Arniseus
l. 2. c. 2. de ju-
re ma. Blacvood,
c. 7. pag. 75.
things that the
King cannot
grant.*

things that the
King should
not grant.

Things that
kings have not
granted away.

1. About the
Lawes,

§ 1. About the *Laws*.
§ 2. About the *Magistrates*.

clemency and facility, to gain the more love and affection, and as they conceived, the greater obligation from their Subjects, have many times, to the prejudice of themselves and their posterity, to the diminution of the rights of government, and often to the great damage of the Common-wealth, given away and released the execution of many parts of that right, which originally most justly belonged unto them, and tyed themselves by promises and oaths to observe those Laws, which they made for the exemption of their Subjects.

But there be some things, which the King cannot grant, as to transfer the right of succession to any other then the right heir, to whom it doth justly belong: *quia non jam hereditas est: sed proprium advenis patrimonium, cujus ei pleno jure dominium acquiritur, non à Patre, non à populo, sed à lege* — : Because he hath this right unto the Crown, not from his Father, nor from the people, but from the Law of the Land, and from God himself, which appointed him for the same, saith the Civilian: and therefore that vulgar saying is not absurd, *numquam mori Regem*: That the King never dyeth: for as soone as ever the one parteth with this life, the other immediately without expecting the consent either of Peeres or people, doth by a just and plenary right succeed, not onely as his fathers heir, but as the lawful governour of the people, and as the Lord of the whole kingdome, not by any option of any men, but by the condition of his birth, and the donation of his God: and therefore the resignation of the Crown by King John unto the Pope was but a fiction, that could infer no diminution of the right of his successor: because no King can give away this right from him, whom God hath designed for it.

And there be some things, which no Christian King should grant away, as any of those things, that being granted, may prejudice the Church of God, and deprese the glory of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; as the giving way for the diminution of the just revenues of the Church, the prophanation of things consecrated to Gods service, and the suppression of any of the divine callings of the Gospel, which are Bishops, Priests and Deacons; because all kings are bound to honour God, and to hinder all those things, whereby he is dishonoured, either in respect of things, persons, or places.

And there be some things, which the Kings of this realm have never granted away, but have still retained them in their own hands, as inviolable prerogatives and characteristical Symboles and Properties of their Supremacy, and the reliques of their pristine right, as in the time of peace, those two special parts of the government of the Common-wealth, which do consist.

The first whereof, saith Arniseus, containeth these particulars, that is, to make Lawes, to create Nobility, and give titles of dignity, to legitimate the ill begotten, to grant Priviledges, to restore Offenders to their lost repute, to pardon the transgressors, and the like.

1. *Jus Legisla-
tivum.*
Johan. Beda.
pag. 25.
The power of
making Lawes
is in the King

The case of four
affaires, pag.
11.

1. Then it is the right of the King *jura dare*, to give Laws unto his people: for though (as I said before) the Subjects in Parliament may treat of Lawes, and intreat the King to approve of them that they propose unto him; yet they are no Laws, and carry with them no binding force, till the King gives his consent; and therefore out of Parliament, you see the Kings Proclamation hath *vim & vigorem legis*, the full force and strength of a Law; to shew unto us, that the power of making Lawes was never yielded out of Kings hands; nor can it indeed be parted with, except he part with His Majesty and Sovereignty; for the limiting of his own power, by his voluntary concession of such favours unto his people, not to make any Lawes without their consent, doth no way diminish his

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his *Sovereignty*, or lessen his own right and authority: but as a man that yeildeth himself to be bound by some others, hath the use of his strength taken from him, but none of his *naturall* strength it self is lessened, (and much lesse is any part of it transferred to them that bound him;) but that whensoever his bonds are loosened, he can work again by vertue of his own naturall strength, and not by any received strength from his loosers; so the *naturall* right and interest of the *Sovereignty*, being solely in the King; and the *Peeres* and *Commons*, by the Kings voluntary concession, being onely interested in the office of restraining his power, for the more regular working of the true legitimate *Sovereignty*, it cannot be denied, but in whatsoever the *Peeres* and *Commons* do remitte the restraint, by yeilding their consent to the point proposed, the King worketh and acteth therein absolutely by the power of his own inherent *Sovereignty*; and all acts and lawes so passing doe virtually proceed from the King, as from the true and proper efficient author thereof: and may notwithstanding be said to be the acts of the whole Court, because the three estates contribute their power of remitting the restraint, and yeilding their assent, as well as the King useth his unrestrained power.

And therefore *Suarez* saith, that *ad condere legem, unus est ex principibus actibus gubernationis reipublice, ita principum & superiorem requirit potestatem*, to make Lawes is one of the chiefeest acts of the government of a Common-wealth, so it requireth the chiefeest and supreme power and authority; *qua quidem potestas legislativa primario in Deo est*, which legislative power is primarily in God, and is communicated unto Kings (saith he) *per quandam participationem*, according to the saying of the wise man, *Heare O ye Kings, because power is given unto you of the Lord*. And *Saint Augustine* calleth *jura humana jura imperatorum, quia ipsa jura humana per imperatores*: all humane lawes are the lawes of Emperors or Kings, because they are made by them; and the Holy Ghost speaking of the Kings of *Judah*, saith, *The Scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a Lawgiver from between his feet*; to teach us, that whosoever swayeth the Scepter hath the right to be the Law-maker, which is one of the prime prerogatives of *Sovereignty*.

2. *Jus nobilitandi*, the right of appointing the principall Officers of State; to cry up any of all his Subjects, whom the King will honour, as *Pharaoh* did *Joseph*, and *Ahasuerus* did *Haman* and *Mordecai*, and to give them titles of honour, *per codicillos honorarios, aut per diplomata sua*, as to make Dukes, Marquesses, Barons, Knights, &c. doth belong onely unto the King, that hath onely the supreme Majesty.

But if the Dukes, Earles, and Barons be so plyable to the *Puritan* faction, to put down the *spiritual* Lords, I doubt that e're long the King shall have but few Nobility; when not onely the Mechanicks and Rusticks will all cry out against this Lordliness, and say, as they did in the rebellion of *Jack Cade* and *Wat Tyler*.

When *Adam* delv'd, and *Eve* span,
Who was then the Gentleman?

And why should we now indure so many titles of vanity, and so many vain honours to vapour it over us? but the *Puritan* Clergy also, seeing themselves deprived of their due honour, and made all equall, all as base as *seruants* Priests, will be apt enough to blow up this conceit, and to put it into the Creed of all the vulgar, that God made us all equall, and to be Lords is but to be tyrants over their Brethren; and the *Presbytery*, whose pride could not obey the authority of their Bishops, will not abide the superiority of any Lords; but if they cannot Lord it themselves, will be sure to take away the Lordship from all others.

And therefore if the Nobility be not wiser, then to lay our honours in the dust, (as I see some about his Majesty, that would faine be the Priests to bury it, which

Stat. West. 1. 3. E. 1. 3. & 6. 4. Stat. of Merch. 13. E. 1. West. 3. 18. E. 1. 1. Stat. of Waste. 20. E. 1. of appeals. 28. E. 1. 1. E. 2. 1. and all the titles and acts of our Parliament.

How the same acts may be said to be the acts of the King, and of the Parliament.

Suarez. l. 1. c. 3. n. 8.

Sap. 6.

Aug. in Joan. tract. 6.

Gen. 49. 10.

2. Jus nobilitandi.

It is the Doctrine of the Anabaptists and Puritans, that there should be no Degrees of Schooles, nor titles of honour among men.

which meere policy, though they wanted piety, should prohibit) they shall find that

Virgil. *Aeneid.*
l. 1.

Iam tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet.

When our Cottages are burnt, their next Palaces shall not escape the fire; but through our sides their Honours shall be killed, and buried without honour.

3. *Ius legitimandi.*

3. *Ius legitimandi*, the right of *legitimation* belongs unto the King, without which *legitimation* the Lawyers tell us, that as the world now standeth, a mighty *emolument* would happen unto the Crown, if the King granted not this *grace* to them that want it.

4. *Ius appellationes recipiendi.*

A^d. 25. 11.

4. *Ius appellationes recipiendi*, the right of taking notice of causes, and of judging the same by the last appeale definitively, doth always belong to the *supreme* Majesty; because that as Saint Paul appealed unto Caesar, so the last appeale is to the highest Sovereigne, from whom there lyeth none appeale, but onely to him that shall judge all the Judges of the earth.

5. *Honores restituendi.*

Oforius de rebus
Imman. p. 6.

1 Reg. 2. 26.

Veniam criminosis indulgere.

5. *Ius restituendi in integrum*, the right to restore men attainted, or banished, or condemned to death, unto their Country, wealth, and honour, is likewise a part of the royall right: So Oforius saith, that Immanuel King of Portugal restored James son of Fernandez, and his brother Dionysius, and others, unto their forfeited honours; and so not onely the Scripture sheweth how David pardoned Absolon and Shimei, two wicked Rebels, and Solomon pardoned Abiathar that were all worthy of death; but also Saint Augustine speaking of other Kings and Emperours, saith, *iudicibus statuendum est ne liceat in rem datam sententiam revocare*, the Judges may not pardon a man condemned to death; *namquid & ipse Imperator sub hac lege erit?* but shall not the Emperour or King pardon him? are they likewise under this Law of restraint? by no meanes: *Nam ipsi soli licet revocare sententiam, & rem mortis absolvere, & ipsi ignoscere*; for he and he alone, that is, the Emperour or King, may revoke the sentence, and *absolve* him that is guilty of death. And so our King according to this his undenyable right, hath most graciously, and not seldome, offered his pardon unto these intolerable Rebels, a pardon not to be parallel'd in any History, nor to be believed, unlesse we had seen it, that a man could be so far inclined to clemency and mercy, as to remit such transcendent impiety, which will render them the more odious both to God and man; and their names the more infamous to all posterity, that after they had filled themselves with all kind of wickednesse, with incredible transgressions, they should be found contemners of so favourable a pardon.

Our kings unparallel'd clemency and piety towards the Rebels.

But though it be the Kings right to pardon faults, and to restore offenders; yet herein all Princes should take great heed (especially when they have power to take revenge, for sometimes the sinners may be like the sons of Zervia, too strong for David) how they pardon those great crimes that are committed to the dishonour of God, and do so far provoke him to anger, as to plague both the doers and the sufferers of them; because, that although they be *soluti legibus suis*, not bound to their own Lawes, yet they are not *soluti ratione & preceptis divinis*, but they are bound to observe Gods Lawes, and to punish the transgressors of his Commandments; or if they do not when they can do it, they shall render a strict account to God for all their omissions, as they may see it in the example of King Saul.

2. Sam. 3. 39.

Arifaus l. 1.
c. 3. pag. 69.

1 Sam. 15. 9.

6. *Ius convocandi Synodos, Parliamentia, &c.*

6. *Ius convocandi*, the right of calling Synods, Parliaments, Dyets, and the like, were the rights of the kings of Israel, and are the just Prerogatives of the kings of England, howsoever this faction of the Parliament hath sought to wrest it, as they do all other rights out of the kings hands, by their presumption to call their Schismaticall Synod, to which they have no more colour of right, then to call a Parliament.

7. *Ius monetis excudendi.*
Matth. 22. 20.

7. *Ius excudendi*, the right of coining mony, to give it value, to stampe his armes or his image upon it, (as our Saviour saith, *Whose Image and superscription is this?* and they say to him *Cæsars*) is the proper right of Caesar, the prerogative of the king.

The

The second sort of the King's right is *circa Magistratus*, and containeth jurisdiction, rule, creation of officers, appointing of circuits, provinces, judgments, censures, institution of Scholes and Colledges, collaion of dignities, receiving of fidelities, and abundance more; whereof I intend not to speak at this time, but refer my Reader to *Arnisaus, de jure Majestatis*, if he desires to be informed of these particulars.

2. About the Magistrates.

Arn. l. 2. c. 2.

And as these and the like are *jura Regalia*, the rights of Majesty in the time of peace; so when peace cannot continue, it doth properly belong unto the King, and to none else, but to him that hath the Sovereignty, whose right it is alone, to make war, either to succour his allyes, or to revenge great injuries, or for any the like just causes; and, as he seeth cause, to conclude Peace, to send Ambassadors, to negotiate with foreign States, and the like, are the rights of Kings, and the indelible Characters of Sovereignty, which whosoever violateth, and endeavoureth to purloin them from the King, doth with *Prometheus* steal fire from Heaven, which the Gods would not suffer (as the Poets feign) to go unrevenged.

And these things (so far as I can finde) the King never parted with them unto his Subjects; and therefore whosoever pretendeth to an *inherited* power to do any of these, and exempteth himself from the King's right herein, *resisteth the ordinance of God*, and is guilty of *High-Treason*, what *pretext* soever he brings, saith the Advocate of Paris.

Job. Beda. 26.

And there be some things which our Kings have granted unto their Subjects, and restrained themselves from their full right; as the use of that power, which makes new Lawes, or repeals the old, or layeth any tax or sums of monies upon his Subjects, without the consent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament; and it may be some other particulars, which the Lawyers know better then I.

Ita etiam Reges receperunt quibus voluntas pro lege est. legum summa in manu in cogendis potestatis, quodammodo videtur sequebantur. Ambrosius. What things Kings have granted.

And all these Priviledges of the Subjects are but limitations and restrictions of the King's right, made by themselves unto their people; and therefore where the Law cannot be produced to confirm such and such Liberties and Priviledges granted unto them, I say there the King's power is absolute, and the Subject ought not in such cases to determine any thing to the disadvantage of the King: because all these Liberties that we have, are enjoyed by vertue of the King's grant, as you may see in the ratification of *Magna Charta*; where the King saith, *We have granted and given all these Liberties*.

But I could never see it produced, where the King granted unto his Subjects that they might force him, and compel him with a strong hand, by an Army of Soldiers to do what they will, or else to take away either his Crown or his Life; this Priviledge was never granted, because this deprives the King of his Supremacy, and puts him in the condition of a Subject, and would ever prove an occasion of rebellion, when the people upon every discontent would take Arms against their King.

2. Hen. 3.

And therefore this present resistance is a meer usurpation of the King's right, a rebellion against his Lawes, an *High-Treason* against his Person, and a resistance of the ordinance of God, which heap of deadly sins can bring none other fruit then damnation, saith the Apostle.

C H A P. XIV.

Sheweth the Kings grants unto his people to be of three sorts. Which ought to be observed: the Act of excluding the Bishops out of Parliament discussed: the King's Oath at his Coronation: how it obligeth him: and how Statutes have been procured and repealed.

3. The Kings obligation to observe his grants.

Peter de la Prima saith, Laws annexed to the Crown the Prince cannot so abrogate them, but his Successor may disannul whatsoever he hath done in prejudice of them.
p. 597.

2. **W**E are to consider how far the King is obliged to observe his promise, and to make good these Liberties and Privileges unto his Subjects; where I speak not how far the father's grant may oblige the son, or the predecessor his successor, who cannot be deprived of his right dominion by any act of his predecessors; but for the rights of his dominion, how far precedent grants, and the custom of their continuance, with the desuetude and non-claim of his right, may strengthen them unto the Subject, and oblige the successors to observe them, I leave it unto the Lawyers and Civilians to dispute: but I am here to discuss how far the King, that hath promised and taken his oath to observe his Lawes, and make good all privileges granted to his Subjects, is bound in conscience to keep and observe them: Touching which, you must understand, that these grants of immunities and favours are of three special kinds.

- | | |
|------------------|--------|
| 1. Of grace. | } For, |
| 2. By fraud. | |
| 3. Through fear. | |

1. All grants of grace ought to be observed.

The true Law of free Monarchs, p. 203.

1. The King that hath his full right, either by conquest or succession over his people, to govern them as a most absolute Monarch, and out of his meer grace and favour, to sweeten the subjection of his people, and to binde them with the greater love and affection to his obedience, doth *minnere sua jura*, restrain his absolute right, bestow liberties upon his people, and take his oath for their security, that he will observe them, is bound in all conscience to perform them, and can never be freed from injustice before God and man, if he transgress them: *Quia volenti fit non injuria*, because they do him no injury, when he doth voluntarily, either totally resign, or in some particularity diminish his own right: but after he hath thus firmly done it, he can never justly go from it: and therefore King James saith, that a King which governeth not by his Lawes, can neither be accountable to God for his administration, nor have a happy and established Reigne; because it cannot be, but that the people seeing their King failing of his duty, will be always murmuring and defective in their fidelity. And

Yet the King's breach of oath doth neither forfeit his right, nor warrant their disloyalty: because another mans sin doth no way lessen mine offence, and neither God nor the King granted this privilege unto Subjects, to rebel and take Armes against their Sovereign, when they pretend he hath broken his promise.

2. Grants obtained through fraud; which to be observed.

2. When the King through the subtle perswasions of his people, that pretend one thing, and intend another, shall be seduced to grant those things that are full of inconveniencies; as our King was over-reached, and no better then merely cheated by the faction of this Parliament, to grant the continuance of it, till it should be dissolved with the consent of both Houses, and the like Lawes that are procured by meer fraud, that soonest over-reacheth the best meaning Kings. I answer with the old Proverb, *Caveat emptor*, he ought to have been as wise to prevent them, as they were subtle to circumvent him; and therefore

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fore, as *Josbua*, being deceived by the *Gibeonites*, could not alter his promise, *Joh. 9. 20.* nor break his league with them, lest wrath should fall upon him, so no more should any other King break promise in the like case.

But you must observe, that the *Psalmist* saith, *The good man which shall dwell in the Tabernacle of the Lord, is he that sweareth unto his neighbour and disappointeth him not, though it were to his own hinderance* : mark, though it were to his own hinderance never so much, he must perform it; but what if he hath promised and sworn that which will be to the great dishonour of God, to the hinderance of thousands of others, and it may be to the ruine of a whole Kingdom, which is a great deal more then his own hinderance, is a King bound, or is any man else obliged to perform such a promise, or to keep such an oath? to tell you mine own judgement, I think he ought not to perform it; and our own Law tells us what grants soever are obtained from the King, under the broad Seal by fraud and deceit, those grants are void in Law; therefore, seeing the Act for the perpetuity of this Parliament was obtained, *dolo pessimo*, to the great dishonour of God, and the ruine both of Church and State, when their pretence was very good; though the goodness of his Majesty in the tenderness of his conscience was still loath to allow himself the liberty to dissolve it, until he had other juster and more clear causes to pronounce it no Parliament, as the abusing of his grant to the raising of an Army, and the upholding of a Rebellion against their Sovereign; yet I believe he might safely have done it long ago, without the least violation of God's Law, when their evil intentions were openly discovered by those Armies which they raised. For I doubt not to affirm it with the Author of *The sacred Prerogative of Christian Kings*, p. 144. if any good Prince, or his royal Ancestors have been cheated out of their sacred rights by fraud or force, he may at the fittest opportunity, when God in his wise providence offereth the occasion, resume it, especially when the Subjects do abuse the King's concessions, to the dammage of Sovereignty, so that it redounds also to the prejudice either of the Church or Common-wealth.

3. When the King, through fear, not such as the Parliaments fear is, who were afraid where no fear was, and were frighted with dreames and causelesse jealousies; but that fear, which is real, and not little, but such as may fall in *fortem & constantem virum*, doth passe any Law, especially that is prejudicial to the Church, and injurious to many of his Subjects; I say, that when he shall be freed from that fear, he is not onely freed from the obligation of that Law, but he is also obliged to do his uttermost endeavour to annul the same: it is true, that his fear may justly free him from all blame at the passing of it, as the fear of the thief may clear me from all fault in delivering my purse unto him; because these are no voluntary acts, and all acts are adjudged good or evil according to the disposition of the will; the same being like the golden bridle that *Minerva* was said to put upon *Pegasus* to guide him and to turn him as she pleased: but when his fear is past, and God hath delivered him from the insurrection of wicked doers, if his will gives consent to what before he did unwilling, who can free the greatest Monarch from this fault?

Therefore His Majesty confessing (which we that saw the whole proceedings of those tumultuous routs, that affrighted all the good Protestants and the Loyal Subjects, do know that it could not be otherwise,) that he was driven out of London for fear of his life; I conclude that the act of excluding the Bishops out of Parliament, being past after his flight out of London can be no free, nor just, nor lawful act; and the King when he is more fully informed of many particulars about this act, that is so prejudicial to the Church of Christ, and so injurious to all his servants, the Clergy whose rights and privileges the King promised and swore at His Coronation to maintain, cannot continue it in my judgement, and be innocent.

But this is answered by the answerer to Doctor Ferne, that he is no more bound to defend the rights of the Clergy by his oath, then the rest of the Lawes for-

Psal. 15. 5.

*Quicquid sit dolamalo, annul-
lat factum &
imponit penam;
summa Angel.*

3. Grants gotten by force not to be observed.

The will must never consent to forced acts that are unlawful.

His Majesties answer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons, 16. Julii p. 8.

merly enacted, whereof any may be abrogated without perjury, when they are desired to be annulled by the Kingdome.

Sol.
His Majesties
answer to the
remonstrance,
or declaration
of the Lords
and Commons
26. of
May, 1642.

To which I say, that as His Majesty confesseth, there are two speciall questions demanded of the king at His Coronation.

1. Sir, Will you grant and keep, and by your oath confirm to the people of England, the *Laws and Customs* to them granted by the Kings of England, your lawfull and religious predecessors?

And the king answereth, I grant and promise to keep them.

2. After such questions, as concerne all the commonalty of this kingdome, both Clergy and Laity, as they are his Subjects, one of the Bishops reads this admonition to the king before the people with a loud voice;

Our Lord and King, we beseech you to pardon, and to grant, and to preserve unto us, and to the Churches committed to our charge all Canonically priviledges, and due law and justice, and that you would protect and defend us, as every good King in His Kingdome ought to be the protector and defender of the Bishops, and the Churches under their Government,

And the king answereth,

With a willing and devout heart I promise and grant my pardon, and that I will preserve and maintaine to you and the Churches committed to your charge, all Canonically Priviledges, and due law and Justice, and that I will be your Protector and defender to my power, by the assistance of God, as every good king in His kingdome, in right, ought to protect and defend the Bishops and Churches under their Government.

The Kings
Oath at His
Coronation
two-fold.

Then the king laying his hand upon the book, saith, *the things which I have before promised, I shall performe and keep, so helpe me God, and the contents of this Book.*

Where I beseech all men to observe, that here is a two-fold promise, and so a two-fold oath.

The first part
of the Oath.
Populo Angli-
canis, ad or. p.
Vide D. p. 165.

1. The one to all the Commonalty and people of England, Clergy and Laity, and so whatsoever he promiseth, may by the consent of the parties, to whom the right was transferred, be remitted and altered by the representative body in Parliament, *quia volenti non fit injuria*, and the rule holds good, *quibus modis contrahitur contractus, eisdem dissolvitur*; and therefore as any compact, or contract is made good and binding, so it may be made void and dissolved, *mutuo contrahentium assensu*; by the mutuall assent of both parties; that is, any compact, where God hath not a speciall interest in the contract, as he hath in the conjugall contract betwixt man and wife, and the politick covenant betwixt the King and His Subjects; which therefore cannot be dissolved by the consent of the parties, untill God, who hath the cheifest hand in the contract, gives his assent to the dissolution; and so, when things are dedicated for the service of God, or Priviledges granted for his honour; neither donor nor receiver can alienate the gift, or annull that Priviledge, without the leave and consent of God, that was the principal party in the concession, as it appeareth in the example of *Ananias*, and is confirmed by all Casuists.

Contracts,
wherein God
is interested,
cannot be dis-
solved without
God.

The second
part of the
oath.
Clericis Ecclesi-
asticis, D. p.
165.

2. The other part of the oath is made to the Clergy in particular; and so also with their consent, some things I confess, may perhaps be revoked, but without their consent, nor any thing can be altered, in my understanding, without injustice; for, with what equiry can the Laity vote away the rights of the Clergy, when the Clergy do absolutely deny their assent? just as if the Clergy should give away the lands of the Laity, or as if I had lent the king ten thousand pounds upon the publique assurance of King and both Houses, to be repaid again; and they without mine assent, shall vote the remission of this debt, for some great benefit, that they conceive redounding to the Common-Wealth; by which vote I should beleive my selfe to be no better then meereley cheated; or, as if the Parliament, without the assent of the Londoners, should pass an act, that all the money which they lent, should be remitted for the relieving of the State; I doubt

The party to
whom the
bond is made,
must release
the bonds.

nor

not, but they would conclude that *act* very unjust; and so is this *act* against the Bishops; because the Kings obligation to a particular body, personall or politique, cannot be dispensed with by the representative Kingdome without the releasement of that body, to whom the King is obliged.

For I find that all the Casuists will tell you, that *juramentum promissorium ita obligat, ut invito creditore, non potest in melius commutari; quia aliter justitia & veritas non servarentur inter homines*: and it is their common tenet, that it cannot be dispensed with, *quia per promissum acquiritur jus ei cui fit promissio, & ramensio promiss. l. 2. c. 12.* the benefit of others must not deprive me of my right; This point is so cleare, that neither Scholer, nor any man of reason or conscience will deny it. Suares. de jur. n. 14.

Therefore to perswade the king, that is bound by his oath to preserve the Rights and Priviledges of the Church and Clergy, to cast out the Bishops out of their rights, or to take away their Lands, without their own consent (whom the king by his oath hath obliged himself to protect;) I cannot see how they can do it without great iniquity, or His Majesty consent to it, and be innocent, when he is fully informed of the Rights of his Clergy; whereas otherwise the most religious Prince may be subject to mistakings, and so *nesciently* admit that, which *willingly* he would never have granted. And if they can not perswade him to do this without iniquity, how dare they goe about to force and compell him against conscience, to commit this and such other horrible impiety? but I assure my self that God, who hath blessed our king, and preserved him hitherto without blame, as being forced to what he did, or not thoroughly understanding what was our right, the Bishops being imprisoned, and not suffered to informe him, nor to answer for themselves, will still arme His Majesty with that resolution, as shall never yeild to their impetuoussnesse, to transcend the limits of his own most upright conscience.

Yet still it is urged, they were excluded by *act* of Parliament, therefore their exclusion cannot be unjust, as being done by the wisdom of the whole State, and the king should not desire it to be altered. ob.

I answer, that all Parliaments are not always guided by an unerring spirit, but were many times swayed by the heads of the most powerfull faction, which are instances rather of their *unsteady* weaknesse, then of their just power; when forsaking the guidance of their lawfull head, they suffered themselves to be led by popular pretenders, as when Canutus prevailed by his armes, he could have a Parliament to resolve, that his title to the Crown was the best; when Hen. 4. had an army of 60000 men, he could have a Parliament to depose Rich. 2. and confer the Crown upon himself; when Edw. Duke of Yorke grew powerfull, he could have a Parliament to determine the reigne of Hen. 6. and leave him only the name of king, for his life, but give the very Kingdome unto the Duke, under the names of Protector and Regent; and then he could procure the Parliament to declare that Hen. 4. Hen. 5. and Hen. 6. were but kings *de facto, non de jure*; so Rich. the 3. as meere an Usurper as any, could notwithstanding procure a Parliament, to declare him a lawfull king, and Hen. 7. could procure the forementioned acts, that were made in favour of Edw. 4. and Rich. 3. to be annulled; and Hen. 8. could have a Parliament to justifie and authorize his divorces, and Queen Elizab. could have a Parliament to make it high treason for any man to say, that the Queen could not by *Act* of Parliament bind and dispose the rights and titles, which any person whatsoever might have unto the Crown; when as we know, it was adjudged in Hen. 7. that no *Act* of Parliament, nor yet an Attainder by Parliament, can disable the rights heire to the Crown; because the descent of the Crown upon him purges all disabilities whatsoever, and makes him every way capable thereof. Sol. Turbatremens sequitur fortunam, ut semper ex odit damnationis. Juven. Satyra. 10.

Thus, as the Parliaments, when they were most prevalent, caused their kings unwillingly to yeeld many things against right; so the kings, growing most powerfull, prevailed to work the Parliament to consent to very unjust conclusions: liked best.

The case of
our affaires.
p. 20.

Statutes un-
willingly pro-
cured from the
king, repealed.

ons: and therefore it is *inconsequent* to say, this *exclusion* must be *just*, because it is past by an *Act* of Parliament.

And therefore, as in the 15 yeare of *Edw. 3.* the king being *unwillingly* drawn to consent to certain Articles, *prejudiciall* to the Crown, and to promise to seale the *Statute* thereupon made, left *otherwise* his affairs in hand might have been ruined, (which we conceive to be just in *like* manner now, the king very *unwillingly* drawn to passe this *Act* for the exclusion of the *Clergy*, which is most prejudiciall both to the *Crown* and the *Church*, and a mighty *dishonour* unto God himself, left otherwise *more* mischief might have followed, when he hoped that this would have appeased the fury of that prevalent faction, which now the kingdome seeth it did not.) Another Statute was made the same year, reciting the former matter, that was enacted, in these words; *It seemed to the said Earls, Barons, and other wise men, that since the Statute did not of our free will proceed, the same to be void, and ought not to have the name, nor strength of a Statute, and therefore by their counsell and assent, we have decreed the said Statute to be void, &c.* So I hope our *Earles* and *Baron*., and the rest, will be so wise and so just, both to the king and to the Church, that seeing this Statute proceeded not of the kings free will, as I beleeve their own conscience knoweth, and do presume His Majesty will acknowledge, they likewise will consent, that the king may make it void again.

§.

Certain Quares discussed, but not resolved; the end for which God ordained Kings; the prayse of a just rule: Kings ought to be more just then all others in three respects; and what should most especially move them to rule their people justly.

AND here I must further craue leave, to be resolved in certain *Quares* and doubts, wherein I would very gladly be satisfied; for, seeing, as I told you before, there are some rights of royalty, which are *inseparabilia a maiestate*, which the king ought not, and which indeed he cannot grant away; as there be some things which he may forgoe, though he need not; I demand,

1. *Quare.*

Malach. 2. 7.

2. *Quare.*

3. *Quare.*

1. Whether any positive *Act*, Statute, or Law, that is, either *ex diametro*, or *ex obliquo*, either directly, or by consequent, or any other way contradictory, or transgressive to the Law of God, ought to be kept and observed, wherein I beleeve, and constantly maintain that it ought not: and I say further, that by the Word of God, not any Lay men, be they never so noble, never so learned, and never so many; but the *Clergy*, be they never so poore, and never so much *dis-esteemed*, ought to be the resolvers of this point, what is repugnant, and what consonant to the Law of God; because the *Priests lips must preserve knowledge, and the people must seek the Law at his mouth*; therefore it may be conceived no Statute can be rightly made, that is not assented to, and approved (as all our former Statutes were) by the *Bishops*, that are the chiefest of the *Clergy*, to be no wayes contrary to the Law of God.

2. Whether the king that is an absolute Monarch, to whom God hath committed the charge and government of his people, can without offence to God, change this forme of government, from a Monarchicall to an Aristocraticall, or a Democraticall forme of government; which may be beleeved he cannot; because, though as I shewed out of Saint *Augustine*, the *worser* forme, invented by man, may lawfully be changed into a better: yet the *best*, which is *onely* and primarily ordained by God, cannot be changed into a *worser* without offence.

3. Whether the king can passe away that power, authority, and right, which God hath given him, and without which he cannot govern and protect his people, that God hath committed under his charge; wherein it may be conceived he cannot

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cannot, because God must discharge him from the charge that he imposed upon him before he can be freed and excused from it; but, as the Bishop, on whom the Lord hath laid the charge of *soules*, cannot lay aside this charge when he pleaseth, so no more can the King lay aside the charge of the Government, nor part with that power and right, * whereby he is enabled to govern them, and without which he cannot govern them, untill God, that laid this charge upon him, and gave him full power and authority to do it, by some undeniable dispensation gives him his Writ of ease to discharge him.

4. Whether such an Act or Statute, which *disinableth* any King to dissolve his Dyet, Councill, Assembly, or Parliament, and *inableth* some subtle *factious* of his Subjects, in some sort, to countermand their King, be not derogatory to the inseparable right of Majesty, destructive to the power of government, and prejudicial to all the loyal Subjects, and therefore void of it selfe, and not to be observed; because such an act ought not to have been concluded: wherein I leave the resolution to be determined by the Judges and Bishops of this Land, and I will onely crave leave to set down what may be thought herein, viz. that such an Act or Statute is clearly and absolutely void.

1. Because that hereby the King may be said, after a sort, and in some kinde, to change the fundamentall constitution, and Government of his Kingdome, from an absolute Monarchy, to another species, and forme of Government, either Aristocraticall, or Democraticall, or some other forme, emergent out of all these, such as we know not how to terme it, and such as was never known from the beginning of the world: a mixture indeed, which, I told you before, no absolute King can be thought to do without offence, unless he can prove his licence from God to do the same.

2. Because that hereby he may be said to denude himselfe of his Right, and by depriving himselfe of this power, to *disinable* himselfe to discharge that duty, which God doth necessarily require at his hands; that is, to govern his people, by protecting the innocent, and punishing the wrong doer; and when God shall call the King to an account, why he did not thus govern his people, and defend those poore Subjects that were loyal and faithful both to God and their King, according to the charge that he laid upon him, and the right and power which he gave him to discharge it: It may be feared, it will be no sufficient answer for any King to say, but I have so laid away that power, and parted with that right unto my Lords and Commons, that I could not do it; for it may be asked, where doth God require him, or when did he authorize him to *devest* himselfe of that authority wherewith he *indured* him? how then can he do it, to the undoing of many people, without an assured leave from God? therefore, as that Act which was made *unrepealable*, was adjudged no Act, but immediately void, because it was destructive to the very power of Parliament, * and if any act should be made to destroy common right, or to hinder the publique service of God, or to *disinable* the right heire to enjoy the Crowne, or the like, those Acts are void of themselves; so any Statute that *disinableth* the Kings Government, must needs be void *ipso facto*; as I have partly shewed in my *Discovery of Mysteries*. p. 32.

3. Because it may be believed no King would ever grant such an act, unless he were either *subtily* deceived and seduced, or *forcibly* compelled thereunto, for feare of some *inavoidable* extremity, which (according to all outward appearance) could not otherwise be prevented, without the *concessions* of such *unspeakable* disadvantages; as a man gives away his sword when he seeth his life in danger, if he deliver it not: Therefore the *premises* considered.

5. The *Quare* is, whether any King should be bound and obliged to observe such grants, and make good such Acts, as are thus *fraudulently* obtained, or *forcibly* wrested from him, and are thus *contradictory* to Gods will, thus *prejudiciall* to the power of Government, and thus *destructive* to his Subjects:

* Otherwise then by substitution. *Rege absente, & durante beneplacito*; or, *quandiu se bene gesserint subitini.*

4. *Quare.*

The Act for the indissolubility of any Parliament, beleived by many, to be of it selfe void.

1. Reason.

2. Reason.

* Which may repeale their owne Acts, but not destroy their just power, nor themselves, as it seemes the Act of excluding the Bishops doth, and takes away as it were the soule of the Parliament.

3. Reason.

5. *Quare.*

In all these *Quares* I conclude nothing whatsoever I beleive.

Subjects: which for the fore said reasons is by many men beleived he is not; but that this right was unduly procured from him, so when God inableth him, he may justly acquire it, and re-assume it, without any offence to God, or the least reluctancy to his own conscience.

* As I know not whether it doth or not; neither will I determine it.

And if this Act, that hath passed in our *Parliament*, makes it immediately to be no *Parliament*,* as being now another forme of government, which the Divines hold, ought not to be effected; then certainly all Acts that passed since, are no Acts, but are void and invalid of themselves.

Quid prodest tibi nomen usurpare alienum, & vocari quod non es?

Or be it granted, that the Act for the *perpetuity* of parliament doth not annul the Parliament; yet it is doubted by many, whether the Parliament may not themselves, without the kings pronouncing it void or dissolved, make it no Parliament: when of *Counsellors* for the King, they become Traytors unto the King, and of *Patriots*, that should protect the Common-wealth, they become Parricides and Catilines unto the same: because these duties, being as the soul, the life, and the end of Parliaments, when these are changed, to be the bane and death of King and Kingdome, it is doubted how it can be a Parliament, any more then a dead carcase that is deprived of his soul, can be said to be a man; for the *circumstances* and ceremonies of *times*, *places*, and the like, are not *essentialia* *Parliamenti*, but as *accidentia*, *qua possunt adesse & abesse sine interitu subiecti*, and may be *ad bene esse*, but are as *Puntilio's* in respect of the end and essence of a Parliament.

And therefore, as God promiseth *infallibly* to do a thing, for example, that *Psal. 89. 34. He will not fail David, his seed shall endure for ever: and of Eli, he said in I Sam. 2. 30. deed, that his house and the house of his father should walke before him for ever;* yet this unchangeable God, when the change is wrought in *David*, or his seed or in *Eli* his house, *David* doth immediately say, *Thou hast abhorred and forsaken thine Anointed, and art displeased at him;* and of his promise to *Eli*, God saith in the same place, *now be it far from me;* so it may be conceived, that when any *Parliament* changeth its *nature*, faileth in its very being, and of a *preservative* becomes a *poysen*, both to the King and Kingdome; the King and Kingdome may then, without any change in themselves, or failing of their former promises, justly say, they are no *Parliament*; but, as the *Romans* said unto a worthy *Patriot*, that had formerly saved them from the *Senones*, and at last became an enemy to the State, *We did honour thee as our deliverer, when thou didst save us from the Senones, sed jam nobis es quasi unus ex Senonibus;* so may we say of any *Parliament*, that turnes to be the destruction of a Common-wealth; that it is but a shadow, and no substance; a *den of thieves* and no *Parliament* of *Counsellors*: And I assure my selfe much more may be spoken, and many inanswerable arguments may be produced to confirm this to be most true; so I have set down what I conceive to be true about the Kings grants and concessions unto his people, and his obligations to observe them.

Psal. 89. 37. I Sam. 2. 30.

I should never acknowledge *Judas* after he betrayed his master, and resolved to persist in his wickedness, to be an Apostle of *Jesus Christ*, no more then I should take the Temple of *Jerusalem* to be the house of God, so long as it continued the den of thieves.

And if His Majesty (whom I unfainedly love, and heartily honour, and in whose service, as I have most willingly spent my slender fortunes, so I shall as readily hazard my dearest life) be offended with me for setting down any of these things, that my conscience tells me to be true, and needful to be known, and my duty to declare them; I must answer in all *humility* and with all *reverence*, that, remembering what *Lucian* saith, *ἡ ἀνδρῶν ἐξουσία ἐστὶν τοῦ πόντος μεγίστη*, many men shunning the smoke fell into the fire; and that *Job* saith, *Timentes pruinam opprimentur à nive*, which Saint Gregory moralizeth of them, that fearing the frost of mans anger, which they may tread under foot, shall be overwhelmed with the snow of Gods vengeance, that falls from Heaven, and cannot be avoided; I had rather suffer the anger of any mortal man, then endure the wrath of the great God; and now I have freed my soule, let what will come of my body: I will fear God, and honour my King.

* The end for which God ordained the King to rule and govern his people; and that is, to preserve justice and to maintain peace throughout

through out all the parts of his Dominions; for as the Subjects may neither murmur nor resist their Sovereign, at any time, for any cause, so the King must not do any wrong or injustice to his meanest Subject; neither do we presse the obedience of the Subject, to give licence unto the King to use them as he listeth, but we tell Kings their duties, as well as we do to the Subjects, and that is, to doe justice unto the afflicted, and to execute true judgement among all his people: for as *Plato* saith, πάντες ἐξ ἑνὸς σβμασθε ὁμοῦ (Civ. ὡς καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν σὺν ὁμοῦ τε καὶ δικαιοσύνη) all men cry out with one mouth how beautiful a thing is temperance and righteousness: *Cicero* calleth her the Lady and Mistresse of all virtues: and *Pindarus* saith, that χρύσειον ὄμμα καὶ χρύσειον πρόσωπον, a golden eye and a golden countenance are always to be seene in the face of justice, and that *Jupiter Soter* dwelleth together with *Themis*: whereby he would give us to understand, regem servatorem esse justum: that a King must preserve his people by justice, as *Clemens Alexand.* expoundeth it: because as *Theognis* pag. 431. saith, ὡς ὁ δικαιοσύνην συλλαβὴν πᾶς ἀρετῆ ἐστὶν, justice is that virtue, which comprehends all virtues in it self; and therefore *Solomon* saith, that the Kings throne is established by righteousness: and justice exalteth a Nation, making it to flourish and famous; and justice destroyeth the people, when a Kingdome is translated from nation to Nation because of unrighteousnesse; the same being as it was said of *Carthage* fuller of sins then of people: as you see the Monarchy of the *Assyrians* was translated unto the *Medes* and *Persians*, and the most famous repub. of the *Romanes* was spoiled, when forgetting their pristine honesty, they became unjust.

Plal 82. 3.
Zachar. 7 9.
Cicero offic. l. 3.
Pindar. apud A-
then. Cl. Alex.
and Strom. l. 5.
Prov. 16. 12.
c. 14. 34.
Injustice de-
stroyeth King-
domes.

— Mensuræque juris
Vix erat.

Lucan. l. 1.

And the Law was measured by strength, and he had the best right which was most powerful: and so the ancient nation of the *Britons* came to utter ruine and destruction, propter avaritiam principum, injustitiam judicum, negligentiam Episcoporum, & luxuriam populi, saith *Gildas*.

And therefore God, that desireth not the death of a sinner, much lesse the ruine of any Nation, would have us to seeke for justice, and to live uprightly one among another; but as the sheepe that are without a shepherd, wander where they list, so, as you read often in the booke of *Judges*, when the people were without a King, there was no justice amongst them, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes: therefore to prevent oppressions and wrongs, God out of his infinite love, and favour unto mankind, from the beginning of the World, called and appointed Kings to be his Vicegerents, to judge the earth and to see that the poore and the fatherlesse have right: for besides many other places that might be alleadged, the Spirit of God saith directly, ego dixi Dii estis, and by me Kings do reign, that is, by my appointment, by my direction, and by my protection, they do, and shall rule and reign over my people, as *Tertull.* *Oprat.* *Saint Chrysost.* *St Ambrose*, *St Aug.* *Saint Gregory*, and the rest of the most Orthodox Fathers have ever taught, and maintained; and therefore this is not inventum humanum, as the Puritans have dreamed, and the Popes flatterers have maintained, but it is an ordination of God, that we have Kings given unto us, not to domineere and to satisfy their untamed wills, and sensual appetites, but to administer justice and judgement unto their people, and so to guide them to live in all peace and tranquillity; for as *Auson* saith;

Ezechiel. 33.
11. and 18. 22.
Judges 17. 6.
Dan. 2. 21. 37.
1 Chron. 2. 84.
1 Sam. 10. 1.
1 Reg. 19. 15.
Romans 13. 4.
Tertull. ad Scap.
c. 21.
Oprat. cont. Parmen. l. 3. p. 8. 5.
Auson in Monosyll.
Es id possumus quod jure possumus.
Chrysost. ad Pop. Antioch. hom. 2.
Ambros. apol. pro Davide c. 4. c. 10.
Aug. de civit. l. 4. c. 33.
Greg. epis. l. 2. ep. 110.
Autor libelli cui inscriptio brevis narratio quomodo Henr. 4. mor...

Qui rectè faciet, non qui dominatur, erit Rex

And therefore *Plinius Secundus* in his panegyricks, saith, ut felicitatis est posse quantum velis, sic magnitudinis est velle quantum possis, & bonitatis facere quantum iustum: as it is a great felicity to be able to do what we will, so it is a most

Bellar. de laic. most heroick resolution, to will no more but what we should, and to do nothing
c. 5. *Abem. anno* but what is just; *Claudian* saith to *Honorius*.

1 Pet. 2. 23.
De la Cerda in
Virgil. l. 11. p.
560. *Orat. Herod.*
l. 2.

*Nec tibi quid liceat, sed quid fecisse decebit,
Occurrat, mentemque domet respectus honesti.*

Plut. in vit.
Cicero 2. *orat.*
in Anton.
Ovid. Met. 6.
Suet. de *ast. c. 2*

and so *Homer* saith, that *Sarpedon* preserved *Licia*, *δίκη* καὶ τὴν δεινὴν through justice and fortitude: whereupon the old Scholiast citeth the words of *Aeschylus* *ἰσχυὸς συζυγῆται τῇ δίκῃ*, that virtue and justice are ever coupled together: and *Dio. Chrysost.* saith, *ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς ἀνθρώπων ἀριστος ἔστιν, ἀνδρείοτατος ἂν καὶ δικαιοτάτος*, he is the best of men, that is, the most valiant and most just: *Orat.* 2. and *Herodian* saith of *Pertinax*, that he was both loved and feared of the *Barbarians*, as well for the remembrance of his virtues in former battels, as also *ἐν μνήμῃ πάντων ἀδυναστεύοντες* because that wittingly or willingly he never did injustice to any man at any time. *Plutarch* ascribeth these virtues to *Lucullus* and to *Paulus Aemilius*; *Cicero* saith the like of *Pompey*, *Ovid.* of *Erichtheus*; *Suetonius* of *Octavius*, *Augustus* his father; *Virgil* of *Aeneas*; *Krantius* of *Fronto* 'king of the *Danes*'; and of our late king *James* of famous and ever blessed memory, we may truly say,

— *Cui pudor & iustitia soror
Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas,
Quando nullum invenient parem?*

Horat. lib. 1. Od. 26. Neither need I blush to apply the same to our present King.

So you see how *Justice exalteth a Nation*, commends the doers of it, and crownes them with all honour, and as the Poet saith,

— *Δίκαια δράσεις, συμμαχὸν τ' ἔξειν θεῷ.*

he that worketh justly shall have God himself for his Co-adjutor.
But here you must observe that, which indeed is most true;

*Ἀνὴρ δίκαιός ἐστιν, ὃν ὁ μὴ ἀδικῶν,
Ἄλλ' ἔστιν ἀδικῶν συνάμυνε, ὃ βλάπτει.*

Who rightly
termed just.

He is not a just man that doeth no hurt, but he that is able to do hurt, and will not do it, that can be unjust and will not be: for it is no great matter to see a poore man that hath no ability, to do no wrong; but it is hard to use power right, even in the meanest office, and therefore this is that, that is to be urged, to be then most just, when we have most power to offend, which most properly doth belong to all kings and Princes, to put them in minde of their duties, to what end God hath made them kings: for they are but base flatterers, *quibus omnia principum honesta atque inhonesta laudare mos est*, that will commend all the doing of Princes, be they good or bad: and which say, πάντα καλὰ καὶ δίκαια τοῖς βασιλεύουσιν, all things are honest and just that kings do, as that flattering sycophant said to *Antigonus*, or like those *Chirodicai*: *ὅτι ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, ἀλλὰ ἐν τοῖς χεῖρσι καίμασιν ἔχουσιν τὸ δίκαιον*, who thinke justice lyeth not in the Lawes, but in their hands: because as *Caesar* saith, in *maxima fortuna minima licentia est*, the higher their places are, the more righteous they ought to be, and the lesse liberty of sinning is left unto them: and that in respect 1. of God. 2. of others. 3. of themselves.

Kings ought
to be more just
then all others
in 3 respects.

1. Where God hath conferred much honour, there he expecteth much equity, and the more goodnesse, where he bestowed the more grace: *ideo deteriores*

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riores estis, quia meliores esse debetis? and will men therefore be the more *sinfull*, because they ought to be the more *righteous*? Luke 12. 48.
Salvian. de Pro.
vid. l. 4.

2. All mens eyes are upon the Prince; and as *Seneca* saith of the royall Palace, *Perlucet omne regia vitium domus*; the houses of Kings are like *glasses*, and every man may look through them: so their *actions* can no more be hid, then the *City* that is placed upon an hill; but their *least* and lightest acts are soon seen.

3. Their places are as *slippery* as they are lofty; when (as one saith) height itself maketh mens braines to swimme; & *numquam solido stetit superba felicitas*, and proud *insolency* never stood sure for any certain space; for, as God hath made them *Gods*, so he can *unmake* them at his pleasure; and as *S. Augustine* saith, *Quod contulit immerentibus, tollit male merentibus*, & *quod illo donante sit nostrum, nobis superbientibus sit alienum*; what God hath freely bestowed upon you without desert, he may justly take away from you for your *evil* deserts; and what is ours through Gods gift, may be made another mans through our own *pride*; and not onely so, but as he hath heaped honours upon their heads, that they might honour him; so, if they neglect him, he can powre contempt upon Princes, and cast dirt in their faces, and make them a very *scorne* to those that formerly they thought unworthy to eate with the dogs of their flock; and then, *Quanto gradus altior, tanto casus gravior*, the higher they were exalted, the more will be their greif when they are dejected; as it was with those Kings, that being wont to be carryed in their royall Charets, were forced like horses to draw *Sesostris* Coach; *Quia miserrimum est fuisse felicem*; because it is a most wretched thing to have been happy, and not to be; or as the Poët saith,

*Qui cadit in plano, vix hoc tamen evenit unquam,
Sic cadit ut cuncta surgere possit humo;
At miser Elpenor, tecto dilapsus ab alto
Occurrit regi, flebilis umbra suo.*

*Ovidius Trist.
l. 3. Eleg. 4.*

And therefore all Kings should be ever mindfull of the words of King David, *He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the feare of God*; and all these things that I have set down, should move all Kings and Princes to set their mindes upon *righteousnesse*, to judge the thing that is right, and to live, to reigne and rule according to the straight rule of the Law; that so carrying them justly and worthily in their places, the poore people may truly say of them, *Certe Deus est in illis*, they may well be called Gods, because God is in them: and if these things will not, nor cannot move them to be as mindfull of their duty, as well as they are mindfull of their excellency, then let them remember what the *Psalmist* saith, *He will bind Kings with fetters, and their Nobles with linkes of Iron*; and let them meditate upon the words of King Solomon, where he saith unto them all, *Heare O ye Kings, and understand, learne ye that be Judges of the ends of the earth; give eare, you that rule the people, and glory in the multitude of Nations: for power is given you of the Lord, and sovereignty from the Highest, who shall try your works, and search out your counsels; because, being Ministers of his Kingdomes, you have not judged aright, nor kept the Law, nor walked after the counsell of God; horribly and speedily shall he come upon you; for a sharpe judgment shall be to them that are in high places: for mercy will soon pardon the meaneſt, but mighty men shall be mightily tormented: for he that is Lord over all shall feare no mans person; neither shall he stand in awe of any mans greatnesse, for he hath made the small and the great, and careth for all alike: but a sore tryall shall come upon the mighty.* And the Apostle saith, *It is a fearfull thing to fall into the hands of the living God*, which things should make their eares to tingle, and their hearts to tremble, whensoever they step aside out of Gods Commandments. And thus we set down the charge of Kings, and the strict account that they must tender unto God, how they have discharged the same: whereby you see we flatter them not in their

2 Sam. 23. 3.

Psal. 58. 1.

What should move all kings to rule justly according to Lawes.

Psal. 149. 8.

Sap. 6. usque ad vers. 9.

Heb. 10. 31.

greatnesse, but tell them as well what they should be, as what they are, and presse not onely obedience unto the people, but also equity and justice unto the Prince, that both doing their dutie, both may be happy.

C H A P. XV.

Sheweth the honour due to the King. 1. Feare. 2. An high esteem of our King; how highly the Heathens esteemed of their Kings; the Marriage of obedience and authority; the Rebellion of the Nobility how baynous. 3. Obedience, fourefold; diverse kinds of Monarchs; and how an absolute Monarch may limit himself.

2. The honour that is due to the King.

The same that is due to our Father and Mother.

Six speciall branches of the honour due to the King.

1. Feare.

Psal. 21. 3.
Psal. 18. 39.
Judg. 7. 17.
Exod. 4. 20.
17. 9.
1 Chron. 19. 21.
2 Chron. 19. 6.
Sap. 17. 12.

The want of feare, the cause of all mischief.

Rom. 3. 13.

P. 14.
V. 7.

I Have shewed you the person that we are commanded to honour, the King; I am now to shew you the honour that is due unto him, not only by the customs of all Nations, but also by the Commandment of God himself. Where first of all you must observe, that the Apostle useth the same word here to expresse our duty to our King, as the Holy Ghost doth to expresse our duty to our father and mother; for there it is said, *τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα*, and here S. Peter saith, *ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ κυρίου*: to shew indeed that the King --- *nrbi pater est, nrbiq; maritus*, is the common Father of us all, and therefore is to have the same honour that is due to our Father and Mother: and I have fully shewed the particulars of that honour upon that fifth Commandment. I will insist upon some few points in this place, and as the ascent to Solomons throne was, *per sex gradus*, by six speciall steps, so I will set you down six main branches of this honour, that are typified in the six ensignes or emblems of Royall Majesty: for

- 1 The Sword exacteth feare, and the word *κυριεύει* signifieth as much.
- 2 The Crown importeth honour, because it is of pure gold.
- 3 The Scepter requireth obedience, because that ruleth us.
- 4 The Throne deserves Tribute, that his Royalty may be maintained.
- 5 His Person meriteth defence, because he is the Defender of us all.
- 6 His charge calleth for our Prayers, that he may be enabled to discharge it.

1. Kings are called Gods; and all the Royal Ensigns and Acts of Kings are ascribed to God, as their Crown is of God, whereupon they are called *θεοκρατορες*, crowned of God; their sword is of God, whereupon the Psalmist saith, *thou hast girded me with strength unto the battle*; their Scepter is the Scepter of God, for so Moses rod, which signifieth a Scepter as well as a rod, is called the rod of God; their throne is the throne of God, and their judgement is the judgment of God: and you know how often we are commanded in the Scripture to feare God; and the Poet saith, *primus in orbe Deos fecit timor*: and where there is no feare of God, there is no beleife, that there is a God: for feare is the betraying of the succours which reason offereth; and when we have no reason to expect succour, our reason tells us, that we should feare, that is, the punishment which we deserved for those evils, which deprived us of our succours: and therefore this feare of the punishment, doth often times keep us from those evils: even as the Scripture saith, *timor Domini expellit peccatum*: and the want of this feare is the cause of all mischief, as the Prophet David sheweth, when after he enumerated, the most horrible sins of the wicked, that their throat was an open sepulcher, the poison of aspes under their lips, their mouth full of cursing and bitterness, and their feet swift to shed blood, he addeth this as the cause of all, that there was no feare of God before their eyes: And truly this is the cause of all our calamities, that we feare not our King: for if we feared him, we durst not Rebell and revile him as we do.

But

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 99

But what is the reason that we do so little fear either God or the king? the son of Sirach sheweth, it is their great mercy and clemency: this, which worketh love in all good natures, produceth boldnesse, impudency, and Rebellion in all froward dispositions, who therefore sin because God is merciful, and will Rebel against their king, because they know he is pitiful and milde, and will grant them pardon, as they beleive, if they cannot prevaile, which is nothing else, but like spiders, to suck poyson out of those sweet flowers, from whence the bees do gather hony, but let them not deceive themselves, for *debet amor laesus irasci*, love too much provoked will wax most angry, & *laxa patientia fit furor*: and therefore the son of Syrach saith, concerning propitiation be not without fear, and say not, his mercy is great, for mercy and wrath come from him; and his indignation resteth upon sinners, so though our king be as the kings of Israel, a merciful minded man, most mild and clement, yet now when he seeth how these Rebels have abused his goodnesse and his patience, to the great sufferance of his best Subjects, he can draw his sword, and make it drunk in the blood of the ungodly, that have so transcendently abused both the mercies of God, and the goodnesse of the King. When diverse people had Rebelled against Tarquin, and his son had surpris'd many of their chief leaders, he sent unto his father to know what he should do with them, the King being in his field, paused a while, and then *summa Papavera carpit*, with his staffe chopt off the heads of diverse weeds and thistles, and gave the messenger none other answer, but go, and tell my son what I am doing; and his Son, understanding his meaning, did with them, as Tarquin did with the Poppies; so many Kings would have done with these Rebels, not out of any love to shed blood, but out of a desire to preserve Peace, not for any natural inclination to diminish their Nobility by their decollation, but from an earnest endeavour to suppress the community from unnatural Rebellion, *ut poena in paucos, metus ad omnes*, that the punishment of some might have bred fear in the rest: and that fear of the King in them might keep his good Subjects from fear of being undone by them. But all the World seeth our King is more merciful, and hath sought all this while to draw them with the cords of love, which hath bred more troubles to himself, more afflictions to us and made them the more cruel, and by their Oaths and Protestations, Leagues and Covenants, to do their best to bring the King and all his loyal Subjects into fear, if they may not have their own desires. But we are not afraid of these Bug-bearers; because we know this hath been the practice of all Rebels to linke themselves together with Leagues and Covenants, as in the conjuration of Catherine; and the holy league in France, and the like; and many such Covenants, and Leagues have been made with Hell, to the utter destruction of the makers; as when more then forty men vowed very solemnly (and they intended to do it very cunningly) that they would neither eat nor drinke until they had killed Paul; for so they might be without meat until the day of judgement, if they would keep their Oath: and so these Covenanters may undo themselves by such hardening their faces in their wickednesse; because this sheweth they are grown desperate, and are come to that pass, that they have little hope to preserve their lives but by the hazarding of their soules; as if they thought the Devil, for the good service they desire to do him, to overthrow the Church, to destroy thousand souls, may perchance do them this favour, to preserve their lives for a time, to bring to passe so great a worke; whereas we know, the Church is built upon a Rock, and God hath promised to defend his Anointed, so that all the power of hell shall never prevail against any of these.

Wherefore to conclude this point, seeing God hath put a sword into the hand of the king, and the King bears not the sword in vain, but though it be long in the sheath, he can draw it out when He will, and recompence the abuse of His lenity with the sharpnesse of severity, let us fear; or if you would not fear, do well, saith the Apostle, return from your Rebellion, and from all your wicked wayes, and you may yet finde grace, because you have both a merciful God, and a gracious king.

Why men do
so little fear
God and the
King.
Eccles. 5. 6.

Eccles. 5. 6.

What Tarquin
did to Rebels.

What effects
the Kings
clemency
wrought.

A. 23. 12.

The Rebels
Covenants
shew they are
grown desper-
ate.

Rom. 13. 4.

V. 3.

1. To have an high and good esteeme of our King, and to make others to have the like.

2 Sam. 15. 6.

2. As we are to *fear*, so we are to *reverence* our King, that is, to have an high *esteem* of His Majesty, and to manifest the same in our *terms*, speeches, and communications accordingly, to gain the *love* of the rest of His Subjects towards Him; and not as *Absolon* did, by cunning and *sinister* expressions, to *seale away the hearts and affections* of His People; for, to make *mention* of him either in our *prayers*, or *Sermons*, or in any other *familiar* talke, so, as if he were a friend to *Popery*, an enemy to the *Gospel*, and carelesse of *Justice*, and the like, (as too many of our Sectaries most *falsely* and most *maliciously* have done) is rather to *vilifie* and disgrace him, to work an *odium* against him, and a *rediousness* of him, then to procure an *honourable* esteeme and reverence of him.

Cassiodorus saith, *stipendium tyranno penditur, predicatio non nisi bono Principi*; Tribute is due to *Tyrants*, and ought to be paid unto them; but *honour* and *re-*

Rom. 12. 14.

Matth. 5. 44.

verence much more to a good Prince, and the spirit of God bids us, *blesse them that persecute us*, and our Saviour saith, *blesse them that curse you*, that is, *speake well* of Tyrants that oppress us, and *speake* not ill of them that *speake* ill of you; especially if they be your *Magistrates*, or your King, whom *us?* *ἐχθρὸν* you are commanded to *honour*, even with the same word *τιμᾶν* (therefore no doubt, but with the same honour) as we are commanded to honour our *Father*, and our *Mother*; because the King is our *Politick* Father; and is therefore commanded to be *reverenced* by this precept, which (as the Divines observe) is of greater moment, and more *obliging*, then any of the rest of the Commandments of the second Table, not onely because it keepeth the *first* place of all these precepts, but is also the first Commandment with *promise*, as the Apostle observeth.

The fifth Commandment is the most obliging of all the Commandments of the second Table.

Eph. 6. 2. How the heathens honoured their kings.

C. Tacitus. lib. 14. Seneca de benefic. l. 30. The reason of their reverence,

Roderus Comment. in Quint. Curt.

A Macedonian Law.

A Gentleman hanged for his thought.

And not onely the *Scriptures* command us thus to *honour*, and to reverence our King, but the very *Heathens* also did so reverence them, that they did *adore* the Statues and Images of their Kings and *Cæsars*, as *Tacitus* reporteth; and it was *Treason* for any man to *pull away*, or violate them, that fled unto them for sanctuary; yea, it was *capital* for a man, that had the *Image* of his Prince stamped in silver, or ingraven in a Ring, to go to any *unclean*, or unseemly place; and therefore *Seneca* saith, that under the Empire of *Tiberius*, a certain *Noble* man was accused of *Treason*, for moving his hand, that had on his finger a Ring, whereon was ingraven the *portraiture* of the Prince, unto his privie parts, when he did urine; and the reason of this great reverence, which they bare unto their Princes, was, that they beleived there was in Kings *divine*, some divine thing, which above the *reach* of man, was ingrafted in them, and could not be *derived* from them; for so *Roderus* tells us, that this *divine* Majesty, or celestiall sparke, was so eminent in the countenance of *Alexander*, that it did not onely *terrifie* his enemies, but also *moved* his best Commanders, and greatest Peeres to *obey* his commands: and the like is reported of *Scipio Africanus*; and I finde the *Macedonians* had a Law, that (besides the Traitors) condemned to death five of their *next* Kinsfolkes, that were convicted of conspiracy against their King; and a Gentleman of *Normandy*, confessing to his Frier, how such a *thought* came once in his minde, to have *killed* King *Francis* the first, but repenting of his intention, he resolved never to do it; the Frier *absolved* him of his sin, but *told* the King thereof, and he sent him to his Parliament, who condemned and executed him for his thought. *Philip* the first of *Spain*, seeing a *Falcon* killing an *Eagle*, commanded his head to be wrung off; saying, *let none presume above their Sovereigne*; and in the Raigne of *Henry* the fourth of *England*, one was *hanged*, drawn, and quartered, in *Cheapside* *London*, for *jesting* with his son, that if he did learne *well*, he would make him heire of the *Crowne*, meaning his *owne* house, that had the *Signe* of the *Crowne*, to prove the Proverbe true, *non est bonum ludere cum sanctis*, it is not safe *jesting* with Kings and Crowns, and it is lesse safe to *resist* them, if you will believe wise *Solomon*. And I have read of another King, that passing over a river, his *Crowne* fell into the water, one of his water-men leapt in, and dived to the bottoome, and taking

taking up the *Crown*, put it upon his head, that it might not hinder his swimming and so brought it to the King again, who rewarded him well for his pains, but caused his head to be *chopped off* for *presuming* to wear his *Crown*. And all this is but an *unanswerable* argument to condemn our *Rebels*, that neither reverence the *Majesty* of their King, nor respect the *commandment* of their God.

3. *Obedience* is another principall part of that honour which we owe unto the king; and this *obedience* of the inferiours joyned with the *direction* of the superiours, doe make any state most *successfull*; but when these are divorced, then nothing goeth right in that Common-wealth: for so the Sages of *Greece* exprest it by the marriage that *Jupiter* made between *marcella* and *rex*, *hexyle*, whose child, brought forth betwixt them, was *evangelista*; to shew unto us, that when *authority* is married to *obedience*, and obedience proves a *disfyll* and good wife to *authority*, the fruit of that match will be *happinesse* to the whole Kingdome.

And therefore if we would be happy, we must be obedient, and our obedience, must be *universall*, in all things in the Lord.

3. Obedience.
The marriage
of obedience
and authority,
and the issue.
Æschylus.
All must be
obedient.

Iussa sequi tam velle mihi quàm posse necesse est.

Lucan. l. 1.

So the people lay unto *Joshua*, *all that thou commandest us, we will do: and all trust* do it, the greater as well as the lesser, the noble man as well as the mean man, yea, rather then the mean man; for though *Rebellion* in any one, is as the sin of *witchcraft*, yet in a vulgar man it may admit of vulgar apologies; but in a man of *quality*, in noble men in *Courti*ers, bred in the *Kings house*, in the *Kings service*, and raised by the *Kings favour*, it is *Morbus complicatus*, a decempround sin, a transcendent ingratitude, and unexpressable iniquity, the example more spreading, and the *infection* more contagious, because more conspicuous; and the giddy attempts of an unguided multitude, are but, as *Cardinal Farnesius* saith, like the *Beech tree* without his *top*, soon withered and vanishing into nothing without *leaders*, when they become a *burthen* unto themselves, and a *prey* unto others; therefore the contradiction of *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, that were so eminent in the congregation, was a sin so odious unto God, that he would have destroyed *all Israel* for their sake, as now he punisheth *all England* for the sins of those noble men, that have rebelled against their King, and were alwayes like *Sejanus* as wayward, pleased as opposed. And therefore *St. Paul* saith, that *om̃ia* *ὑποχθ*, every soul must be subject to the higher power, and he saith, *ὑποτασσάμενοι*, you must needs be subject, or be obedient, and he presseth this obedience with many arguments, as

John. 1. 16.

Noble mens
Rebellion
more abomi-
nable to God
and man, then
any other.

Rom. 13. 11.

Rom. 13. 5.
Obedience
pressed by a
three fold ar-
gument.

1. From Gods ordinance, because God hath set them over us, and commanded us to be obedient unto them, and therefore *whoſoever reſiſteth them*, warreth againſt God.

2. From *mans Conscience*, which telleth us, that he is the *minister of God* Rom. 13 4. *is to aduise*, for good, and therefore *virtutis amore*, if we have any love to goodnesse, we ought to *obey our King*.

Rom. 13 4.

3. For *fear of vengeance*, because he beareth not the sword in vain, but is, *ἐκδικος εἰς ὀφθαλμὸν τοῦ τοῦ κακοῦ ἀποδόντος*, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil; therefore this obedience to our King, is not *ἀδιαφορίαν*, a thing of indifference but of necessity; for be our King, for his Religion, *Impious*, for his government, *unjust*, and for life, *licentious*, as cruel as *Nero*, as prophane as *Julian*, and as wicked as *Helioabalmus*; yet the Subjects must obey him, the Bishops must admonish him, the counsell must advise him, and all must pray for him; but no mortal man, that is his Subject, hath either leave to resist him, or license to reject him: unless they reject the ordinance of God, and so fight against God, and you know, Ἀρχαλὸν ὁ δὲ τ' ἐστὶν διὰν βροτῶν ἀνδρὶ ἀμύνει, it is hard to withstand God.

How we ought
to behave our-
selves towards
wicked Kings.

It is truly said by a learned Bishop, *si bonus est Princeps, nutritor est tuus*, if thy King be good, he is thy nursing Father, and it is a great happineſſe to his Subjects; *ſi malus est, tentator est tuus*, but if he be evil, he is either for the puniſh-

Ardua res bo-
mini est mortalis
incere numerus.
Why God send-
eth evil kings.

ment of thy sins, or for the triall of thy faith; and therefore receive thy punishment with *patience*, or thy triall without *resistance*; and *Aquin* saith, *tollenda est culpa & cessabit tyrannorum plaga*, do thou take away thy sins, and God will soon take away thy punishment; otherwise, as for our sins, we do often suffer *droughts*, *floods*, *unseasonable weather*, *sicknesses*, *plagues*, and many other evils of nature, *ita luxum & avaritiam dominantium tolerare debemus*; so when God setteth up *hypocrites*, or *tyrants* to reigne over us, to be the *scourges* of his wrath, and the *rods* of his fury, we must not *straggle* against God, but rest contented to indure the *vices* of our rulers, as a *just* punishment of our wickednesses, saith *Cornelius Tacitus* *

But here you must observe, that there are diverse kindes of obedience; especially,

* Et Michael Palatinus Hungariae, dicebat, rege coronato, etiamsi bou esset, nobis obtemperandum est. Bonfin. dec. 4. lib. 3. Four kindes of obedience.

1. Forced obedience.

Rom. 12. 1.

1 Sam. 15. 22.

{ 1. Coacta. 3. Simulata. } { 1. Forced. 3. Feigned. }
{ 2. Caca. 4. Ordinata. } { 2. Foolish. 4. Well ordered. }

1. The first is a forced and compelled obedience, meerly for feare of wrath, as Children *learne*, or Slaves do their *duty*, for feare of the *rod*; and this is better then *resistance*, though nothing like to that obedience, which *S. Paul* calleth *τὴν ἀκούην καὶ φόβον*; because this *voluntary*, and not extorted obedience, is that, which is better then *sacrifice*.

2. Blinde obedience.

2. The second is a blinde obedience, such as the young youths, that being commanded by their *Abbat*, to carry a basket of figs, and other Juncates unto a solitary *Monke*, or *Hermite*, that lived in his cave, and loosing their way in that *unfrequented* wilderness, chose rather to *dye* in the desert, then taste of those acates that they had in their Basket; and such obedience is most frequent in the profelites of *Rome*, who will do *whatsoever* they are commanded by their *superiors*, though both *they* and their *superiors* do thereby commit never so great a wickednesse: where notwithstanding I must confesse, that this blinde obedience is far better, both for Church and State, then a *proud* resistance, when as the one produceth nothing but some *particular* inconveniencies, and the other proceedeth to an *universall* destruction.

3. Hypocritically obedience.

3. The third is an *hypocriticall*, and dissembled obedience: that is, an obedience for a *time*, till they see their time to do *mischief*, which is the *worst* of all obedience, and therefore most *hateful* both to God and man; because it is but *catenus, usque dum vires suppetunt*, untill they have the *opportunity*, and have gotten sufficient strength, to shake off their *subjection*, and to maintain their *Rebellion*; and this was the obedience of all our *Rebells*, our *Sectaries* and *Puritans* here in *England*, who would also face us down, but most *falsely*, that it was the obedience of the *Primitive Christians*; for so the grand impostor *John Goodwin*, in his *Anticavalierisme*, saith, they were onely obedient to those persecuting Tyrants, because as yet they wanted *strength*, and were not able to resist them; but O thou enemy of all *goodness*, that so hatest to become a *Martyr* for thy God, that was martyred for thee, is it not enough for thee to play the *dissembling* hypocrite thy selfe, but thou must taxe those *holy Martyrs*, those true *Saints*, that raigne with Christ in Heaven of *hypocrisie*, and disobedience in their hearts, to the *Ordinance* of God? I could *willingly* beare with any aspersion thou shouldest cast in my face, but I am out of *patience*, though *sorry* that I am so transported, to see such *false* and scandalous imputations, so *unjustly* laid upon such *holy Saints*; yet this you must do to countenance your *Rebellion*, to get the *Rhetorick* of the Divell to bely Heaven it selfe; and therefore what wonder is it, that you should bely your *King* on earth, when you dare thus bely the *martyrs* that are in Heaven.

The Author more out of patience for the wrong offered to the Martyrs, then for his own abuse.

4. The obedience of the Saints two-fold.

4. The fourth is a *voluntary*, hearty and well ordered obedience, which is, the obedience of the *Saints*, and is also

Two-fold, { 1. Active. } For,
{ 2. Passive. }

1. The,

1. The Saints knowing the will of God, that they should obey their King, and those that are sent of him, they do willingly yield obedience to their superiours, and no marvel, because there cannot be a surer argument of an evil man, then in a Church reformed, and a Kingdom lawfully governed, to resist authority, and to disobey them that should rule over us, especially him, whom God immediately hath appointed to be his vice-gerent, his substitute, and the supreme Monarch of his Dominions here on earth; for all other things, both in heaven and earth, do oblige that Law, which their maker hath appointed for them, when, as the Psalmist saith, *he hath given them a Law which shall not be broken*; therefore this must needs be a great reproof and a mighty shame to those men, that being Subjects unto their King, and to be ruled by his Lawes, will notwithstanding disobey the King, and transgresse those Lawes, that are made for their safety, and resist that authority, which they are bound to obey; onely because their weak heads, or false hearts, do account the commandment of the King to be against right, and what themselves doe to be most holy and just.

1. Active obedience.

But our City Prophets will say, that although the King be the supreme Monarch, whom we are commanded to obey, yet there are diverse kinds of Monarchies or Regal governments; as *usurped, lawful, by conquest, by inheritance, by election*; and these are either *absolute*, as were the Eastern Kings, and the Roman Emperours, or *limited and mixed*; which they term a *Political Monarchy*, where the King or Monarch can do nothing alone, but with the assistance and direction of his Nobility and Parliament; or if he doth attempt to bring any *exorbitancies* to the Common-wealth, or deny those things that are necessary for the preservation thereof, they may lawfully resist him in the one, and compel him to the other: to which I answer.

Ob. Diverse kinds of Monarchies

1. As God himself, which is most absolute, & *liberrimum agens*, may notwithstanding limit himself, and his own power, as he doth, when he promiseth and sweareth that *he will not fail David*, and that the *unrepentant Rebels* should never enter into his rest: so the Monarch may limit himself in some points of his administration; and yet this limitation neither transferreth any power of Sovereignty unto the Parliament, nor denieth the Monarch to be absolute, nor admitteth of any resistance against him: for

Sol. Absolute Monarchs may limit themselves.

1. This is a meer gull to seduce the people, that cannot distinguish the point of a needle; just like the Papist, that saith he is a Roman Catholick; that is, a particular universal, a black white, a *polymonarcha*, a many one governor, when we say he is a Monarch, joined in his government with the Parliament; for he can be no Monarch or supreme King and Sovereign, that hath any sharers with him or above him in the government.

I cannot devise words to expresse this new devised government.

2. There is no Monarch that can be said to be simply absolute, but onely God; yet where there is no superior, but the sovereignty residing in the King, he may be said to be an absolute Monarch *ut supra*. 1. Because there is none on earth, that can controul him. 2. Because he is free and absolute in all such things, wherein he is not expressly limited: and therefore

3. Seeing no Monarch or Sovereign is so absolute, but that he is some way limited either by the Law of God, or by the Rules of nature, or of his own concessions and grants unto his people, or else by the compass that he maketh with them, if he be an elective King and so admitted unto his Kingdom: there is no reason they should resist their King, for transgressing the limitations of one kind more then the other: or if any, no doubt but he that transcendeth the limits of God's Law, or goeth against the common rules of nature, ought rather to be resisted, then he that observeth not his own voluntary concessions: but themselves perceiving how peremptorily the Apostle speaketh against resistance of the Heathen Emperours that then ruled, do confess that absolute Monarchs ought not to be resisted; (wherein also they are mistaken, because the histories tell us, those Emperours were not so absolute as our Kings, till the time of Vespasian, when the *lex regia* transferred all the power of the People upon the

No Monarch so absolute but some way limited.

Emperour

No Monarch
ought to be
refuted.

Emperour, *Ulpian de constit. Principis*; therefore indeed, no Monarch ought to be resisted, whatsoever limitations he hath granted unto his Subjects.

And the resisters of authority might understand, if their more malitious then blinde leaders would give them leave, that this virtue of obedience to the supreme power maketh good things unlawful, when we are forbidden to do them, as the eating the forbidden tree was to Adam, and the holding up of the Arke, was to Uzza: and it maketh evil things to be good and lawful, when they are commanded to be done, as the killing of Isaac (if he had done it) had been commendable in Abraham, and the smiting of the Prophet was very laudable in him that smote him, when the Prophet commanded him to do it: and therefore Adam and Uzza were punished with death, because they did those lawful good things, which they were forbidden to do; and the others were recompenced with blessings, because they did and were ready to do those evill things, that they were commanded to do, when as he that refused to smite the Prophet, being commanded to do it, was destroyed by a Lyon, because he did it not; whereby you see, that things forbidden when they are commanded, & *à contrà*, cannot be omitted without sin.

Rebels should
well consider
these things.

1 Reg. 10. 38.

Ob.
Mandatum
imperantis tol-
lis peccatum
obedientis.

Aug.

Sol.

You will say it is true, when it is done by God, whose injunction or prohibition, his precept or his forbidding to do it, or not to do it, maketh all things lawful or unlawful.

I answer, that we cannot thinke our selves obedient to God, whilst we are disobedient to him, whom God hath commanded us to obey; and therefore, if we will obey God, we must obey the King; because God hath commanded us to obey him; and being to obey him, *non attendis verus obediens quale sit quod precipitur, sed hoc solo contentus quia precipitur*, he that is truly obedient to him, whom God commanded us to obey, never regardeth, what it is that is commanded (so it be not simply evil, for then as the Apostle saith, it is better to obey God then man, were he the greatest Monarch in the World) but he considereth, and is therewith satisfied, that it is commanded, and therefore doth it, saith Saint Bernard, in l. de precept. & dispensat.

Bernard in l.
de precept.
& dispensat.

C H A P. XVI.

Sheweth the answer to some objections against the obeying of our Sovereign Magistrate; all actions of three kinds; how our Consciences may be reformed; of our passive obedience to the Magistrates; and of the Kings concessions, how to be taken.

Ob.

BUT against this our *Sectaries* and Rebels will object, that their conscience, which is *vinculum, accusator, testis & iudex*, their bond, their accuser, their witnesse and their judge, against whom they can say nothing, and from whom they cannot appeale, unlesse it be to a severer Judge, will not give them leave to obey, to do many things, that the King requireth to be done; and who can blame them for obeying their conscience rather then any King?

Sol.

I confesse that it is naturally ingrafted in the hearts of all men, that no evil is to be done, and reason, according to that measure of knowledge, which every man hath, tells us, what is good; and what is evil; then conscience concludeth what is to be done, and what not to be done; *quia conscientia est applicatio notitiae nostrae ad alium particularem*, because our conscience is the application of our knowledge to some particular act, saith *Aquinas*: And this application of our knowledge to that act considereth,

Thom. 2. Sent.
dist. 14. part. 4.

1. *De præteritis*, of things past, whether such a thing be done, or not done, Conscience a witness. and so our conscience is a *witnesse* that cannot erre.

2. *De præsentibus factis*, of our present actions, whether the fact done be good or evil, just or unjust, so our conscience is a *judge* according to the measure of our knowledge. Conscience a Judge.

3. *De futuris faciendis*, of future acts that are to be done, whether they ought to be done, or left undone. Conscience a follower of reason.

But because our conscience springeth from our *reason*, and our *reason* may be clouded and obscured by a *double error*. Reason obscured two ways.

1. A false *assumption*, when we take those things to be good or true, which are indeed evil or false, as they that think they do God good service, when they kill his servants, even as the *Rebells* do at this very day, and that they please God when they disobey their King. 1. Way. John. 16. 2.

2. A false *application*, or a false conclusion from a true assumption; as, because I am commanded to love God above all things, therefore I am to hate all things but God; or because, it is better to obey God than man; therefore I must not obey the commands of any man. 2. Way. The Rebells offend both ways.

So our conscience may be poisoned in like manner with the same errors; and being so misguided, they ought not to binde us, but we ought rather to reforme them; for that, which truly should binde the conscience, is not our judgment, but Gods precept, that either commandeth or forbiddeth such and such actions to be done, or not done. What should binde our conscience.

And you know, that all actions are either, $\left. \begin{array}{l} 1. \text{ good.} \\ 2. \text{ evil.} \\ 3. \text{ indifferent.} \end{array} \right\}$

All actions of three sorts.

1. The good, God commandeth us to do them.

2. The evil, he flatly forbiddeth them to be done: and

3. The indifferent he wholly leaveth to the power of the Magistrate, to make them either lawfull or unlawfull, good or bad, as he pleaseth.

And therefore, for the first two sorts of actions, because thy conscience hath Gods precept to direct thee, if thy reason, either through ignorance, or the strength of thine own fancy, (which often happeneth to proud Spirits) doth not mislead thee, to call good evil, and evil good, it is safer for thee to follow the dictamen of thine own conscience, then the command of the greatest potentate; for in all such cases, it is better to obey God than man. Pride blindeth many men. Act. 5. 29.

But in all the other things, that are indifferent of themselves, the precept of the King, or any other our lawfull superiour, maketh them to become necessary unto the Subject; because the command of the superiour Magistrate doth binde more then the conscience of the inferiour Subject can do, for though the conscience, rightly guided by reason, is the Judge of those things, which are either directly forbidden, or commanded, yet in the other things, that are indifferent, the Magistrate is the more immediate Judge under God, which hath given him power, either to command them to be done, or to forbid them; and therefore the Subject, having the command of his King, (whom God commandeth us to obey) for his warrant in things of this nature, either to do such things, or to leave such things undone, his duty is not to examine the reason of the command, but to performe what he seeth commanded; for so S. Augustine saith, that although Julian was an Idolater, an Apostata, an Infidell; yet, milites fideles serviunt imperatori infideli; but when it came to the cause of Christ, they acknowledged none, but him that was in Heaven; when he would have them to worship Idolls, they preferred God before him; when he said, lead forth your Armies, and go against such a Nation, they presently obeyed him; they distinguished betwixt their eternall, and their temporall Lord, & tamen subditi e-

rant propter æternum etiam domino temporali: and they never examined the justnesse of the war; because in all such cases, mandatum imperantis tollit culpam. We are too inquisitive of many things. The Magistrate the immediate judge of indifferent.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 124. C. imperator. 21. 4. 2.

Our reason & judgement misguided seven ways. How our conscience may be reformed.

1. From ignorance.

1 Chron 10.13

2. From negligence.

John 3. 1.

3. From pride.

2 Cor. 10. 18.

4. From inordinate affection.

Seneca.

5. From faintness.

A heavy judgment upon this Nation by mistaking sins.

6. From perplexity.

Ag. 27. 38.

When things are to be judged inevitable.

Hooker Eccles. pol. l. 5. p. 15.

7. From too much humility.

Multos in summa pericula misit, venturi timor ipse mali. Lucan. l. 7.

Ag. 15. 20.

culpam servientis, the fault must only rest upon the commander. And therefore, as our reason and Judgement may be blinded in all actions, either with ignorance, negligence, pride, inordinate affection, faintness, perplexity, or self-love, so may our conscience too, when it erroneously concludeth upon what our reason falsely assumeth: and then, as I said before, our conscience is rather to be reformed then obeyed, and if we be desirous, we may thus redress it.

1. If it be of ignorance, let us say with *Jebozophat*, we know not what to do, but our eyes are towards thee: and let us seek to them that can inform us, the Orthodox not the *Settaries*, which will rather corrupt us then direct us.

2. If it be of negligence, let us come without partiality or prejudice (as *Nicodemus* did to Christ) to those that for knowledge are well able, and for honesty are most willing, to instruct us.

3. If it be of pride, let us pray to God for humility, and submit our selves one to another, especially to them that have more learning then our selves, and have that charge over us; for he that praiseth himself is not allowed, but he whom the Lord praiseth; and singularity hath been the original of all heresies and not the least occasion of the troubles of these times, and the rebellion of our *Settaries*.

4. If it be from inordinate affection, *quid id sanctum quod volumus*, when every one makes what he loves to be lawful, and his own ways to be just, let us hearken to sound reason and prefer truth before our own affections; or otherwise *perit omne judicium, cum res transiit in affectum*, there can be no true judgement of things, when we are transported with our partial affections.

5. If it be from faintness, let us be scrupulous where we have cause, lest we should think it lawfull to swallow a Camel, because we are able to straine a gnat; and let us not be afraid, where no feare is, and think those things sinfull that are most lawfull; which is a heavy judgment of God upon the wicked, and hath now lighted very sore upon many of the Inhabitants of this Land, who think it Popery to say, God blesse you, and judge it Idolatry to see a Crosse in Cheap-side.

6. If it be of perplexity, when a man is close, as he conceives; betwixt two sins, where he seeth himself unable, though never so willing, to avoid both, let him *peccare in tutiorem partem*, which though it takes not away the sin, yet it will make the fault to be the lesse sin; as the casting away of the Corne, which is the gift of God, and the sustenance of mans life, is an unthankfull abuse of Gods creature; yet as *S. Paul* caused the same to be cast into the Sea for the safegard of their lives; so must we do the like, when occasion makes it necessary: as now, rather to kill our enemies the Rebels, though we should think it to be ill, then suffer them to wrong our King, and to destroy both Church and Kingdome; because that of two things, which we conceive evil, and are not both evitable, the choice of the lesser, to avoid the greater, is not evil; but they are then to be judged inevitable, when there is no apparent ordinary way to avoid them, because that where counsell and advice do beare rule, we may not presume of Gods extraordinary power without extraordinary warrant, faith judicious Mr. Hooker.

7. If it be of too much humility, which is an error of lesse danger, yet by no means to be fostered, lest by gathering strength it proves most pernicious, they should pray to God to preserve them from too much fear; for though (as Saint Gregory saith) *bonarum mentium est, ibi culpas agnoscere, ubi culpa non est*, ye (as I said before) it is a heavy Judgement, and a want of Gods grace, to be afraid where no fear is, and it makes men to commit many sins many times for fear of sin.

And thus having rectified our conscience in the understanding of all these things, we are bound by the commandment of God, to be obedient unto the commands of our King; for it is a paradox to say, *Christians are free from the Lawes of men*, because it was a humane law, touching things strangled and bloud: and

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and the Apostles do exact our obedience unto humane Lawes, even the Laws of *Heathen* and Idolatrous Emperours: and therefore, being bound to obey them, they cannot be freed in conscience, from the Religion of them: and so Dr. Whitaker saith, that as the Lawes of God must be simply obeyed, without any difference of time, place, and circumstance; so must the Lawes of men be obeyed, as the circumstances do require; for example, he that is a Roman, and liveth at Rome, must obey the Roman Lawes; and he saith, that the authority of the Magistrate, which is sacred and holy, cannot with any good conscience be contemned; because it is the commandment of God, that we should obey them; and this (saith he) doth binde the conscience, when, (as the Apostle saith) he is to be obeyed for conscience sake. Whitaker contra Camp. p. 258.

But you will say, what if the King forbids me to do what God commandeth, as the high Priest did to the Apostles; or commandeth me to do what God forbiddeth, as Julian did unto the Christians, and Nebuchadnezzar to the three children?

We have often answered, that in such a case, it is better to obey God than man; for it is sometimes lawfull not to obey, but it is never lawfull to resist.

What if he compells us by force and violence to do what God forbids us to do, if he playes the Tyrant, violates our Lawes, and corrupts the true Religion with dolatry and superstition? may we not then, as our fore-fathers did heretofore unto Chilperick King of France, and to Richard the second of this Kingdome, and others, bridle them, and depose them too, if they will not be ruled by their Great Counsell, the Parliament?

I answer, first, *Non spectandum quid factum sit, sed quid fieri debuerit*, we are not so much to regard what hath been done, as what ought to have been done, as Arnisaus proveth at large, and sheweth most excellently, with a full answer to all the Articles, that were alleadged against those Kings, how unjustly they were handled, and deposed contrary to all right; and I wish that book were translated into English. 2. I say, that when our active obedience cannot be yeilded, our passive obedience must be used; for, were our Kings as Tyrannicall as Nero, as Idolatrous as Manasses, as wicked as Achab, and as prophane as Julian; yet we may not resist, when as Arnisaus proveth by many examples, that the Rebellion of Subjects against their King doth overthrow the order of nature; and Justinian saith, *quis est tanta autoritatis, ut nolentem principem possit coactare?* but in such a case, we must do as all the Saints did before us: not as the Heathens, which thought them worthy of divine honour, which did kill a Tyrant, and said with Seneca,

*victimam hand nlla amplior
Potest, magisque opima mactari Jovi
Quam Rex iniquus.* —

Seneca in Hercules.

But, as Christ himselfe suffered under Pontius Pilate, a most wicked Magistrate, and registred in the breviary of our Faith, that we might never forget our duty, rather to suffer, then to resist the authority that is from Heaven; and as Saint Ambrose answered the Emperour, that would have his Church delivered to the Arians, I shall never be willing to leave it; *coactus repugnare non novi*, if I be compelled I have not learned to resist. I can grieve and weep and sigh, and against the Armes and God's Souldiers, my teares are my weapons, for those are the Bulwarkes of the Priest, who in any other manner neither can, neither ought he to resist: so must all Christians rather by suffering death, then by resisting our King to enter into the Kingdome of Heaven.

But 'tis objected by our Sectaries, that His Majesty confesseth, there is a power Legally placed in the two houses, more then sufficient to prevent and restrain the power of Tyranny.

Ob. The Author of the Treatise of Monarchy. p. 31.

Sol.
The law provides that the King should not be circumvented and wronged.

The Kings concessions very large.

D Ferne in his reply to sever. treat. p. 32.

Rossensis de potest. Papæ 291.
Euphania Pythagoræ I. De Regno apud Stobæum. fol. 335.

A principle tenet of the Essai. And some think, that the Commonwealth is happier under a Tyrant, that will keep them in awe, than under too mild a Prince, upon whose clemency, they will presume to Rebel. Jer. 27. 5. 6. A memorable place against resisting Tyrants.

I answer, first, when it pleased the King of His grace, to *restrain* His own power of making Laws, to the consent of *Peeres and Commons*, that by this *Regulating* of the same, it might be *purged* from all *destructive* exorbitances, the very Law it self, being tender of the legitimate *rights* of the King, and considering the *Person* of the Sovereign to be *single*, and his *power* counterpoysed by the opposite wisdom of the two Houses, allowed him to *swear* unto himself a body of *Council of State*, and Counsellors at Law, and the *Judges* also to advise him and informe him so, that as he should not do any wrong, by reason of the *restraining* Votes of the Houses, so he might not receive any wrong by the *incroachment* of the *Parliament* upon his right: and the King, being driven away from his *learned* Counsel, and forced to make the *defence* of his *rights* by writing, it is no wonder, if his *concessions* and *promises*, as well in this point, as in other things, especially in that, concerning the Act of excluding the *Clergy*, were more then was due to them, or then he needed to grant, or then he ought to *observe*, being to the dishonour of God, and the prejudice of his Church, when as nothing in *Parliament*, where the wrong may be perpetual, should be extracted from him, but what he should well *consider* of with the advice of his Counsel and what he should freely *grant*; and whatsoever is otherwise done, is ill done, to the *great* disadvantage of the King, and his Posterity, and the unjust *inlarging* of their power more then is due unto them; yet

2. I say, if these words of His Majesties be rightly weighed, they give no colour of *resisting* *Tyranny* by any forcible armes; but as Doctor *Ferne* saith most truly of a *Legal, Moral, and Parliamentary* restraint; for the words are, *there is a power legally placed in the Houses*, that is, the Law hath placed a power in them: but you shall never find any Law, that any King hath *granted*, whereby himself might be *resisted* and subdued by open force and violence: for as *Rossensis* saith, *Reges suo solius iudicio reservavit Deus, qui stans in Synagoga deorum judicat eos*, God hath reserved Kings to his own judgment: and the Heathen man could say, as, *Stobæus* testifieth, *primum Dei, deinde Regis est ut nulli subiciatur*, *ἡ δὲ βασιλεία, ἀρχὴ δὲ τοῦ δυνάστη*, first it is the privilege of God, next of the King, to be subject unto none; because the Regal power properly is *unaccountable* to any man, as *Snidas* saith: and *Josephus* saith, that the holiest men, that ever were among the *Hebrews* (called *essai*, or *essen*, that is the *true* *practisers* of the Law of God,) maintained, that *sovereigne* Princes, whatsoever they were, ought to be inviolable to their Subjects: for they saw there was scarce any thing more usual in holy Scripture, then the *prohibition* of *resistance*, or refusal of obedience to the *Prince*, whether he were *Jew*, or *Pagan*, *milde* or tyrannical, good or bad: as to instance one place for all, where the Lord saith, *I have made the earth, the man, and the beast that are upon the ground, by my great power, and have given it to whom it seemed meet unto me; and now I have given all those Lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon my servant, (and he was both a Heathen, an Idolater, and a mighty Tyrant) and all Nations shall serve him and his son, and his sons son; and it shall come to passe, that the Nation and Kingdome, which will not serve the same Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon and that will not put their necks under the yoke of the King of Babylon, that Nation will I punish (saith the Lord) with the Sword, and with the Famine, and with the Pestilence, until I have consumed them by his hands: therefore hearken not ye unto your Prophets, nor to your Diviners, — which speak unto you, saying, you shall not serve the King of Babylon, for they prophesy a lye unto you, which he repeateth again and again, they prophesy a lye unto you, that you should perish; and may not I apply these words to our very time? God saith I have given this Kingdome unto King Charles (which is a mild, just and most pious king) and they that will say, *nolumus hunc regnare super nos*, I will destroy them by his hand; therefore, o ye seduced *Londoners*, beleave not your false Prophets, nay, hearken not to your *Quakers*, your *Anabaptists* and *Brownists* that preach lies, and lies upon lies, unto you, that you should perish; for God hath not sent them, though they*

they multiply their lyes in his name : therefore why will you dye, why will you destroy your selves, and your Posterity, by refusing to submit your selves to mine ordinance ? and what should God say more unto you to hinder your destruction ? and it was concluded by a whole Council, that, *si quis potestati regia, qua non est (teste Apostolo) nisi a Deo, contumaci & afflato spiritu obtemperare irrefragabiliter noluerit, anathematizetur.* Whosoever resisteth the Kings Power, and with a proud spirit will not obey him, let him be accursed.

Council. Mel-
dens. apud
Roffen, l. 2. c. 5.
de potest. papa.

But then you will say, this is strange doctrine, that wholly takes away the liberty of the Subject, if they may not resist regal tyranny.

Ob.

Sol.

I thinke there is no good Subject, that loves his Sovereign that will speake against a just and lawful liberty, when it is a far greater honour unto any king, to rule over free and gentle Subjects, then over base and turkish slaves : but as under the shadow and pretence of Christian liberty, many carnal men have rooted out of their hearts all Christianity : so many Rebels, and aspiring mindes have, under these colourable titles of the liberty of the Subjects and suppressing tyranny, shaken of the yoke of all true Obedience, and dashed the rights of government all to pieces : therefore, as the law of God and the rules of his own conscience, should keep every Christian King from exercising any unjust tyranny over his Subjects ; so, if men will transcend the rules of true obedience, the Kings Power and authority should keep them from transgressing the limits of their just liberty : but this unlawfulness of resisting our lawful King, I have fully proved in my Grand Rebellion, and it is so excellently well done by many others, that I shall but *alibi agere*, to say any more of it.

Many evils do
lurk under
fair shewes.

CHAP. XVII.

Sheweth how tribute is due to the King ; for six special reasons to be paid : the condition of a lawful tribute ; that we should not be niggards to assist the King ; that we should defend the Kings Person ; the wealth and Pride of London, the cause of all the miseries of this Kingdome ; and how we ought to pray for our King.

4. **T**ribute is another right and part of that honour, which we owe unto our King. *Negotia enim infinita sustinet, equabile jus omnibus administrat, periculum à republica, cum necessitas postulat, armis & virtute propulsat, bonis premia pro dignitate constituit, improbos suppliciorum acerbitate corripit, patriam denique universam, & ab externis hostibus & ab intestinis fraudibus tutam vigilantia sua praestat : haec quidem munera aut opere tuetur, aut quoties opus fuerit, tuenda suscipit ; qui autem existimat haec tam multa munera sine maximis sumptibus sustineri posse, mentis expertus est, atque vita communis ignarus : & idcirco hoc, quod & communi more receptum est, ut reges populi sumptibus alantur, non est humano tantum jure, sed etiam divino vallatum :* saith eloquent *Oserius*. For he undergoeth infinite affaires ; he administred equal right to all his people ; he expelleth and keepeth away from the Common-wealth all dangers, when necessity requireth, both with armes and prowesse ; he appointeth rewards to the good and faithful according to their deserts ; he restraineth the wicked with the sharpnesse and severity of punishments ; and he preserveth his Country and Kingdome safe by his care and watchfulness, both from Foreign foes and intestine frauds ; and these offices he dischargeth indeed, and undertaketh

The great
charge of Prin-
ces.

*Oserius de rebus,
Emmanuel lib. 1. p. 386.*

taketh to discharge them as often as any need requireth; And he that thinketh that all these things, so many and so great affaires, can be discharged without great cost and charge, is void of understanding and ignorant of the common course of life, and therefore this thing, which is received by a common custom, that Kings should be assisted, and their royalty maintained, by the public charge of the people, is not onely allowed by humane law, but is also confirmed by the divine right.

Men should therefore consider that the occasions of Kings are very great; a-broad, for intelligence, and correspondency with Foreign States, that we may reap the fruit of other Nations, vent our own commodities to our best advantage, and be guarded, secured, and preserved from all our outward enemies; and at home, to support a due State answerable to his place, to maintain the publique justice and judgements of the whole Kingdom, and an hundred such like occasions, that every private man cannot perceive; and think you that these things can be done without means, without money? If you fill pour out and not pour in, your bottle will be soon empty, and the Ocean sea would be soon dried up, if the Rivers did not still supply the same: and therefore not onely *Deioces*, that I speak of before, when he was elected King of the *Medes*, caused them to build him a most stately Palace, and the famous City of *Ecbatana*, and to give him a goodly band of select men for the safeguard of his Person, and to provide all other things fitting for the Majesty of a King, and all the other Kings of the *Gentiles* did the like, as well they might, if it be true, that some of them thought,

*Quicquid habet locuples, quicquid custodit avarus,
Jure quidem nostrum est, populo concedimus usum.*

Gunterus.

1 Reg. 12. 4.
Tertul. to 3.
de pudicit. c. 9.
Pamel. in Ter-
tul.

Deut. 23. 18.
Aug. de Civit.
dei. 10. c. 9.

1 Sam. 17.
25. in vulgata
editione.
2. reg. 11. 18.

Barrad to 2.
1. 5. c. 21.
p. 340.

Josephus.
1. 15. c. 18.

Barrad. to 2.
1. 10. c. 32.
p. 317.

But also *Solomon*, and all the rest of the Kings of *Israel* required no small aid and tribute from their Subjects; for though *Tertulian* out of *Deut.* 23. 17. reads it, there shall not be *πλεονεξες, vectigal pendens*, a payer of tribute of the sons of *Israel*; yet *Pamelius* well observes it, that these words are not in the original, but are taken by him out of the *septuagint*, which also saith not of the sons, but *αυτων θυγατρων*, of the daughters of *Israel*, that is, *ex impudicitia & Inpanaribus*, for their dishonesty, as it is said in the next verse, that the hire of a whore and the price of a dog, are an abomination unto the Lord, and so *S. Augustine* useth the word *Telero*, for those unchaste sacrifices wherewith such women did oblige themselves: and so doth *Theodoret* likewise: but that the *Jewes* paid tribute, it is manifest out of *1 Sam.* 17. 24. where this reward is promised to him that killed *Goliath*, that his father's house should be *absque tributo*, free from all tribute in *Israel*, therefore certainly they paid tribute, and to make it yet more plain, *Solomon* appointed *Feroboam*, *super tributa universa domus Joseph*, saith the vulgar latine, over all the charge or burthen of the house of *Joseph*, (that is, of the tribe of *Ephraim* and *Manasses*) as our translation reads it: and he appointed *Adoniram* the Son of *Abda* over the tribute. 1. Reg. 4. 6.

Yea, though the *Jewes* were the people of God, and thought themselves free, and no wayes obliged to be taxed by foreign Princes, that were Ethnicks: yet after *Pompey* took their City, they paid tribute to the *Romans*; and our Saviour bids us not onely to obey, but also to render unto *Caesar* what is *Caesar's*, that is, (not determining the *quota pars*, how much, as he doth the tenth unto the Priest) but indefinitely, some part of our goods, for subsidies, imposts, aids, loanes, or call it by what name you will; and rather then himself would omit this duty, though he never wrought any other miracle about money; yet herein, when he had never a penny, he would create money in the mouth of a fish, as *S. Hierom* and the interlin. glosse do think, and command the fish to pay tribute both for himself and his Apostle. Therefore we should render unto *Caesar* what

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what is *Cesar's*: that is, *πίσις, τὸν & κῆνος*, which the Greekes take promiscu-
ously, though the *Civilians* distinguish them, *de solo & fundo, de rebus mobilibus,*
& *de mercibus*, of our grounds, of our goods, of our merchandize, we ought
to pay *subsidies*, aid, and tribute unto our King; and that not sparingly, nor by
way of benevolence, as if it were in our power to do it, or not to do it, *sed ex de-
bito*, but as his due, *jure divino, & regulâ justitiæ*, as his proper inheritance an-
nexed unto his Crown; for I take it infallibly true, which *Suarez* saith, *accep-*
tationem populi non esse conditionem necessariam tributis ex vi juris naturalis aut
gentium, neque ex jure communi: quia obligatio pendendi tributum sit a naturalis
est principi & per se orta ex ratione justitiæ, ut non possit quis excusari propter ap-
parentem injustitiam vel nimium gravamen; the consent of the people is not any
necessary condition of tribute; because the obligation of paying it, is so natural,
springing out of the reason of justice, that none can be excused for any ap-
parent injustice or grievance: and therefore the *Parliament*, that are the highest
representations of any Kingdome, do not contribute any right unto Kings to
challenge tribute, but do determine the *quota pars*, and to further the more e-
qual imposing and collecting of that, which is due unto Kings by *natural* and
original justice, as a part of that proper inheritance which is annexed unto their
Crowns.

Suarez, de
leg. 1. s. c. 17.

n. 3.

fol. 316.

Tribute due to
the King.

view to moti
the Parliament
and

And therefore, our Saviour doth not say, *give unto Cesar*, but *unto* *Ca-*
saïm & nationes, the same word which *S. Paul* useth, when he biddeth us to pay
our debts, and to owe nothing to any man, saying, *unusquisque* *ut sit* *debitum*,
to every man that which you owe: and *Father Latimer* saith, if we deny him
tribute, custome, subsidy, tallage, taxes, and the like aid and support, we
are no better then *Theeves*, and steale the kings dues from him; because
the Law testifieth *tributa esse maxime naturalia, & prae se ferre justitiam, quia*
exiguntur de rebus propriis: and *Suarez* saith, *penditur tributum ad sustentationem*
nam principis, & ad satisfaciendum naturali obligationi in dando stipendium ju-
stum laboranti in nostram utilitatem; tribute is most naturall and just to be paid
to the king for our own good: therefore *Christ* pleading for the right of *Cesar*,
that was a Tyrant, saith not, give unto him, *quia petit*, because he demands it,
but pay unto him, *quia illius sunt*, the things that are his, and are due unto him,
even as due as the *hirelings* wages, which we are commanded not to detain for
one night; because this is a part of that reward and wages, which God alloweth
him for all his pains and cares, that he takes to see *Justice* administered in the time
of *Peace*, and to protect us from our enemies in the time of *war*, which makes the
life of kings to be but a kind of *splendid misery*, wearing many times with *Christ*,
a Crown of *Thornes*, a Crown full of cares, while we lap our heads in beds of
downe; and therefore it is not only *unjustififiable* to deny him, or *unthankful-*
nesse, not to requite the great good that he doth unto us, but it is also a great
injustice, (especially if we consider that as *Ocham* saith, *Qui est dominus aliqua-*
rum personarum, est Dominus rerum ad easdem personas spectantium: omnia que
sunt in regno, sunt regis quoad potestatem utendi eis: pro bono communi, Ocha. tract.
2. l. 2. c. 22. & 25.) to detain that right from him, which God commands us
to pay unto him, and that indeed for our own good: as *Menenius Agrippa* most
wittily shewed unto the People of *Rome* when they murmured and mutined for
these taxes, that whatsoever the stomach received, either from the hand or
mouth, it was all for the benefit of the whole body; so whatsoever the King
receiveth from the People, it is for the benefit of the people, and it is like the wa-
ters that the Sea receiveth from the Rivers, which is visibly seen passing into the
Ocean, but invisibly runneth through the veins of the earth, into the Rivers a-
gain; so doth all that the King receiveth from the People, return some way or
other unto the People again.

Deut. 24. 15.

And there be six speciall reasons why, or to what end we should pay these
dues unto the King.

I. For

Six reasons
for which we
pay Tribute
unto the king.

1. For the Honour of his Majesty.
2. For the security of his Person.
3. For the protection of his Kingdome.
4. For the succour of his confederates.
5. For the securing of our

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1. \text{ Goods.} \\ 2. \text{ Estates.} \\ 3. \text{ Lives.} \end{array} \right.$
6. For the propagating of the Gospel, and defence of our Religion.

But for the further clearing of this point, you must know that every just and Lawfull tribute must have these three essential conditions, that are *proprietates constitutiva*.

Three condi-
tions of every
lawfull Tri-
bute.

1. *Legitima potestas*, that is, the Kings power to require it.
2. *Iusta causa*, an urgent necessity, or need of it.
3. *Debita portio*, a due proportion, according to the Kings necessities, and the peoples abilities, that he be not left in need, nor the people over-charged. For.

Kings should
not over-
charge their
Subjects.

A worthy
speech of
Lewis 9.

As the Subjects are thus bound to supply the necessities of their King, so the King is not to over-charge his Subjects; for the King should be the Shepherd of his People, as David calls himself, and Homer tearmeth all good Kings, and not the devourer of his people, as Achilles calleth Agamemnon for the unreasonable taxes that he laid upon them; therefore good Kings have been very sparing in this point; for Darins, inquiring of the Governours of his Provinces, whether the tributes imposed upon them were not too excessive, and they answering, that they thought them very moderate, he commanded that they should raise but the one half thereof, (which had Rehoboam bin so wise to do, he had not lost ten parts of his Kingdome;) and Lewis the ninth of France, which they say was the first that raised a tax in that Kingdome, directing his speech to his Son Philip, and causing the words to be left in his Testament, which is yet to be found Registered in the chamber of accounts, said, be devout in the service of God, have a pittifull heart towards the poore, and comfort them with thy good deeds, observe the good Lawes of thy Kingdome, take no taxes nor benevolences of thy Subjects, unlesse urgent necessity, and evident commodity force thee to it, and then upon a just cause, and not usually; if thou doest otherwise, thou shalt not be accounted a king, but a Tyrant; and it is one of the gracious apotheumes of our late noble and never to be forgotten Sovereigne, worthy to be written in in letters of gold, where speaking to his son, he saith, *enrich not your self with exactions from your Subjects, but think the riches of your Subjects, your best Treasures*: and Artaxerxes said, it was a great deale more seemlier for the Majesty of a King, to give, then to take by polling, to cloath, then to uncloth, which be longeth to Theeves, not to Princes, unlesse they will stain their names: for as Apollonius saith, that gold, which is taken by Tyranny, is far baser then any iron; because it is wetted with the teares of the poor Subjects: and therefore Peter de la Primanday, saith, they are unworthy of the title of Prince, that lending their eares to such as invent new wayes to get monyes from their Subjects, and having against all humanity, spoyled them of their goods, do either miserably consume them upon their pleasures, or prodigally bestow them upon undeserving flatterers, that sat themselves by the overthrow of others.

Pet. de la Pri-
manday: cap. 60.
p. 670.

And therefore it behoveth all kings to consider, that all mens goods are theirs only *quoad usum*, & *defensionem*, and their Subjects, *quoad possessionem* & *proprietaem*; as you may see, where Joseph bought all the Land of the Egyptians for king Pharaoh, and then let it them againe in Fee-farme, to give the King the fifth part of the fruit of it; and as you may conclude it from the eighth Commandment, which saith, as well to the King as to the Subject, *thou shalt not steale*; for if all be his, he cannot be said to steale it; and if this precept concerns not kings, then have they but nine Commandments; and therefore, be wise, O ye Kings, and remember what Saint Augustine saith, *remota iustitia quid sunt Regna*

Gen. 47. 46.

Regna nisi Latrocinia? for though you may justly demand Tribute and Taxes, yet you must have just occasions to use them, and you must take but a just proportion, or else they may come unjustly unto you.

But who shall be the Judges of the Kings just occasions? in many kingdoms his conscience; as the *Roman Consuls* imposed what taxes they thought meet upon the Provinces they subdued; so *Marcus Antonius* being in *Asia* doubled their Tax, and laid a second charge upon the People, which was very unreasonable, as *Hebreas* told him, saying, if thou wilt have power to lay upon us two taxes in one year, thou must have also power to give us two summers, and Autumns, two Harvests, and two Vintages: and yet if our king do thus unreasonably tax us with more than we are able to beare, we may reason with him, as *Hebreas* did with *Marke Antony*, reſel his arguments, and repel his oppressions according to the course of Law, but we may not in any case with the Sword make any resistance, either actual or habitual, against him.

The saying of
Hebreas to M.
Antonius.

Kings herein
not to be re-
sisted.

1. Reason-

1. Because God hath not made us Judges of the Kings occasions, and we know not his necessities: and therefore we cannot determine what is just and unjust.

2. Were it granted, that the superior demanded without right, yet the inferior not onely may rightly render it without offence unto his conscience, but also ought to pay it without resistance unto the Magistratē: for if the Jews were not free: and the Romans had no right to demand Tribute of them, yet by our Saviours question unto Saint Peter, and his replication unto the Apostles answer, it is apparent, that our Saviour was most free, and was no way bound to pay any thing unto the Romans, not onely quā Dem, as *Hesselius* saith, but also as he was a man, as *Barradim* more truly proveth: yet lest he should offend them, as he saith, *tributum solvit quia voluit*, he doth most willingly discharge it: to teach us, that we may and ought justly and without any scruple of conscience pay that, which may be unjustly demanded: and the best Authors, that I have read, are of the same judgement: we have no other remedy but to cry to God, who can judge them for their injustice: & non caret modis, quibus possit, quando voluerit, hujusmodi principes tollere vel emendare.

2. Reason.

Hesselius in
Matth. 18.
Barrad. to. 2.
l. 19. c. 32.

Greg. Tholof.
l. 26. de repub.
c. 5. n. 25.

For. de rebus
Emmanuel l. 12.
p. 386.
What the
Kings of
England pro-
mised to their
Subjects.

That we
should not be
niggards to
assist our king.

What the
Kings of
England pro-
mised to their
Subjects.

But, though in most of the Eastern Countries, the Kings imposed upon their Subjects, what taxes and tributes pleased themselves, as *Augustus* taxed all the world, as much as he would, at his own pleasure, and *Charles the fifth* (saith *Oforinus*) *preter pecunias quibus illum Hispani juverant, immania tributa populis imperavit*, besides those monyes, wherewith the Spaniards assisted him, laid most heavy taxes upon the people; which is indeed a branch of the absolute right of Kings, and was originally practised by most of them; yet here with us, our Kings out of grace and favour unto their people granted such a privilege unto their Subjects, and de vested themselves of this right, to lay no impositions or taxes upon their Subjects, without the consent of their three States convened in the two Houses of Parliament; and this Princely confession, being truly observed, may procure a great deale of love and peace unto the king, and as much tranquillity and happinesse unto the people. Neither do I thinke that he loves his King, but am sure that he hates his Country, that would perswade him for all the wealth of the kingdome, to violate his own grant and saith herein, but, as our king granted this favour, to impose no taxes without the consent of his Parliament; so his Parliament in all duty, ought alwayes with all thankfulness, to acknowledge this special grace, and in requital thereof most fully to supply his wants and support his necessities, whensoever he acquaints them therewith.

And therefore we ought not to be like those hide-bound *Settaries*, and close-fisted *Puritans* and *Brownists*, that are so miserably covetous, and extream niggards: that when the king makes known his wants and demands his due; (for it is still his due, though he granted not to cesse it without their consent) for his royal supportation and the safety of his kingdome, they will finde a hundred excuses to deny him, but never a penny to give him out of all their wealth; and this is the cause of our misery, and may prove as fatal to us, as it

How constant
was lost, and
what the Turk
then said.

hath been to the *Constantinopolitans*; whose churlishnesse and niggardlinesse towards their *Emperour*, was the chiefeft cause of the losse of that great Empire and to make the *Turk* sit in Christ his Chaire, to have *Mahomet* adored where the *Gospel* was formerly published by as many famous Fathers, as now *England* hath Preachers; for the *Emperour* foreseeing the *Siege*, made many motions for contributions towards the repairing of the *Walls*, and continue the military charge; but the *Subjects* drew back, and pleaded want, until it was too late, and the City lost; for though the enemy having a long time besieged it, was intended to give over the *Siege*, and to be gone; yet tidings and intelligence being given him, that the *Souldiers* within the Town, were grown very thin and discontented for want of their pay, the enemy returned and in a short space took the City: and there found in private mens hands, such infinite store of gold and all manner of treasure, (the hundred part whereof would have paid all the *Souldiers*, kept out the enemy, and preserved them all) that the *Turk* seeing the basenesse of the Citizens, so foolishly hiding their wealth, and denying just aid unto their *Emperour*, stood amazed, and lifting up his hands to heaven, lamented their folly, and asked what they meant, that having such a store of wealth, they would suffer themselves to be thus destroyed, onely for want of wit or of grace to use it? and thence grew the Proverb among the *Turkes* unto this day, when one becommeth very rich, you have been at the *Siege* of *Constantinople*. And I pray God it may not so fall out with us for our covetousnesse, that we prove not *Lucians* speech to be true: *omnia dat, qui iusta negat*, to lose all unjustly unto strangers, unto rebels, because we deny what is just unto our King. But I will conclude this point with the Poet,

*Astra Deo nil majus habent, nil Casare terra,
Sic Casar terras, ut Deus astra regit.
Imperium regis Casar, Deus astra gubernat,
Casar honore suo dignus, amore Deus.
Dignus amore Deus, dignus quoque Casar honore est,
Alter enim terras, alter & astra regit.
Cum Deus in calis, Casar regat omnia terris,
Censum Casaribus solvite, vota Deo.*

§. Defence of
the kings per-
son.

2 Sam. 21. 17.
Lament. 2. 4.
Pl. 78. 71. 72.
vide Hof. 3. 4.
c. 10. 3. and
Lament. 2. 9.

1 Joh. 3. 16.

*Nulla gens ita
sollicita est cir-
ca regem suum,
sicut apes, unde
rege incolumi
omnibus mens u-
na est, & quan-
do nequit vola-
re, ferit ipsum
turba apum; &
si moritur, mori-
untur & ipsa.*

§. Defence of his Person is another principal part of that honour, which we owe unto our King. And the very heathens did think their lives well bestowed for their Gods, their family, and the father of the Country; how much more willing should the Christians be, to hazard their lives in defence of their King, which is, *quasi unus è decem millibus*, worth ten thousands of us, being, as the Scripture termes him, the *Light of Israel*, and the *breath of our nostrils*, the head of his Subjects, the *shepherd* and *Pastor* of the people, and as the word *Basileus* importeth, *Βασις τῷ λαῷ*, the foundation of the people, without which they must all fall unto the ground; for where there is no government, all must perish, and there will be no Priest, no Prince, no Religion, no Nobility, no good, but anarchy and confusion, and the destruction of all things. And if we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren, as S. John saith, how much rather ought we to do it for our King? it is recorded in our annals, to his eternal praise, that Sir *Hubert Syncler* at the Seige of *Bridge-north*, seeing an arrow that was shot at his Master, King *Henry* the second, stepped betwixt the shaft and his Sovereign, and receiving the arrow into his body, was therewith shot through to death, that he might preserve the life of his King, which otherwise had been slain in his stead. So *Turnbull* had his name for killing a Bull, that had otherwise slain one of the Kings of Scotland; and we read that when *David* was assailed by a mighty Giant, named *Ishibibonob*, which was of the sons of *Rapha*, the head of whose speare weighed three hundred shekels of brasse, *Abishai* the son of *Zervia*, with the danger of his owne life, runs in, succours the king, and kills the *Philistim*. 2 Sam. 21. 17. and so all other good Subjects have had a speciall care to preserve the lives of their Kings, whom they loved better then their own Parents, yea, then their wives or children, or their own lives, as it

it appeareth by the foresaid examples, and abundance of the like, that you may find in the Histories of the Heathens: for they had not learnt the new divinity of our time, to destroy the King for the good of his Subjects, but they thought, as it is most true, that *salus regis est salus populi*, and they believed, as all good Christians do, that

*Una salus nobis, nullam sperare salutem,
Principe calcato, sublato jure corona;*

because as S. Chrysostome saith, ἡ ἐκείνων σωτηρία, ἡ μὴν ἀμεμνία, their safety is our security, and as S. August. saith, si tollis jura Imperatorum, quis audeat dicere, mea est illa villa, if you take away the government of Kings, who dares say, *hec mea sunt*, this or that is mine, as now, God knowes, since these Rebels have abused our King, we can say nothing is our own; our houses, goods, lives and liberties, are at the disposing of them that are strongest; what then shall we say of those Subjects that strive with all their wit, wealth and strength to destroy their King? and if you ask me why? I must answer, as Aristides was banished out of Athens, justus, quia justus, so must our King be killed, if these men could do it with their Cannon Bullets, because he is too good to reigne over them; who deserved not a pious David, nor a wise Solomon to rule over them, but a foolish Rehoboam, that would whip them with Scorpions, or such a one as would rule them with a rod of iron, and breake them in pieces like a potters vessel: for had our King been, not Caesar Augustus, but Augustus Severus, so severe as Henry 8. or some other more unmercifull Princes, these Rebels durst as well eat their own flesh, as thus to devour the flesh and bones of the Kings loyall Subjects, and seek the death of the King himself.

Chrysost. in
1 Tim. 2. 2.
Aug. to. 9.
tract. 6. in
johan.

Pf. 2. 9.

For it is most certaine of the vulgar people, and of ill bred natures, that *ungentes pungunt, pungentes molliter ungunt*; and therefore though the manifold offers of Peace, and the unparallel'd promising of Pardons to most obstinate Rebels, do infinitely commend the piety, and declare the mildness of a most clement Prince, and the refusall thereof betray the ingratefull stubbornnesse of graceless Subjects to all posterity; yet, when the hairy scalpe of such as still go on in their wickedness, will not so easily be rubbed off, I should say to every King, put your trust in Gods assistance; and as the Holy Ghost saith to the King of Kings, Gird thee with thy sword upon thy thigh, O thou most mighty; ride on with thine honour, and let thy right hand teach thee terrible things: and those thine enemies that would not thou shouldst reigne over them, cause them to be brought, and let them be slain before thee, so shalt thou be a ruler in the midst of thine enemies; and some think that it were but just, if our King, though he be never so loath, should now at last turn the lease, and follow the example of God himself, (who when his children regard not his grace, and set at naught all his counsels, will laugh at their calamity, and mock when their destruction cometh as a whirl-winde) and should make London as Hierusalem, and as other the like rebellious Cities, (that the Lord in his just revenge of their iniquity hath suffered to be destroyed, and to be made an heape of stones:) because the Londoners have shewed themselves in many things worse then the Jews, and for Rebellion have justified all the Cities of the world: or if the King will not do this, though I dare not say of them, as Antoninus, after he had heard the confession of a miserable covetous wretch, said unto him, *Deus misereatur tui, si vult, & condonet tibi peccata tua, quod non credo & perducatur te in vitam eternam, quod est impossibile*; yet seeing their sins are so intolerable among men, and so abominable in the sight of God, it is much feared, that καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀλλοτρίου καὶ ἀμετανόητον καρδίαν, after their hard hearts, which cannot repent, they will still proceed to heape upon themselves the heavy wrath of God, till there be no remedy to preserve them from utter ruine and destruction; though from my heart I wish them more grace, and pray to Almighty God, that

Psal. 45. 3.

Luke 19, 27.

Prov. 1. 16, 17.

The wealth & pride of the City of London have brought this misery and calamity upon all the kingdom of England.

Rom. 2. 5.

Nullum sit in omine pondus;

Or if this cannot be, that they may escape that damnation, which the Apostle threatneth to all them that resist this ordinance of God.

Rom. 13. 2.
6. Prayers for the King.

6. The last but not the least part of that honour which is due to our King, is our

Ariseus c. 2:
p. 38
Tertul ad Scap.
Ita Marcus An-
relius Christiani-
simum militum
orationibus ad
Deum factis, im-
bres & vi-
toriam in ex-
peditione Ger-
manica impe-
travit.

prayers to God for him: and as the other duty was to be performed by the practice of all good Subjects, so is this to be observed by the precept of the Apostle, who though the Kings were *Ethnicks* and *Tyrants*, yet commanded us to pray for them and that you may know what manner of prayer the Christians made for their persecuting Kings. *Tertullian* that lived under the Emperour *Severus*, saith in behalf of the Church, *Omnibus Imperatoribus precamur vitam prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, & quaecunque hominis & Caesaris vota sunt*; and I fear me, our Rebels pray for none of these things to a most Christian King: *Nam orare pro aliquo & in exitium ejus machinari, annon hac sunt sibi contraria?* for to pray for ones health and long life, and to do our best to worke his destruction.

Non bene conveniunt.—

can never proceed from a true heart, but as the *unbearable* Papists prayed for the successe of the *Gun-powder Plot* (which was a Treason *sine exemplo*, quia *crudelis sine modo*) saying

*Gentem averso perfidam
Credentium de finibus,
Ut Christo preces debitas
Perfolvamur alacriter.*

So the practice of these Rebels makes us believe their prayer is,
*Regem averso perfidum
Credentium de finibus, &c.* *

* I am ashamed to set down how the factious and malicious Preachers of the rebellious Cities, either neglect to pray at all, or pray most seditionously and unchristianly for their own

But we that desire to follow the Apostles Precept, considering the greatness of his cares and charge that he doth undergo, and the multitude of dangers that he is lyeable to, will most heartily pray to God both in our Morning and our Evening Prayers, both at our sitting and at our rising from our meat, *Ut vivat Rex, exurgat Deus, & dissipentur inimici*; that God would give his Angels charge over him to preserve him in all his wayes, that he dash not his foot against a stone: that his enemies may be clothed with shame, and that he may flourish as the Lilly, that he may raige long and happily here, and raige for ever in Heaven: this shall be my prayer for ever.

Liege Lord, and gracious King: and therefore the curse of *Judas* lights upon them, that their prayer is turned into sin, which should make them pray, that *Judas* his end should not fall unto them.

CHAP. XVIII.

The persons that ought to honour the King; and the recapitulation of one and twenty Wickednesses of the Rebels, and the faction of the pretended Parliament.

2 The persons that must honour the King.

Rom. 13. 1.

Gen. 46. 62.
27. A. G. 3.

3. **H**AVING seen the Person that is to be honoured, and the honour that is due unto him, we are now to consider in the last place, who are to honour him, included in this word *נִשְׁתַּחֲוּתוּ*, honour ye him; which being unlimited and indefinite, is equivalent to an universal; and so Saint Paul doth more plainly expresse it, saying, *πάντα ὑποτάγητε τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς ἐξουσίαις τοῦ κοσμοῦ τούτου*, Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; which is an Hebrew *Idrome*, or Synecdochical speech, signifying the whole man; the word *ὑποτάγητε* being usually taken in Scripture *pro toto composito*, for the whole man composed of body and soul, as where it is said, that *Jacob went down into Egypt with 70 soules*, and S. Peter by one Sermon converted 3000 soules: and the abstract word *ὑποτάγητε* is here taken *ἐμπνευματικῶς*, to shew that our subjection, obedience, and honour, which we are to ascribe unto our King, must be not as hypocrites render it in shew, from the teeth outward, but really and indeed, *ex animo*, from our soules and the bottom of our hearts, as *Aquinas* glosseth it: and the concrete *πάντα* added unto it, makes it the more energetical, to shew that all mortal men, none excepted, are obliged, to do this honour, and to yield this subjection unto their King: for, seeing every man, both spiritual and temporal; and every sex, both man and woman

woman; and every degree of men, young and old, rich and poor, one with another, hath an immortal soul, as well as a mortal body, it must needs follow, that all, *cujuscunque gradus, sexus, & conditionis*, are obliged both in soule and body to honour and obey their King.

And yet it is strange to see how many men can exempt themselves and grant a dispensation unto their soules for the performance of this duty; for the Pope will be freed, because he hath a power above all powers, to depose Kings and to dispose of their Kingdomes at his pleasure: and the Popish Clergy will perform no duty unto their King, because their Function is spiritual: but to all these I may truly say, as our Saviour doth to the lewd servant, *ex ore tuo*, out of the Fathers whom they acknowledge, and out of their own Authors they are confuted, for Saint Chrysostome saith, that whether he be an Apostle, or Evangelist, or Prophet, *Seu quicquid tandem fuerit*, or whosoever else he be, Pope, Cardinal, or Deacon, he is commanded to be subject to the higher power: and that you may see what power he meanes, he pointeth out the same by the symbol, that is, of him that carryeth the sword, which you know must be the secular Prince, and not the spiritual Pope: and so not onely Euthym. Theophylact Occumenius, and other Greek Commentators do avouch, but also those Epistles, which are recorded by Binus, and quoted by the Bishop of Durham, as Leo 1. ep. 26. & 35. Simplicius 1. ep. 4. Felix 3. ep. 2. Anastasius 1. ep. 78. Pelagius 1. ep. 16. Martinus 1. ep. 3. Agatho 1. ep. ad Herac. Hadrian 1. ep. ad Constant. do make this most manifest unto vs: and therefore Espensaur, convinced by such a cloud of witnesses, confesseth very honestly, that the Apostle here, *Docet omnes credentes mundi potestatibus esse subiectos, nempe, five Apostolos, five Evangelistas, &c. ut tenet Chrysost. Euthym. & qui non, Graci?*

And as the Popelings will be free, so the Presbyterians, and the faction of this Parliament will be as free as they: and (because every wickedness laboureth to exceed that which preceeded) these do not agree with the Catholics (as Herod and Pilate did, to crucifie Christ) in the same conclusion and tenet of exemption, but they will go a note beyond *Ela*, and surmount both Jesuite and Pope; and therefore they not onely dishonour and disobey their King, but they have violated and inroached upon all his rights, and assumed the same into their own hands; for, to recapitulate some of their choicest wickednesses.

1. As the Church of Rome and the Jesuites teach, in *Aphorismis confessoriorum, ex Doctorum sententiis collectis*, p. 249. that *Rex potest per rempublicam privari ob tyrannidem, & si non faciat officium suum, & cum est causa aliqua justa & eligi alius a majore parte populi*: which falshood their own Divines confute, when Royard saith, *Rege constituto, non potest populus jugum subiectionis repellere*: so these men maintain that diabolical tenet, that the Regal power is primarily in the collective body, and derived to the king cumulatived, not privatived; and therefore upon the kings neglect or male-administration, it comes back again to the collective body, in whom it resideth suppletived, to discharge the royal duty when the king faileth to do the same; and then the king so falling from his right, they may refuse obedience, and if they see cause (which they can soone do) they may depose him from his office, which impudent falshood I have fully confuted in this Treatise.

2. They say the Regall Majesty is a humane creature, or the ordinance of men primarily, and therefore may be deposed by men; when as Cunerius could say, *Sive electione, sive postulatione, vel successione, vel belli jure princeps fiat, principi tamen facto divinitus potestas adest*: and therefore they have no power to take away that which God hath given him.

3. They have with Nadab and Abihu adventured to offer strange fire upon Gods Altar, and with Uzza to lay their prophane hands upon Gods holy Arke; they have rejected the Lawes that the King with the advice and consultation of all his learned Clergy hath made, and they themselves sit in Moses chaire, and have undertaken to reforme the Church, to make Lawes, and compose Articles of our faith; with the advice of a few faction men, that were never esteemed

The Pope and his Clergy would be freed from the subjection of Kings.

Espe in Tit. 3. 1. Digres. 10. p. 5. 13. Paris. 1568.

The wickednesses of the pretended Parliament shewed by their actions.

1.

Royard. in dom. 1 advent. They teach the deposition of kings.

2.

3.

* Though now I reckon not this among their wickednesses.

- otherwise then *sax Cleri*, not worthy to be the *Curates* of those worthy Divines, whose *feet* they hurt in the Rocks, and send the *iron* into their soules.
4. They have cast out all the *Bishops*, and all the *faithfull* Ministers of Christ out of all offices, that might *farther* the Gospell, and administer *justice* unto the people; they do *rob* them of their meanes, and count *sacredge* to be no sin; and in very deed, they have *persecuted* the worthiest Clergy, in many particulars, far worse then ever *Julian*, that wicked *Apostata*, did; the Lord of Heaven give us *patience* to indure it, and suffer us not for *fear* of any villanie, or calamty, to be *dejected*, and so fall away from his *truth*.
5. They have *called* and continued an *Assembly*, which the *Pope* would not do without the *Emperours* leave, contrary to the *Kings* command; which is a meere and mighty *usurpation* of the *Regall* right.
6. They have seized upon the *Kings* *Revenues*, Castles, Forts, Townes, Ships, and all that they could lay hand on, and do in a *hostile* manner, with all *violence*, detain them from him, but what he gaires by his *sword*, to this very day.
7. They have *fought* against him, *shot* at His sacred Person, and sought most *Barbarously* to kill him, under the colour to preserve him; which is the finest piece of *Logicke* that ever was read.
8. They have *rayled* at him; *slandered* him, and most apparently and falsly *belyed* him, and laid to his *charge* the things which we his Majesties Subjects and Servants that *attend* Him do know; that He neither *did*, nor *knew*.
9. They *incouraged* and countenanced their *ignorant* brazen-faced Chaplains most *uncivily* to rayle at Gods Anointed in the Pulpit; and so they brought the *abomination*, not of desolation, but of most horrible transgression into the holy place, and made *Moses* chaire the *seat* of railers.
10. They *taxe* the Subjects at their *pleasure*, and have raised infinite *summes* of money, and no man but themselves knowes *how* they have disposed, or *what* they have done therewith.
11. They discharged *Apprentices*, they send out their *Warrants* and their *Edicts*, *without* and *against* the *Kings* authority, which are but *uniga*, and the *minims* of their doings.
12. They averre, that the King hath no *negative* voice in making *Lawes*, but they may *conclude* them, and make them *obligatory* without the *Kings* approbation or ratification; and that they may do *any* thing conducive to the *good* of the Church and Commou-wealth, any Law, Statute, or provision made to the contrary notwithstanding.
13. They are not ashamed to *teach* (as they do practice) that it is lawfull for them to make *Covenants*, Combinations, and Confederacies of mutuall *defence* and *offence* against any person whatsoever, whom themselves judge *malignant*, not excepting the *King* himselfe; and they say, that it were *better* for them to renounce their *Baptisme*, then to forsake their *Covenant*, which they believe will be more *advantageous* to the Kingdome, then all the *Priviledges* that are granted in *Magna Charta*, or the *Statutes* that have been made ever since.
14. They jeered at the *Kings* *Proclamations*, trampled his *Declarations* under feet, and incountred the same with *rebellious* Protestations.
15. They perswade the people to give no *care* to any discourse of *Accommodation*, or conclusion for any peace; and say, that the King is not to be *trusted*; that he will performe no *promise* that he maketh, either in his *Proclamations* or *Declarations*; and therefore that the *Kings* *Pardons* may be likened to a buckler of *glasse*, or a staffe of *reede*, on which there is no *trust*, no committing themselves to the *defence* of any such pardon. So we may say with the Poet,
Nos juvat alma quies, gens hac fera bella minatur;
Et quoties pacem poscimus, arma crepat.
16. They teach the Doctrine of *coercion*, dedignifying, degrading, and decapitating of *Kings*, when they deeme them *unworthy* of that dignity; and their arguments and reasons they collect and produce out of *Dolman*, *Bellarmin*, *Shutez*, and the Magazine of the most rigid Jesuites.
17. They

4. How they persecute the Bishops, and the best of the Clergy.

13. What they say of their Covenants.

15. To what they liken the Kings pardons.

16. Whence they learned their Divinity.

17. They have so barbarously, so irreverently, and so prophanely abused our *Service-Book*, that it would *loath* your *cares* to heare, transcend modestly to tell you how they have *dealt* with it; and they threatned, that if the *Ministers* would *read* it, they should never read book again.

17.

18. They do agree with the worst of Papists, the *Jesuites*, in a great many of the worst points of doctrine that they teach; and yet being not well able to understand their tenets, they hate *Papists* so much, that they would root them out of their very being; they would destroy all the *Irish* that are Papists, and drive all *Papists* out of *England*, out of the *world*, that the name of *Papists* should be no more in remembrance; and contrary to all *reason*, *divinity*, and *humanity*, they would force and compell every man to profess the *Religion* that they are of, though some of them (as their *independents*) are far on the other side, would have every man to have liberty to profess what Religion himselfe liketh best.

18.

How contrary to Christs doctrine, Matth. 13. 19. they would root out all Papists

19. They have most *ingrately* and *disloyally* injured a most loving *wife*, and their owne most gracious *Queen*, for shewing Her love, and discharging Her duty to Her husband: They have *imprisoned*, and barbarously used some of the Nobility, most of the Clergy, and abundance of the Gentry, and others of the best account of the common Subjects of this Kingdom; they have *plundered* and robbed many thousands of men; they have *killed* and murdered as many; they have made our *Cities* dens of thieves, our *Churches* prisons, and all the Land *Acheldama's*, fields of blood; they multiplyed the number of *Widowes*, *Orphanes*, and *Theeves* without number, throughout the Land, and they filled the whole Kingdome with *miserics*, lamentations and woes; and they have done so many *mischiefes*, as if I should set them all down, would fill up another volume: And,

19.

How they have wronged the Queen, the Nobility, Clergy, Gentry, and Commons of this Land.

20. As if all this were not enough, to fill up the *measure* of their iniquity, they spared neither *pains* nor cost to call in the *Scots* to assist them, to *perpetuate* the War, to fill our Kingdome with *strangers*, and to make our calamities *everlasting*, so they fell from evil to worse, from discontent to *schisme*, from schisme to open Rebellion, and their Rebellion more wicked then any *Rebels* that we can reade of in any History; which is the *just* judgment of God upon them, that they which *rebelliously* run out of the Communion of Gods Church, should most *desperately* run out of their own wits; and refusing to be guarded by the *Heavenly* Angels, should give themselves to be guided by the *infernal* Divels, which made a merry fellow, at the enumeration of their abhominable, and indeed innumerable wickednesses, to say, Hell was never *better* then it is now, because he thought the *Divels* were all in *London*, or otherwise it were impossible that the *Citizens* which have received so many gracious offers of pardons from His Majesty, and promises of other favours, should still continue so wicked as they are, so gulled and seduced by this Parliament faction, that *non suadebit, etiamsi persuaserit*; because, as *S. Augustine* saith, *impia mens nolit intellectum*, and they love to cozen and cheat their own souls by new painting these old sins, and calling their faction *saith*, their madnesse *zeale*, and their horrid Rebellion fighting for Religion; but as the Poët saith,

20.

How they laboured to call in the Scots.

The speech of a merry companion.

— Non tanti est civilia bella movere.

Whatsoever pretences move them to it, this remedy will increase their *miserics*; for, if God be no more *mercifull* to us then their *sin* deserves, it may end here in an *universal* destruction, and hereafter in their *eternall* damnation; for doth not all the *world* see how God scourgeth us with the rod of our own *furious* madnesse, and like as it befell the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, that fighting against the *Israelites*, did help to destroy one another: so we, striving not against *Israel*, but as we pretend, both against the *Edomites*, against *falsehood*, doe utterly destroy our selves.

2 Chron. 20. 23.

Exemplumque pari ruit Anglica turba, suoque Marte cadunt caesi per mutua vulnera fratres.

And we that did keep our enemies in awe shall be now destroyed by the sons of our

our

The Rights of Kings, and

our own mother, but I confesse our Land *abounds* with sins, and our sins have *justly* deserved this *heavy* punishment to light upon us; yet I beseech our God to *chastise* us with his *own* hands, and let us not fall under the swords of the *uncircumcised* Philistines, that are a people *much more* wicked then our selves; and if he will let our soules *live*, we shall praise his name.

How they intended to get all Ireland to themselves.

21. When they had most *fraudulently* gotten His Majesty to passe an *Act* (which though *really* intended, yet to many men seems a very *strange* Act) to refer the managing of the affaires of *Ireland* to the Parliament of *England*, then they took that course to root out all the *Papists, Irish, English, British*, and indeed all the *Inhabitants* of *Ireland*, except their own brotherhood, (for they could have soon defried the *marke* of the beast in all the rest) which they thought would be most *effectual* to further their *design*, and to bring the whole Kingdom of *Ireland* to be inherited by their own *faction*; that is, to *sell* all the Lands of the *Rebels* to themselves, (for they knew *none* else would buy it at that *time*, and in that *manner* as they determined) and when they had *thus* locked the doore, and stopped the way of *all* relief unto the distressed Protestants of that Kingdom, they might sing,

Dimidium toti qui bene cepit, habet;

How they blinded the people by their proceedings.

For they had settled *Scotland*, and they had now grasped *Ireland*, and held it fast in *Vulcans* net; and therefore *now* it might stay, till they could reduce *England* (to make a perfect work in all the three Kingdomes) to the *same* forme of government both in Church and State, as they *projected* for the other; and because they would have *some* places of entrance into *Ireland*, and hinder the *Rebels* to possesse the whole Kingdome, and also *blind* the eyes of the ignorant, not to perceive their *plot*, but to keep them still in some *hope* of redresse, they sent *such* a party over (and the *Scots* must be the most considerable part) as might keep their own *design* on foot, and yet yield not an *inch* of any comfort to the *spoiled* and expelled Protestant; for they left that party which they sent thither, rather as a prey to their enemies, (as having neither cloathes, meat, nor money) then inabled by these *accontrements* to subdue the *Rebels*; as it is *better* and more fully declared by the *Letter* of the State of *Ireland* to the House of *Commons*, then I can relate unto you.

What the Author saw in Ireland.

And I being in *Ireland*, seeing the *deplorable* state of that Kingdome, the miserable *distress* of the mangled, starved, and naked Protestants; the little *children* calling and crying for *bread*, and none to give it them; many *worthy* Ministers begging, or dying for want in the streets, and the poore *bare-footed* and hunger-bitten Souldier lamenting his hard fortune to be transplanted out of Gods *blessing* into the *warme* sun; from *plenty* and prosperity, to be left as the Traveller, betwixt *Hierusalem* and *Hierico*, halfe dead, betwixt *merciless* *Rebels*, and more *unmercifull* friends; neither *wholly* to be destroyed, nor yet to be *relieved*, was much troubled and perplexed at these *sad* aspects; and being *intrusted* by the *Bishops* my Brethren of that Kingdome, to *agitate* the cause of the Church for our reliefe here in *England*; and to that end having a Letter unto his Majesty, and a Remonstrance of our *distressed* condition, though with the great *hazard* of my life at Sea, yet I arrived by Gods *great* blessing in *England*, and before I had been two dayes at home, my house was surrounded with a *Troope* of Armed Souldiers, they *entred* in, seized upon my person, searched every roome, and every corner with a candle, not leaving the *bed-straw* whereon my children lay unsearched; they took all my *papers*, and all the *money* they found in my house, (even my *servants* money) to the sum of 40^l, and carried all with me their poor *Prisoner* to *Northampton*; and now I thought it was but an *ill-exchange*, to escape the *Sea*, and to fall into the *fire*; to shun the *Lion*, and to meet a *Beare*, to eschew the *Rebels* in *Ireland*, and to fall into the hands of Traytors in *England*; and I knew not *why*, but onely that I had often preached at *Twincester*, (where being requested by Master *Lockwood* to supply the place, the *precise* Church-wardens very *peremptorily* told me I should not do it, because I was a *royalist*, and spake against the Parliament, to whom I replied, that he had no such *authority* to hinder a Bishop to Preach, and bad him look to mend his

How used as soon as ever he came to his House.

How a precise Church-warden would have hindred a Bishop to preach.

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But the Committee there finding in me no cause worthy of death or of bonds, (Gods providence so mercifully watching over me, that it stopped their eyes, that they looked not on my Grand Rebellion, which they had in their hands, and would no doubt have utterly undone me, had they but espied the Capital title) that I was dismissed; and I confesse countenously used by Sir John Norwich.

с. 12, р. 24.

2005-05-25

1. They adore
and put their
trust in that
creature.

Pf. 74. v. 4, 7, 8.
ἐλλὰς ᾧ τὸ πῖ-
πιδας ἐπ' αὐ-
δράσαν ἡγάμο-
ντες ?

Quis tibi in men-
tem dolorem
imposuit, ut hæc
perficias magni
Dei ore relicto?

R r r

his

his house the *adversaries* and *enemies* of God, v. 4. and 5. and v. 11. *foolish* people; verſ. 19. and 23. the *haters* of God, verſ. 24. and the *blasphemers* of his name, verſ. 11. for none but *ſuch* would have done ſuch *Prophanations*, as is done in God's house: but let them take heed leſt the Prophets prayer ſhould light upon them, *Liſt up thy feet O God, that thou mayeſt utterly deſtroy every one of theſe enemies, which hath done this evil in thy Sanctuary.*

Pſ. 74. v. 4.

3. How they ſorſwear themſelves.

Σὶδὲ ὁμορῶν
μὴ δὲ λαν-
θῶναι.

Menan. l. perju-
rium eſt, nequi-
ter decipere cre-
dentem. Aug.

4. How they prophaned the Sabbath.

5. How they curſe their Fa-
thers and Mo-
thers.

Eſay. 3. 21.

6. How many
they have
murdered.

7. How they
loofened the
reins to all luſt

hoc fonte deri-
vata clades, in
patriam popu-
lumque fluxit.
Horat. car. l. 3.

8 How they
are like *Argi-
vi* ſures.

ὁ πόδας καλ-
ῶς, ὁ λῆψα
δὲς, ἐκπύρε-
ται.

Pſ. 94. 12.

9. How they
belyed all ſorts
of good men.

Quomodo Deus
pater genuit fi-
lium veritatem,
nempe ſic diabo-
lus lapſus genuit
quafi filium
mendacium.

Aug. ſuper Iob.

Habac. 2. 9.
Gildas de exci-
dio Britan.

3. For *ſwearing*, not *vainly* but *faulſly*, moſt wickedly, and *forſwearing* them-
ſelves over and over, again and again, and having more *diſpenſations* and abſo-
lutions for their perjuries by their *holy* Prophets then ever the *Popes* gave for
adulteries, it is *incredible* to think, and *impoſſible* to number the *heads* of theſe
transgreſſions; and therefore if you *believe* that God was in *earnest* when he
gave this precept, you may be aſſured he will not hold them *guiltleſſe* that are
ſuch transgreſſors of it.

4. For the day wherein we ſhould *ſerve* our God in his Church moſt *revere-
rently*, ſome of them worſhip him more *unmannerly*, then ſome of thoſe *blinde*
Indians, that worſhip the *Devil* himſelf, and others of them *maſter* their men,
plunder their neighbours, and murder their brethren, which they believe to be
the *beſt* way to ſanctifie the Sabbath: and for which *reſting* from their work,
thus *religiously* to ſerve the Lord, let them take heed, leſt God ſhould *ſwear* in
his wrath, that they ſhall never enter into his reſt.

5. They *curſe* their *Father* and their *Mother* that their dayes may be *long* in
the Land, which their *pretended* Parliament hath promiſed to give them; for the
King is the *Prince* and *Principal* Father of us all; and the Prophet ſaith of ſuch
men, they ſhall *curſe* their *King* and their *God*; and the *Bishops* are their *Fa-
thers* too, and they have *curſed* them long ago; and I fear they will not
cease to curſe them, till their curſes fall upon their own heads: and for all other
bonds of duty, and relations of *wives* unto their *Husbands*; *Children* unto their
Parents; *Servants* unto their *Maſters*: they are preached aſunder, to make way
for the *liberty* of the Subject, to rebel by *authority* againſt his Sovereign.

6. Whereas God ſaith, *thou ſhalt do no murder*, they gave that *fiſt* commiſ-
ſion, though they had not the leaſt colour of any *authority* to give it, to *kill*, *ſlay*,
and *deſtroy*; and it is moſt *lamentable* to conſider how many *thouſands* they have
murdered, and how they are thought worthy of the *greateſt* honour and the *beſt*
reward, that have killed moſt of God's faithfull ſervants, and the King's loyal
Subjects.

7. For *adulteries*, Fornications and all Uncleanneſſe, they may now *freely* do
it, luſt may flow like the *river*, whoſe banks are broken down, when they have
overthrown thoſe courts of *juſtice*, and were never at *reſt* till they had moſt
violently ſuppreſſed the *power* and execution of all *Eccleſiaſtical* cenſures, that
were the *chiefeſt* bars and hindrances of theſe unlawful luſts.

8. For *ſtealing*, they have changed the *name* but not the *nature* of it: for
under the pretence of *preſerving* to us the *propriety* of our goods, they have not
ſtole, but plundered away, that is robbed us of all our goods, and carried them
into thoſe *Rebellious* Townes, that are now the *dens* of theſe *thieves*, and are
ſtronger in their wickedneſſe then the hills of the robbers: and that which makes
this ſin moſt ſinful, is, that it is *eſtabliſhed* by a *Law*.

9. They have juſtified the *Cretans*, and proved themſelves the right *baſtard*
ſons of the father of lyes; filling all and every corner of this Kingdome with
palpable, *intolerable*, and *incredible* lyes, ſlanders, and falſe witneſſe-bearing a-
gainſt God, againſt his *Anointed*, againſt the *Church*, and againſt all the reverend
governours of the *Church*, all religious *Proteſtants*, & all the *loyal* Subjects of this
Nation, that the Angels do now bluſh, and the Devils do laugh and rejoyce, to
ſee they are ſo fruitfull in begetting ſo many *Children* ſo perfectly formed, and
ſo completely perfected in their own image and likeneſſe; and if ever the ſay-
ing of Gildas was true, they have proved it now: *Moris continui gentis erat, ſi-
cut & nunc eſt, ut infirma eſſet ad retundenda hoſtium tela, & fortis ad civilia bella:
infirma, inquam, ad exequenda pacis ac veritatis inſignia, & fortis ad ſcelera
& mendacia.*

10. They

The Wickednesses of the pretended Parliament.

123

10. They have coveted an evil covetousness, when they coveted all evil unto themselves; not onely their neighbours houses, goods, and lands, and all that are theirs, but also the patrimony of the Church, the revenues of the Clergy, and all the rights and prerogatives of the King, to be entayled upon themselves and their faction, that so they and theirs might be both Kings, and Priests, and all, not to God, but to themselves and their fellow Rebels in the government of this Kingdome.

10. The extent of their covetousness.

And as they have thus transgressed all the old Commandments of the Law, so they come no wayes short in transgressing the new Commandment of the Gospel: for their love to their brethren is now turned to perfect hatred, when they say not with Cain, am I my brothers keeper? but with Apollyon, I will be the destroyer of my brethren; neither will I sell them, as the brethren of Joseph did him unto the Egyptians, but I will send them if I can possibly quick to hell; let those Loyal subjects, that have been unexpectedly murdered, and those many thousands that have been plundered of all their Estates, testify to the World the love of these men unto their brethren, who have felt more cruelty and barbarity and less charity from these holy Saints, then could be expected from Jews, Turkes, and Pagans.

How they transgressed the new commandment of the Gospel. Gen. 4. 9.

23. Though every sin deserves the wrath of God, as the Apostle saith in general, the reward of sin is death, be it little or be it great: yet because some sins do more provoke the wrath of God, and do sooner produce this deadly fruit then other sins; the Divines have observed seaven special sins, which they terme the seaven deadly sins: and these also you may finde committed in the highest degree by these factious Rebels: For

How they have committed the 7 deadly sins. Rom. 6. 23.

1. *Pride*, which is an high conceit of a mans own worth, far beyond his just deserts, and therefore, believing himself to be superior to none, scorns to be subject unto any, is the Father that produceth, and the nurse that cherisheth all rebellion: and our Parliamentary faction, together with the Assembly of their Divines, thinking themselves holier then the Saints, and wiser then their Brethren, have therefore made this unnatural war to destroy us all, because we will not subscribe with them to destroy both Church and State: this is the fruit of pride, but the punishment is, to be resisted by God, who throweth damnation upon their heads, because they resist the ordinance of God.

1 Their Pride. Quid juvat O homines tanto surgere fastu? Nam ut ait Comicus, ἀλαζονείας ἔνε ἐκείνου δυνάμην.

2. *Pride* cannot subsist without meanes, therefore covetousness must support it; and I shewed you before how covetous these Rebels are, not of any good, but of our goods, and of our lives, that they may enjoy our lands, even the lands of the Church, and they may take the houses of God in possession: which may prove to them like *Aurum Idololum*, or as *Midas* gold, that was the destruction of that covetous wretch.

2. Their Covetousness. Sacrilegia minuta puniuntur, magna jam in triumphis feruntur. Senec. ep. 67.

3. Their *luxury* and *lust* must needs proceede from *salnesse* and *pride*: and I beleive, it is not unknown to many how these Rebels spend their time in revelling and feasting, chambering and wantonness, which though never so secretly done by them in the night, yet are they publicly seene in the day, and seene to their shame, if they could be ashamed of any thing.

3. Their luxury. Cetera quidem tantis causa est manifesta ruinis. Luxuria nimium libera facta via est. Propert. eleg. 11. l. 3.

4. How *envy* bath possesst their souls, it is almost beyond all fence to consider it, they envy that any man should be king and themselves subjects, that any man should be a Bishop and themselves Priests, or that any man should be rich and themselves not so wealthy; therefore they will needs pull down what themselves cannot reach unto.

4. Their envy.

5. If *Epicurus* were now living, or *Sardanapalus* came to these mens feasts, they might think themselves the teachers of sobriety, and the masters of abstinence, in comparison of these new gulfists, who make a God of their bellies, and fare deliciously every day that they can get it, more deliciously then *Dives*; it is incredible to consider what they devour in delicates, and how the Sisters teachers eat more good meat, and drink better wines then the gravest Bishops.

5. Their Gluttony and drunkenness.

6. They are, as the Psalmist saith, wrathfully displeased at us, and I know not whether their envy at our happiness, or their wrath and anger that we do live, is the greater; yet thanks be to God;

6 Their wrath and malice.

Vivere nos dices, salvos tamen esse negamus.

And God I hope will preserve us still, notwithstanding all their malice.

7. Their Sloath.

7. For their sloath, I was a while musing how these *saltions* Rebels could any wayes be guilty of this *laxie* sin: for, as the Divil is never at rest, but goeth about continually like a roaring Lion, seeking whom he may devour: and he saith, Job. 1. he compasseth the earth to and fro; so these children of this world, being wiser in their generation then the children of light, are as diligent as their Father, they imagine mischief upon their beds, and are a great deale more watchfull, and more painfull to do evil, to serve the Divil, to goe to Hell, then the faithfull servants of God are to goe to Heaven; witnesse all the victories and successes that they had by this War, in the night, not by any manhood, but by taking the Kings Souldiers carelesse in their beds; yet, notwithstanding all this diligence to do wickednesse, they are as *laxie* as any sluggard, and as slow as the snayle to any goodnesse: they are asleep in evil, and are dead in trespasses and sins, and cannot be awakened to any service of God.

24. How they have grievously committed the foure crying sins.

24. The Scripture maketh mention of foure crying sins that do continually cry to God for vengeance against the sinners;

Clamitat ad caelum vox sanguinis, & Sodomorum, Vox oppressorum, merces retenta laborum,

And they are not free from any of these. For,

1. How they have shed abundance of innocent blood.

1. As the Psalmist speaketh, Psal. 79. 2. 3. so they have done; and the streames of blood, that, since the beginning of this unnaturall War, they have most unjustly caused to be spilt, and do flow like the Rivers of waters over the face of this now unhappy Land, do with Abels blond continually cry against them, and cannot chuse but pull down vengeance upon their heads, when God shall come to make inquisition for blond: and therefore though *Pacem nos poscimus omnes*, we all cry for peace, and the Kings clemency still proclaimeth pardon; yet seeing it is God that maketh wars to cease, and the Prophet saith, how can the sword be quiet; seeing the Lord hath given us a charge against *Abkelon*? Jer. 47. 7. as the bloody sin of Saul upon the poor Gibeonites, never left crying for vengeance, untill it was expiated by blond, even by the blond of seven of his sons; so I feare me the much blond that these Rebels spilt, and the blond of so many innocents that they caused to be slain, can never be expiated, and the wrath of God appeased, untill an attonement be made by blond, even a judiciarie sentence of death against some of the head Rebels; for it is the voice of God, that whosoever sheddeth mans blond, that is, without due authority, by man shall his blond be shed, that is, by the due course of Law, and the power of the Magistrate, that beareth not the sword in vaine, but is bound to punish murders, and the unlawful putting of innocents to death, with the sentence of a just death.

Psal. 9. 12.

Ob.

If you say, Why may not this Rebellion be concluded with the like peace by a generall pardon, as the other in Ireland is like to be?

Sol.

I answer, the case is not alike, because they had some shew of reason, and were provoked by the faction and emissaries of this Parliament; but our Rebels had not the least colourable cause, nor were provoked by any, but their own bloody desire to root out Gods service and servants, when they had almost all things that they desired. I am sure more then should have been granted unto them; and therefore in these, and in many other respects that I could, but am ashamed to set down, I deem this Rebellion of our English, and the invasion of the Scots, ten times more odious, then the insurrection of the Irish.

Ezech. 16. 49.

2. The sins of Sodom among them.

3. Their oppression.

2. The iniquity of Sodom was Pride, fullnesse of bread, abundance of idleness, and contempt of the poor; and I have already shewed how all these do rule and reign in them.

3. For oppression, let their ordinances to take away our goods, without any colour of justice, and their actions, to make good their ordinances, to take away our states, and deprive us of our liberties, be well examined, and the world shall then see, whether they be oppressors, or I a transgressor for affirming it.

4. For retaining of wages, letting passe their Souldiers that deserve not pay for

for fighting so *disloyally* against their King, and transgressing so *undutifully* the Commandment of God, which so *precisely* biddeth them to *honour the King*, would gain know by what *authority*, or law, excepting their own *lawless* Ordinances, have they *detained* and alienated the *wages*, means, and maintenance of those faithful *Pastors*, whom they sent away, and caused them to *fly* and wander like *Pilgrims*, from place to place, without any means or subsistence? O let them never think that these things can be *buried* in oblivion, but that the *sighs* and groans of those faithful servants of Christ do *continually* cry, and cry aloud in the ears of God for *vengeance* to be poured down upon the *heads* of these their persecutors, which cannot escape, *Cum surrexerit ad iudicandum Deus*.

25. As there be three *Theological* graces that build up, and compleat a Christian soul, *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity*; so there be three main *vices* that do *poison* and kill every soul, *Infidelity*, *Presumption*, *Philanty*; and three others that are *destructive* to all Christianity, *Prophaneness*, *Impudency*, and *Sacrilege*: The time will not give me leave to tell you how they are *chained* about with these *links* of sin, and how indeed they are, as the Apostle saith, *filled with all unrighteousness*. The works that they do, can sufficiently tell us what they are. God *forgive* them the evil that they have done, and give them *grace* to repent in time, that they may not perish *everlastingly*, Amen.

2. Having treated a little of the wicked *practices* and abominable *actions* of the Puritan *Faction* of this Parliament; I should, according as I *intended*, set down some of their *unjust*, impious, and diabolical *Ordinances*; which I finde to be so *many* as would fill up a whole *Volume*, and the *poison* of their wickedness having *swelled* my Book to such a bulk already, I must therefore, crave leave, to *transmit* the displaying of these dismal *tragedies* to some other scene; only I must *remember*, which I believe will never be *forgotten*, while any *wickedness* can be remembered; and that is,

1. Their bloody Ordinance to *kill* and *slay*, while we were all in *peace*, and all praying for the Houses of Parliament.

2. Their *sacrilegious* Ordinance of taking away not the *twentieth part*, nor the *tenth*, nor yet nine parts of ten, but *all* and every part of the goods and revenues of the *Bishops*, *Deanes*, and *Prebends*; and let them *now*, in their *old-age*, after they have wasted their *strength*, and consumed their *years* with *toyl* some labours and *indefatigable* paines, in the Church of God, to *save* their souls, either *dig* for bread, or *beg* for almes, or like out-worn *shoes*, die in a ditch: their care for these men was to leave them not *one* penny to *relieve* themselves while they lived; and I believe the *prophanest* *Pagan*, (it may be) the *Devil* himself, could not shew *greater* malice, or inflict a *severer* censure upon the Clergy, then these *zealous* Christians have ordained; because such a *miserable* life must needs prove far worse then a *glorious* death, when as *Jeremiah* saith, *They that did feed delicately, must stand desolate in the streets, and they that were brought up in scarlet, must embrace dunghills; they must sigh and seek their bread, and give their pleasant things for meat to relieve their souls*.

3. Their *unrighteous* Ordinance, and ordinances, to take away *what* part they pleased of their Neighbours goods, and *all* from them whom they deemed *Malignants*; and I had almost said, that God himself, which is *Lord* of all, could not more justly take them, then these men have unjustly decreed to take them from us.

4. Their impious, odious and abominable *Ordinance*, to compel men by oaths and Covenants to give themselves unto the *Devil*, and to go to *Hell* in despite of their teeth; and that which makes me wonder most of all is, that their *Synod* or *Assembly* hath *prefixed* an *exhortation* to *persuade* silly souls to take that wicked Covenant; and to cast a mist before their eyes, that they may not *only* let down little *gnats*, but also *swallow* this great camel, they would justify the doing thereof by a twofold example.

The first of the *Jewes* in *Ezra's* time, that made a *Covenant* to serve the *Lord*, and to put away their strange *wives*, according to the Law.

4. The detaining of the wages of God's servants.

25. How they are filled with the most destructive sins against their souls.

And if I should parallel the wickednesses of this pretended Parliament with the *Sicilian* Vespers, the *Massacre* of *Paris*, and the *Gunpowder* Treason, it would exceed them all.

3. The wicked Ordinances of the pretended Parliament.

1. Their bloody ordinance.

2. Their sacrilegious ordinance.

Jerem. Lament. 4. 5. & c. 1. v. 11.

3. Their unrighteous ordinances.

4. Their impious ordinance.

Ezra. 10. 5.

& 8.

Nehem. 9. 38.

10. 1.

The

The second of *Christians*, and indeed of *most Christian Kings*, and *Princes*, that is, of *Queene Elizabeth's* assisting the *Hollanders* against the King of *Spain* and of *King Charles* assisting the *Rochellers* against the King of *France*.

To both which examples, and all other things, that are contained either in the *Covenant* it selfe, or the *exhortation* of the *Assembly* thereunto annexed; I do understand, there shall be a full and a perfect answer made by one that hath undertaken the same *ex professo*; yet give me leave in the *interim* to say this much.

1. What vows and covenants are allowable

Gen. 24. 3.

Numb. 30. per totum.

Ob.
Sol.
1.

* See Ezra 7. 11. 12. &c.

3.
For so the text, faith, Let it be done according to the Law. Ezra 10. 3.

2. The examples of Queen Elizabeth and King Charles answered.

1. By way of Divinity.

2. By way of Policy.

First, touching *Covenants* and *Vowes*, it is plain enough, that although the *superior* may with *Ezra* cause the *inferior* to *Vow* or *swear* the performance of his duty, that he is bound by the law of God and nature to performe; so *Abraham* caused his servant to swear *fidelity*, when he sent him for *Isaac's* Wife. And so the King may cause his *Subjects* to take the Oath of their *Allegiance*, and the lawful *General*, cause his *Souldiers* to swear their *fidelity* unto him; yet the *inferior* subject can not swear, or if he swears, he ought not to observe it, when he doth it contrary to the command of him, that hath command over him; as you may see in *Numb. 30.* throughout... Therefore, as *children* may not vow any thing, though it be never so lawful, contrary to their *Fathers* command, or if they do, they ought not to keepe it; so no more may any *Subject* *Vow*, or make a *Covenant*, contrary to their *Kings* command, or if they do, they ought not to observe it, and they are, as you see, absolved by God himself.

If you say *Ezra* and the *Jewes* did it, contrary to the command of *Artaxerxes*, that was then their King. I answer, that it is most false; for,

1. *Ezra* was the *Priest*, *Nehem. 8. 2.* and *9.* and the chief *Prince*, that was then over them, and *Nehemiah* had his authority from the King, and he was the *Tirshatha*, that is, their *governour*, faith the text, *Nehem. 10. 1.* and therefore they might lawfully cause them to take that *Covenant*.

2. They had the leave, and a large commission from *Artaxerxes* to do all that they did; as you may see; neither can you finde any syllable that *Artaxerxes* forbad them to do this in any place.

3. This *Covenant* of *Ezra* and his people, and *Nehemiah's*, was to do those things that they had covenanted before to do, which God had expressly commanded them to do, and which they could not omit, though they had not covenanted to do it, without great offence; so if our covenanters swear they will serve God and be loyal unto their King, as they vowed in their baptism, they shall never finde me to speak against them; but to propose a lawfull *Covenant*, to do those things that God commandeth, and is made with the leave and commission of the supreme Prince, to justifie an unlawfull *Covenant*, to do those things that were never done before, never commanded by God, but forbidden both by God, and especially by the King, in the expressst termes, and most energeticall manner that might be, is such a piece of *Divinity* as I never read the like, and such an argument, a *disfinguli*, that never schollar produced the like.

2. For the examples of *Queen Elizabeth* and *King Charles*, assisting *Subjects* for their Religion sake, against their lawfull Princes, two things may be said; the one in *Divinity*, the other in *Policy*,

First, for *Divinity*, I say, *vivendum est preceptis, non exemplis*, we have the sure word of God to teach us, what we should do, and no examples, unless they be either commended, or allowed in Gods word, ought to be any infallible pattern for us to follow;

Secondly, for *Policy*, which may be justified to be without iniquity, I doubt not, but those men, which knew the secrets of State, and were privy to the causes of their actions, are able to justifie the proceedings of these Princes in their assistance, which perhaps they did not so much simply in respect of their Religion, as of some other State Policy, which we, that are so far from the helme, have no reason to prie unto;

Besides, you may know that neither *King Charles*, nor *Queen Elizabeth* were Subjects to the other Kings, but were every way their equall, if not more, and independent

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independent Princes. And to bring the actions of such *absolute* Monarchs, the one against the other, to justify the actions of *Subjects* against their *Sovereign*, is such *Logick*, as the other example was *Divinity*; Queen *Elizabeth* did so against the King of *Spain*; *ergo*, any *Subject* may do so against his king; or rather Queen *Elizabeth* did that, which for ought we know, was most *lawfull* to be done against the king of *Spain*; *ergo* the Earl of *Essex* may do that, which we do know to be most *unlawfull* against King *Charles*: This is the *doctrine* that they teach their *Profelytes*, but that they give this *poysen* in a golden cup, and hide their *falsehood* under a *shaw* of truth; but I hope ere long, you shall have these things more fully manifested unto you.

How wickedly
they deceive
the simple

CHAP. XX.

Sheweth, how the Rebellious Faction forswore themselves; what trust is to be given to them; how we may recover our peace and prosperity; how they have unking'd the Lords anointed: and for whom they have exchanged him; and the conclusion of the whole.

AND now, having committed all these things, and much more wickednesse then I, though I had the tongue of Angels, can expresse, I am perswaded many of them, seeing the *miraculous* mercies of our God in *protecting* and *assisting* His Majesty, far beyond their thoughts and imaginations, do begin to think on *peace* and *accommodation*, which they presuming on the Kings *lenity* made *sure* to themselves, whensoever they pleased; and indeed, *dulce nomen pacis*; and the feet of them that bring tydings of *peace*, are more specious then the fairest countenance of *Aurora*, then the sweet face of *Helen*; But seeing *righteousnesse* and *peace* have kissed each other, and the Apostle joyneth *grace* and *peace* alwayes together, as two deare friends saith S. Aug. so deare, that *si amicam pacis non amaveris, neque te amabit pax ipsa*: and these men are filled with all *unrighteousnesse*, and have trampled the *grace* of God and their King under feet, and having *sworne* and *forsworne* themselves over and over, as, at their *baptisme*, that they would keep Gods Commandments, whereof this is one, to be obedient unto our Kings; at their *admittance* to any office to beare *faith* and *true allegiance* to His Majesty; at the beginning of this *last* Parliament, to maintain the Kings *just rights* and all the *priviledges* of Parliament, together with the *liberty* and *property* of the Subjects; and yet *immediately* to forget their *faith*, to break all these *oathes*, and to make ship-wrack of their *conscience*, to drive the Bishops out of their *House*, which is one of the *first* and most *fundamentall* priviledges of the Parliament, they being the *first* of the three *Estates* of this Kingdome, to take away, not *some*, but *all* the Kings rights out of his hands, and to make him no King indeed, to take away all our *goods*, our *liberties*, and our *lives* at their pleasure, and then to assure the Diabol they would be *faithfull* unto him, which were thus *faithlesse* unto God, to *swear* again, and make a *solemnie* Covenant with Hell, they would never repent them of their wickednesse, but continue *constant* in his service, till they have rooted out whom they deemed to be *Malignants*; though the King, who is wise as the Angel of God, that hath the Kings *heart* in his hand, and turneth it like the *Rivers* of waters, where he pleaseth, knoweth best what to do, as God directeth him; yet for mine own part, either in *Peace* or *War*, I would never trust such *faithlesse* *perjured* creatures for a straw; and seeing that to spare *transcendent* wickedness is to encrease wickednesse, and to encourage others to the like Rebellion upon the like hope of *pardon*, if they failed of their intention, if our great *Metropolis* of London partake not rather of the wise spirit of the men of *Abel*, then of the *obstinacy* of the men of *Gibeah*, and delivered not unto the King the *chiefe* of those *Rebells* that rose up against him, I feare that Gods *wrath* will not be turned away, but his hand will be stretched out still, until

Esay. 51. 7.

Psal. 85. 10.

Rom. 1. 7.

1 Cor. 3.

2 Cor. 2. &c.

Rom. 13. 1.

1 Pet. 2. 13.

How the Rebels swore and forswore themselves.

Holland and Bedford shew'd what trust is to be given them.

Proverb. 21.

No trust to be given to liars and perjurers.

2 Sam. 20.

20. 16.

Judg. 20.

he

The Rights of Kings, and

How the King
desired the
good of the
Rebels.

The unspeak-
able greatness
of their sins.

How we may
recover the
peace and pro-
sperity of this
Land.

King James his
speech made
true by the
Rebels.

How the Re-
bells have un-
king'd our
King.

Hof. 8. 4.

What kings
they would
have to rule
us.

* Which S. Pe-
ter never bade
us honour.
The Rebels
brave ex-
change,
Psal. 146. 20.

he hath fullfilled his *determined* visitation upon this Land, and consummated all with their *deplorable* destruction, even as he did those obstinate men of *Gibeon* and *Benjamin*; for though the King, beyond the *clemency* of a man, and the *expectation* of any *Rebell*, hath most *Christianly* laboured, that they would *accept* of their pardon, and save *themselves* and their *posterity*; yet their *wickedness*, (being so exceedingly great, beyond all that I can finde in any history, *Rebellion* it *selfe* being like the sin of witchcraft, the *Rebellion* of *Christians* far worse, and a *Rebellion* against a most *Christian* pious Prince worst of all; and such a *Rebellion* ingendered by *pride*, fostered by *lies*, augmented by *perjury*, continued by *cruelty*, refusing all *clemency*, despising all *piety*, and contemning *God* their Saviour, when they make him (with *reverence* be it spoken, which is so *irreverently* done by them) the very *pack-horse* to beare all their wickedness, being a *degree* beyond all degrees of comparison,) hath so *provoked* the wrath of *God* against this Nation, that I feare his *justice* will not suffer their hearts, that can not *repent*, accept and imbrace their own *happiness*, till they be *purged* with the floods of *repentant teares*, or destroyed with the fireames of *Gods* fearefull *vengeance*; which I *heartily* beseech Almighty *God* may (by the grace of *Christ*, working true *repentance* in them for themselves, and reducing them to the *right way*) be averted from them. And the *best way* that I conceive to avert it, to appease *Gods* wrath, and to turne away his *judgements* from us, is to returne back the same way as we proceeded hitherto; to make up the breaches of the Church, to restore the *Liturgie*, and the *service* of our *God* to its former *purity*, to repeale that *Aet*, which is made to the *prejudice* of the *Bishops* and *Servants* of *God*, that they may be reduced to their *pristine* dignity, to recall all *Ordinances* that are made *contrary* to Law, and derogatory to the *Kings* *right*, and to be *heartily* sorry that these *unjust* *Acts* and *Ordinances* were ever done, and *more* sorry that they were not sooner undone; and then *God* will turne his *face* towards us, he will *heale* the bleeding wounds of our Land, and he will powre down his *benefits* upon us; but till we do these things, I do *assure* my selfe, and (I *believe*) you shall finde it, that his *wrath* shall not be turned away, but his *hand* will be stretched out *still* and *still*, untill we either do these things, or be destroyed for *not* doing them.

Thus it is manifest to all the World, that as it was often spoken by our *sharp* and *eagle-eyed* Sovereigne, King *James* of ever blessed memory, *no Bishop no King*: so now (I hope) the dull-ey'd-owle, that lodgeth in the desert, seeth it verified by this Parliament; for they had no sooner got out the *Bishops*, but presently they laid violent hands upon the Crowne, seized upon the *Kings* *Castles*, shut him out of all his *Townes*, dispossessed him of his owne *houses*, took away all his *ships*, detained all his *revenues*, vilified all his *Declarations*, nullified his *Proclamations*, hindered his *Commissions*, imprisoned his faithfull *Subjects*, killed his *servants*, and at *Edge-hill* and *Newbury* did all that ever they could, to take away his life; and now by their last great ordinance for their counterfeite Seale they pronounce all *honours*, *pardons*, *grants*, *commissions*, and whatsoever else His Majesty passeth under his Seale, to be *invalid*, *void*, and of none effect; and if this be not to make King *Charles* no King, I know not what it is to be a King: so they have unking'd him *sine strepitu*; and as the Prophet saith, *they have set up Kings, but not by me; they have made Princes, and I knew it not*; but whom have they made Kings? even *themselves*, who, in one word, do, and have now exercised all, or most of the *regall* power; and their *Ordinances* shall be as firm as any *Statutes*: and what are they, that have thus dis-robed King *Charles*, and exalted themselves like the Pope, as if they were *Antichrists*, the great *Antichrist*, above all that are called *Gods*? truly none other then king *Pym*, king *Say*, king *Fallick*; or to say the truth most truly, and to call a spade a spade, king *perjurers*, king *murderers*, king *traitors*; *and I am sorry that I should joyne so high an office, so sacred a thing as King to such wicked persons, as I have shewed them to be; And what a royal exchange would the Rebels of this kingdome make? just such as the *Israelites* made, when they turned their glory

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glory into the similitude of a Calf that eateth hay, and said, these be thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee out of the Land of Egypt; for now, after they have changed their lawful King for unlawful Tyrants, and taken *Josams* bramble for the cedar of *Lebanon*, the Devils instruments for Gods Anointed, they may justly say, these be thy Kings O Londoners, O Rebels, that brought thee out of a Land that flowed with milke and hony, out of those houses that were filled with all manner of store, into a land of misery; into houses of sorrow, that are filled with wailings, lamentations, and woes, when we see the faithful City is become an harlot, our gold drosse, and our happinesse turned to continual heaviness.

Psal. 146. 20.

Judg. 9. 15.

But, as the *Rutilians*, considering what fruit they should reape by that miserable war, wherein they were so far ingaged, cried out at last,

Virgil Aeneid. l. 12.

Scilicet ut Turno coniugat regia conjux;

Nos anima vilem, inhumata, inflet aequa turba

Sternamur campis. —

We undo our selves, our wives, and our children, to gain a wife for *Turnus*: so our seduced men may say, we ingage our selves to dye like doggs, that these rebels may live like Kings, who themselves sit at ease, while others endure all woes, and do grow rich by making all the Kingdome poore: and therefore O England,

—qua tanta est licentia ferri?

lugebit patria multos.

when as the Apostle saith, *evil men and seducers wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived*; for God is not mocked, but *whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap*; for, though we for our sins may justly suffer these, and many other more miseries; we do confesse it: yet the whole world may be assured, that these Rebels, the generation of vipers, being but the Rod of Gods fury, to correct the offences of his children, such seeds of wickedness as they sow, can produce none other harvest, then ruine and destruction to all these *usurping Kings*, and *Traytors*, who thinke to please God by doing good service unto the Devil, and to go to Heaven for their good intention, after they are carried into Hell for their horrid Rebellion.

2 Tim. 3. 13.
Gal. 6. 7.

The Rebels sure to be destroyed.
Contemptuous Superb, severe and avoidist.
ma cedis, et violenta fuit;
scires de sanguine natam.
2 Sam. 7. 1.

God Almighty grant them more grace, and our King more care to beware of them, and when God doth grant him rest with *David*, on every side round about him, to restore his Bishops and Clergy to their *pristine* station, that when these *bramble rods* are burnt, and these rebels fallen, the King and the Bishops may still stand like *Moses* and *Aaron* to guide and governe Gods people committed to their charge.

And thus I have shewed thee O man, some of the sacred rights of royal Majesty, granted by God in his holy Scriptures, practised by Kings from the beginning of the world, yeilded by all nations, that had none other guide, but the light of nature to direct them; I have also shewed thee, how the people, greedy of liberty and licentiousnesse, have like the true children of old *Adam*, that could not long endure the sweet yoke of his Creator, strived and struggled to withdraw their necks from that subjection (which their condition required, and their forwardnesse necessitated to be imposed upon them) and thereby have either graciously gained such love and favour from many pious and most clement Princes, as for the sweetning of their well merited subjection, to grant them many immunities and priviledges, or have most rebelliously intrenched upon these rights of Kings, wresting many liberties out of the hands of Government and forcibly retaining them to their own advantage, sometimes to the overthrow of the royal government (as *Junius Brutus* and his associates did the Kings of *Rome*) sometimes to the diminution of the *dimidium*, if not more then halfe his right (as the *Ephori* did to the kings of *Lacedemon*) but alwayes to the great prejudice of the king, and the greater mischief to the Common-wealth; because both reason and experience hath found it alwayes true, that the *regal Government*, or Monarchical State, though it might sometimes happen to prove tyrannical, is

far more acceptable unto God, as being his own prime and proper ordinance, most agreeable unto nature, and more profitable unto all men, then either the Aristocratical or Popular Government, either hath, or possibly can be; for, as it is most true, that *præstat sub malo principe esse, quam sub nullo*, it is better to live under an ill Governour, then where there is no Government; to *præstat sub uno tyranno vivere, quam sub mille*, it is better to be under the command of one tyrant then of a thousand, as we are now under these Rebels: who being not, *sax Romuli*, the worst of the Nobility, but *sax populi*, the dregs of the people, indigent Mechanicks, and their Wives captivated Citizens, together with the rabble of seduced Sectaries, have so disloyally inroached upon the rights of our King, and so rebelliously usurped the same, to the utter subversion both of Church and Kingdom, if God himself, who hath the hearts of all Kings in his hand, and turneth the same, wheresoever he pleaseth, had not most graciously strengthened his Majesty with a most singular and heroick resolution, assisted with perfect health from the beginning of their insurrection to this very day, to the admiration of his enemies, and the exceeding joy and comfort of his faithfull Subjects, and with the best aide and furtherance of his chiefeft Nobility, of all his learned and religious Clergy, his grave and honest Lawyers, and the truly worthy Gentry of his whole Kingdom, to withstand their most treacherous, impious, barbarous, and I know not how to expresse the wickednesse of their most horrid attempts: so thou hast before thee life and death, fire and water, good and evil.

Luk. 9. 24.

And therefore, I hope that this will move us (which have our eyes open, to behold the great blessings, and the many almost miraculous deliverances and favours of God unto his Majesty, and to consider the most horrible destruction that this war hath brought upon us) to fear God and to honour our King, to hate the Rebels and to love all loyal Subjects; to do our uttermost endeavour to quench this devouring flame, and to that end, with hand and heart, and with our fortunes and with the hazard of our lives (which, as our Saviour saith, shall be saved if they be lost) to assist his Majesty to subdue these Rebels, to reduce the Kingdom to its pristine government, and the Church to her former dignity, that so we may have, through the mercy of God, peace and plenty, love and unity, faith and true religion, and all other happinesse remaining with us, to the comfort of our King, and the glory of our God, through Jesus Christ our Lord; To whom with his Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all honour, thanks, prayse, and dominion for ever and ever, Amen, Amen.

Jehova liberatori.

F I N I S.

Errata.

P. 49. l. 35. dele not. p. 5. l. 50. for make, r. made. p. 9. l. 23. for hand, r. had. p. 27. l. 53. dele can. p. 39. l. 25. r. right to be. p. 51. l. 54. r. this day. p. 54. l. 37. dele and. p. 61. l. 21. r. that denied repentance. p. 63. l. 30. r. the same hope. p. 95. l. 18. for justice & injustice. p. 105. l. 49. for ye r. ye.

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PSAL. 39. 5.

*Verily, every man living, or, in his best estate,
is altogether Vanity: Sela.*



O U R Blessed Lord and Saviour saith, *the night cometh, when no man can work*; therefore I must work the Works of him that sent me whilst it is day; and S. Paul tells us, *the time will come when men will not endure sound Doctrine, but after their own lusts they shall heap to themselves Teachers, that is, Teachers enough, in every place, and every time, to the world* &c. *omnipotens* signifieth; but what kind of Teachers shall they heap unto themselves? the Apostle tells you, they shall be teachers *after their own lusts*, that is, such Teachers of the new Order, as will study rather to satisfy *their lusts*, and to preach what they please best, than to edifie their soules.

And I believe all wise men see, that time is now, and not till now, fully come; therefore it behoves all the *true Teachers* to bestir themselves to work the works of him that sent them while it is day, while they have any time, and while there is any *true Light* yet remaining, before the sad night and darksome clouds of Errours and Heresies be grown so far, and to prevail so much against the Truth, that you shall scarce find any place or person, where or by whom the new lights may be confronted, and the old Truth confirmed unto us.

So it behoveth me, and it is my duty, to employ my Talent to the *utmost* of my power against these *false Prophets* of the Great Antichrist, that is now come into the world, and by these heaps of his *Emisaries*, laboureth quite to overthrow the Church of Christ.

And as Clement recordeth, that when Barnabas came to Rome, to preach the Gospel of Christ, and divers rejected it, he briefly said, *In vestra potestate est, vel recipere quæ annuntiamus, vel spernere*; It is in your choice, either to receive what we teach, or to reject it; but we may not be silent, and not speak *quod vobis expedire novimus*; what we know to be expedient and necessary for you, *quia nobis si taceamus, damnum est, & vobis, quæ dicimus si non recipiatis, perniciem est*; so say I.

Clem. Recog.
l. i. p. 6.

And therefore, that you may be *something*, and so happy, I beseech you listen to these words; that testify, that in your selves, you are *nothing* but Vanity. For *verily, every man* —

And the nearest way to exchange this Vanity for Eternity, and so to make us happy that are in misery, is to *know* our own vanity, and to understand our own misery: For Knowledge, saith Hugo Card. is the way to God, and understanding,

Psal. 49. 12, & 13. saith the Prophet David, is that which *distinguisheth* and differenceth man from beast; for man, though he be never so great in *honour*, never so powerful in *place*, and never so rich in *wealth*, yet, if he hath no *understanding*, he is compared to the beasts that perish.

And the two *chiefest* parts, which are like the Body and Soul of all the Knowledge that makes us happy, are these two Precepts, so much commended, and so often urged unto us, even by the Heathens themselves, that yet notwithstanding were destitute of all *true* Knowledge, that could make them happy, because they knew *rightly* neither of those two things that they so much commended; which were,

1. *γινῶσι τον θεον*, Know God.

2. *γινῶσι σεαυτον*, Know thy self.

} For,

John 17. 3.

1. To know God the only way to make us happy.

1. Our Saviour tells us, *this is eternal Life to know God (i.e.) to know the Father to be the only true God, and whom he hath sent, Jesus Christ*: For the Heathens knew, that God alone is the *summum bonum*, and the only true and perfect Eternity, to which all men naturally have a *propensity* and desire to be united; but yet cannot, because they know him not; and therefore is that Precept, to know him, so often urged.

The reason why we know not so much of God as should make us happy

And the reason why we know not so much of God as we should, and which should make us happy, is, because we know not *our selves*; we know not our own *vanity* and misery: for the nearest way to bring us to Eternity, is to understand our own *vanity*, and the first step to happiness is, to know our selves to be *unhappy*, and that this unhappiness was derived unto us by that *sad accident* of sin, which separated us from God, who is felicity and eternity, and made us wholly to become vanity, and replenished with all misery: and therefore,

2. To know our selves, the best way to know God.

2. The very Philosophers could tell us, that to *know our selves* is the ready way both to know God, and to enjoy God: For as he that knoweth God, will never relie on *himself*, so he that knoweth himself, will alwaies seek to rely on God, because he seeth his own *vanity*, his weakness, and his frailty to be such and so great, that he cannot subsist without God; and therefore Socrates, seeing this sentence, *γινῶσι σεαυτον*, *Know thy self*, engraven upon the Portal of the Temple of Apollo, and considering with himself that there could be no *access* unto God, but through his *House*, and no entrance into the House, but by the *Door*; and then seriously musing with himself, why this Sentence should be set upon the *door*, he concluded, that the *readiest way* to come to God, was to *know himself*; and therefore he left the *course* and practise of other Philosophers, that searched into the motions of the *Heavens*, and the influence of the *Planets*, and applied their studies *rerum cognoscere causas*, to understand the *causes* of all natural things, which they conceived was the only thing that could make them happy, and bring them to enjoy the *summum bonum*; and he gave himself wholly to learn the knowledge of himself, and he conceived there was no *folly* comparable to this, to be painful and diligent to know *all other things*, and to be ignorant and know nothing of *himself*; to study *Arts* and Sciences, and to forget *himself*; and therefore *non se quaesiveris extra*, but he employed all his time and his pains to know *himself*; because he conceived that the knowledge of *himself* would be more beneficial to him than the knowledge of all other physical things whatsoever: For which cause and no other, the Oracle, seeing him preferring the *moral* Philosophy before the *Natural*, pronounced him the wisest man in *Greece*, not because his knowledge was more *complete*, or his sufficiency *greater* than others, but because his knowledge of himself was far *better* than the knowledge of others that studied *other things*, and neglected to understand *themselves*.

And no marvel, that the Oracle should proclaim him for the *wisest* man that doth best know himself; because it is not only very good and profitable, but also a very *hard* and difficult thing for a man fully and *truly* to know himself; that is, to know,

Not

Not only the *quiddities* and the *qualities* both of his body and of his soul, which notwithstanding in themselves are most *admirable* and excellent, if we consider,

1. The *Parts* and composition of the *Body*, which as the Prophet saith, are *fearfully and wonderfully made*, yea so *admirably* composed, that *Galen* saith, the true expression, or the right *Anatomization* of them, is as an *holocaust*, or Sacrifice, most acceptable to God, that hath by that *excellent* compofure of this *incomparable* structure, shewed his own most *incomprehensible* wisdom; as you see, the *least* finger, and the *least* Joynt of any Finger, hath his *use*, and cannot be spared by any means.

Galenus de usu partium.

1. The admirable structure of mans body.

2. That far more *noble* part of man, that *Spark* of heavenly fire, and *immortal* spirit, which is his *Soul*, in the Original, Essence, Faculties, Operations, Use, End, and the like, *almost* infinite Points thereof, wherein and about which the best Philosophers have so *puzzled* themselves, that they rather bewrayed their own *Ignorance*, than truly expressed any point of the most necessary knowledge of this Substance, as learned *Suarez*, in his voluminous work *de Anima*, sheweth; and *Aristotle* himself confesseth, when he saith, that the more *knowledge* a man hath of these things, the more *occasion* of doubting is offered unto him; which made him as many men think, to define the Soul to be *ὁ ἀνθρώπου, corporis phisici & organici vitam habentis potentia*; which is *ignotum per ignotius*, a definition *harder*, or at least as hard to be understood, as the thing defined. Whenas *Cicero*, reading *ὁ ἀνθρώπου* for *ὁ ἀνθρώπου*, translateth the same to signifie a *continued* and *perpetual* motion, which is far short of the right definition of the Soul.

2. The difficulties of understanding the particularities of the Soul.

Arist. de Anima, l. 2. c. 1. tex. 6.

Cicero, l. 1. Tarsul. q.

What man should chiefly know concerning himself.

But especially to know mans *Original*, how he came into the world, his *duty*, what he should do, and how he should behave himself, while he continueth in the world; his *state* and condition, how he standeth in relation to his God that made him, preserveth him, and giveth to him all that he hath, while he liveth in this world, and what shall *become* of him when he dieth, and departeth out of this world; these, and the like Considerations concerning man, are *hard* to know, and few men do *learn* them, which is the reason that few do attain to *Eternal* Life.

Yet as the Poet saith,

Plaga dam Animum.

What effects Afflictions do work in us.

And as *S. Greg.* saith, *Oculos quos culpa claudis, poena aperit*; the eyes which sin and transgressions have blinded, afflictions and punishments have opened; because, as the Greek proverb saith, *πενιματα μαδιματα*, Persecutions bring *Institutions*, and suffering teacheth *understanding*; as the Children of *Jacob*, being questioned and afflicted in *Egypt*, about their Brother, whom they had sold unto the *Ishmaelites*, had their eyes opened, and their *sin*, which for so many years they had buried in the *Grave* of Forgetfulness, and in the *Pit*, where they had thrown their Brother, is now *revived*, and makes them to confess, and to say one to another, *We are verily guilty concerning our Brother, in that we saw the anguish of his Soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us*; and so Crosses and Afflictions do reduce our sins unto our remembrance, and extort *Confession* of their Misdeeds from many others.

Gen. 42. 35.

And therefore the Prophet *David*, either upon the consideration of *Abolons* unnatural Rebellion and Persecution of him, that was both his *King* and his *Father*; or of some other *violent* and virulent Temptation that had seized upon him, or else upon a *Prophetical* foresight of the Captivity of his people in *Babylon*, as he sheweth in another place, saying, *By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept when we remembered thee O Sion*; or, as others think, upon the consideration of the *sad state*, and distressed condition of many good Christians labouring under the *Cross*, and Persecutions in this world, he composeth this most *Excellent Psalm* of the brevity and *shortness* of mans life, that he need not fear,

What moved the Prophet David to compose this Psalm?

Psalm 137. 1.

The Vanitie

he shall continue long in affliction; and he directeth the same to *Jedushim*, a chief Musician, because the *chiefest* Artift can give *most grace*, and the best life to any thing; and *the best is best cheap*, Physitian, Preacher, Lawyer, or whom you will.

And here in this Verse which I have read unto you, the holy Prophet endeavouring to teach us how we may *overcome* all our maladies and perturbations, even as himself had done, with *patience*, he setteth down a brief definition, or rather a short description of man; not *Phylosophically* with *Aristotle*, to teach us what he is in his *Essence*, *Animal rationale risibile*, a reasonable and a sociable creature, but *Theologically*, by the light of Gods Spirit, to instruct us what he is in his *state* and condition, and that is, *Animal miserabile mortale*, a most miserable mortal wretch, a worm and no man, a vain thing, or meer vanity, and that is to be understood while he liveth in *this world*; for as all Divines conclude, there be three states of man.

A brief Theological description of man.

That there be three states of man.

1. *Institutionis*. 2. *Destitutionis*. 3. *Restitutionis*. That is, 1. Of his *Innocency*, in Paradise, where he was created in holiness and true righteousness, after the very Image of God himself.

2. Of his *sinfull condition*, and corruption, while he liveth here now in this world.

3. Of his *Restoration*, begun here by *grace* in this life, and perfected with *glory* in the life to come.

Of what state of man the Prophet speaketh.

And, as *Origen* well observeth, the Prophet *David* describeth here, not what we were in our Creation, nor what we shall be in our Glorification, but what we are now in our *natural* state and corrupted condition of our peregrination, or pilgrimage here in this world, whereof he saith, *Verily, every man living, or every man in his best estate, is altogether vanity*.

Where summarily, you may see, that *Man* is the subject of the Discourse, and *Vanity* is the *Possession*, the *Inheritance*, and the definition of every man; for though God made not *Death*, but made man for perpetuity to be united to himself in all Eternity; yet *Sin* brought forth death into the world, and *Death* went over all, and so all are become nothing but *meer vanity*.

The difference betwixt Vanity and Eternity seen.

And truly, there cannot be a greater *contrariety* betwixt light and darkness, or a further *distance* betwixt East and West, Heaven and Hell, than is betwixt *Vanity* and *Eternity*, as you may see by the *Names* of the one, and the *Nature* of the other; For,

1. By the names of Vanity.

1. *Vanity*, which the *Greeks* and the *Septuagint* here call *ματαιότης*, the *Hebrews*, to shew the *nature* of it, do express the same by many very significant words (as the Learned in that language do declare) and especially by these four words.

1. *Elil*.

1 Cor. 8. 4.

ἡ δὲ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ

οὐκ ἐστὶν ὡς τῶν ἀνθρώπων

ἡ δὲ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ

What the following after Vanities doth bring to us.

Plat. 97. 4.

James 5. 1.

καὶ οἱ πλούτιοι τῆς γῆς

οὐλοῦνται καὶ λυγρύνονται

2. *Hebel*.

1. By *Elil*, which they say, signifieth *nothing*, or a thing of no moment; in which sense, *St. Paul* saith, *That an Idol is nothing in this world*; as if he had said, An Idol is *Al-el*, not God; because the Idols are not *Elohim*, Gods that shall continue, but *Elilim*, that is things of nothing, and things, which shall be reduced into nothing.

And the *Hebrews* say, that this word *Elil* hath great affinity with the verb *lalal*, which signifieth to *boast*; because the following after Vanities, and the vain things of this world, or the serving of *Idols* and worshipping of Images, which is the vainest thing in the world, can bring nothing unto us, but *weeping* and *howling*, which the *Latines* call *Ulutus*, and *Ulutus* is derived from the Greek word *ὄλλω*, or *ὄλλω*, that signifieth *Perire* & *in nihilum redigere*, to perish, and be utterly undone, or to be reduced into nothing; even as the Psalmist saith of all Idolaters, *Confounded be all they that worship carved Images, and shall delight in vain gold*; and as *St. James* saith of those rich *Worldlings*, that follow after the vanities of this world, *Weep and howl, for your miseries that shall come upon you*.

2. By *Hebel*, which in *Eccles. 1. 1.* is written *Habel*, from the verb *Habal*, which

which signifieth to *vanish* as a thing, *Qua non est quidpiam, aut qua cito desinit*; which either is not any thing at all, or which suddenly perisheth, like unto a blast, either is nothing, or is of such a short continuance, as though it were nothing at all; *Sic enim Infantem Hebraei balatum appellant*; for so the *Hebrews* do call their Infants blasts, saith *Santes Pagninus*; and such a blast was *Habel*, whose righteous soul by an unexpected death was suddenly blown up to heaven, to cry against the unnatural cruelty of his brother.

And accordingly to this signification of *Habel*, the *Greeks* express the same thing by *vanile*, of *vanilo*, *vilescere*, to grow vile, and to be of no validity, or no worth in the world, as are all the things of this world, in comparison of the heavenly things, no better than dung and dross as the Apostle speaketh. Philip. 3. 8.

3. By *Caza*, which signifieth a lie, and hath great affinity with the verb *Caschaph*, to bewitch, as they are, as it were bewitched, that are seduced to believe lies instead of truth; even as St. *Paul* saith unto the *Galatians*, *Who hath bewitched you?* That is, deceived and seduced you, from the truth of the Gospel, to believe the lies and false doctrine of the Hereticks, and the new-fangled Preachers that are amongst you? And so the Prophet *David* calleth all the vain things of this world, *Lying vanities*, saying, *O ye sons of men, how long will ye blaspheme mine honour, and have such pleasure in vanity, and seek after leasing?* That is, such lying things as do bewitch men, to love them, and to hunt after them, like those little children that run up and down all day long to catch *Amur-bys* or *Feathers*, and when they have catched them, they have nothing but such fruitless things as are of no value, but like the Spiders web, that will be no garment for them.

3. Caza.

Gal. 3. 1.

Psal. 4. 2.

4. By *Rik*, which signifieth inanity or *vanity*, from whence the word *Raka*, that our Saviour useth in the Gospel, and is taken for a fool, whose head is empty, and void of all understanding, is derived; for as when Kings are deprived of their Sovereignty, dispoised of their power, dis-joynd from their Regality, they are as no bodies, I am sure no Kings; and as Bishops silenced from preaching, and secluded from their Offices, are no Bishops, but, as when *Cypri* are separated from their *Figures*, they do make just nothing at all, though they should be never so many, even so the creature dis-joynd from God, and opposed to the Creator, and so likewise shadows opposed to the substance, darkness to the light, lies unto the truth, and all finite things to eternity; they are *inania* most vain, and nothing but *privations*, or things that do suddenly vanish into nothing.

4. Rik.

Out of all which words, and the like, that are used to explain this *Vanity*, that Definition of *Aristotle* may well stand, *Vanum id est, quod ordinatum est ad aliquod finem ad finem, & non potest attingere*; that is vanity, which cannot attain unto the end for which it was appointed; for so the Prophet *Esay*, after he had preached a long time, and had made many Sermons for the amendment of the *Jews*, and yet could no more recal that stiffnecked people from their abominations, then we can reclaim our hearers from their transgressions, crieth out, *Ecce vacui laboravi, I have laboured in vain; I have spent my strength for naught*; and so man by his sin and disobedience unto his God, not attaining unto his end, that is, his Union and communion with God, for which he was created, and by which he should have enjoyed an everlasting happy Being, is now become vain, and liable to be reduced to an eternal miserable Being, and to a far worse condition than an everlasting nothing. And so you see what is *Vanity*.

Arist. Physic. 1. 2.

Isa. 49. 4.

But 2. The opposite thereof, which is *Verity*, and is derived *a vero*, from that which is a thing real, and not fained, or else *a vere*, from the Spring-time, because the Truth is always fresh, and *springeth*, and is sufficient to subsist of it self, and will prevail, as *Zorobabel* saith, against all assaults; and such a thing is *Eternity*, which is diametrically opposed unto *Vanity*, and is called by the *Greeks* *Aionia*, that is, *Inextinguibilis* *vir a finem tota & perfectio possessio*, an infinite boundless gulph of time, which no *hom* can fathom, no *lingua* can express, saith *Beatus* because

Beatus de consol. solas. Philosoph. 1. 5.

Cicero de Nat.
Deorum, l. 1.

because not only if you do retrospect and look backward into the time past, you shall find, that, as Cicero saith, *Fuit quaedam ab infinito tempore aeternitas, quam nulla circumscriptio temporum metiebatur*; there hath been a certain Eternity from an infinite space of time, which no circumscription of time could measure; *sed qualis ea spatio fuerit, intelligi non potest*, but what manner of space that should be, cannot be understood, *quod nec in cogitationem quidem cadit, ut fuerit tempus aliquod, nullum cum tempus esset*; neither can it fall into the thought of man to consider truly, how any time should be, when as yet there was no time: but also if you look forward, into the time to come, you shall find that when there shall be neither Sun nor Moon; which are appointed to be the measure of time, yet there will be an endless infinite space of time, that cannot be terminated.

What time is,
and how expressed.
Apuleius de
dogm. Platonis.

And Apuleius, the Platonist, saith, that time is but the Image of Eternity, and that time moveth, but Eternity moveth not, being naturally fixed, and eternally immovable; and also that time passeth towards Eternity, and endeth in the Perfection thereof, the time being dissolved whensoever the Creator of this world pleaseth; but Eternity abiding for ever.

Eternity how
expressed.

And in this respect the Egyptians; that taught all by Hieroglyphicks, represented Eternity by a Circle, which had neither beginning nor ending; and for the same cause, Numa Pompilius, that was unto the Romans, as Moses was unto the Jews, the Author of all their Religion and Religious Ceremonies, and others; the ancient Pontifices of the Romans, erected their Temples, which they dedicated unto their gods, whom they conceived to be eternal, in a circular form; and Mercurius Trismegistus, one of the most ancient Philosophers that we read of, expressed this Eternity by an intellectual Sphere, whose Center is every where, and Circumference nowhere; because Eternity cannot be bounded within any compass, nor terminated by any Limits.

The difference
betwixt Eter-
nity and Per-
petuity.

And the difference which these wise men assigned, betwixt Eternity and Perpetuity is this, that Eternity is that which hath neither beginning of dayes, nor end of time, as is God alone, and none else; but perpetuity is that, which though it had a beginning, yet it shall never have an end, as are the Angels both good and bad, and the Soules of all men, both the righteous and unrighteous.

All men desire
perpetuity, and
to be united to
Eternity.

And therefore it is naturally ingrafted in the Soul of every man to affect perpetuity, and to desire to have an Union and Communion with God, which is Eternity; because as S. August. saith, God made us for himself, that we might be perpetually with him; *& ideo irrequietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in eo*; and therefore, as no Element, no thing, can rest satisfied and contented, until it cometh to its own proper place, as the fire to be on high, and the stone to come to the bottom; so our hearts can never attain to any true rest, until they do rest in God; and nothing in the world can satisfy the mind of man, but that which is above man; neither can all the Gold of Ophir, all the Sand of Tagus, all the Treasures of Egypt, all the riches of the World, and all the allectives under Heaven, make a proportionable Object to satisfy the Soul of man; for seeing, as some Philosophers have observed, the heart of man is after a sort made triangle wise, and the world circular, therefore as a Globe can never fill a triangular figure, so no more can the whole world replenish the vast corners and the illimited desires of mans heart.

How the hea-
thens affected
to have an uni-
on with Eter-
nity.

Therefore the very Heathens, that knew no more of God than what Nature taught them, had an earnest desire to attain unto an Union with this Eternity; as we read how Cleombrotus, hearing the Philosophers discoursing of the excellency of Eternity, and the Felicity of the soul united unto the Deity, in an over-hasty desire of this Union, tumbled himself voluntarily to death, that his soul might presently enjoy that happy Life; and Socrates smiled upon his Hemlock, that his Adversary gave him to dispatch his life, while he assured himself, that it would send him from this mortal Frailty unto eternal felicity.

And not only these particular men, and the like learned Philosophers, and wisest sort of men, but we read also, how those famous Nations of the Brachmans, Indians,

Indians, Persians, and indeed all other Pagans whatsoever, had this desire of Immortality and Eternity imprinted in their hearts by the pen of Nature.

And no marvel; for as thou canst not like so well of the longest Lease of thy House or Lands, as of the Free-hold and Perpetuity; so there can be no true rest, nor any satisfying content, in any transient thing, but only in that which is perpetual; for when we have improved our Ambition to our own content, even to the height of our hearts desire, and have attained to so much happiness as this world can afford us, and are become the only men both in Court and Countrey, both in Church and State, and as able to do so much in the Ecclesiastical Affairs, as Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia could do with Constantine, the Arian Emperor; and as much in the Political State, as Haman could do with Ahasuerus, Sejanus with Tiberius, or Hebraem Bassa with Saladin, the Great Turk, who were the only Favorites, that were most powerful with these great Monarchs, and as dearly beloved of them, as Ephesion was of Alexander; or more than this, could we come to be the Pope, that challengeth to be the Head of the Church, or to be such a Monarch as was Alexander, Nebuchadnezzar, or the most Illustrious of all the Roman Emperours, yet then, we may be cut off with Belshazzar, in the midst of our dayes; or if we can be permitted to spin the Thread of our Lives, to the fulness of years, yet at last, and that soon enough, time and age will take us down, and we shall bring our years to an end, even as a Tale that is told; and then as Job saith, the eye that saw us, shall see us no more, and the men that feared us, shall fear us no more; but seeing that, as Solomon saith, a living Dog is better than a dead Lion, the poor living Snakes, that are now trode upon by the Tyrants and Oppressors of this world, may then tread upon the Graves, and trample upon the necks of their greatest persecutors; even as Diogenes did upon those buried Kings and Princes, amongst whom he sought for the bones of King Philip, but could not distinguish them from the bones of a Peasant.

Why they desired perpetuity.

But what of that? What matter of all this? when as the Divinity of the School of Epicurus is, that after death there remaineth nothing of us to be any waies prejudiced, not any thing any waies at all: and the Doctrine of the Stoicks is nothing different, when as Seneca, though he seemed to be a friend to that Principle of the Immortality of the Soul, yet this is one of his proper Aphorismes, that non potest esse miser qui nullus est; he cannot be a wretched man that is no man; and to shew that after death, there is no more tidings of any man, he writes unto Marcia, quod mors omnium est solutio, ultra quam mala nostra non exeunt, that death is the resolution and period of all things, beyond which our evils cannot extend; and Cicero tells us, that his friend Atticus was hardly perswaded to believe the immortality of the Soul; and before him Cebes in Plato, was of the same mind, and Dicaearchus that, as Cicero saith, wrote three Books of the mortality of the soul, and Panteius, whom Cicero in all his Offices doth so much commend, and so often imitate, and divers Philosophers, as Epicurus and Democritus, that lived in the time of Alexander the Great, were in like manner so blinded by the devil, as not only to doubt, but also to believe this damnable Doctrine; and Pliny judgeth this Doctrine to be puerile deliramentum, a childish simplicity; and so likewise Cecilius, as Arnobius testifieth, calleth these Tenets of the Christians Anniles Christianorum Fabulas, old wives Fables; and Nicephorus writeth, that Synesius the Platonist, quoad alia qua Christiani proficiuntur, promptum se & facilem praebeat, approved well of all other points that the Christians professed, sed Resurrectionis doctrinam nefandam ac detestandam judicavit, but the Doctrine of the Resurrection he liked not; and the Poets cried out with Theocritus,

How many men denied the immortality of the soul, and the life that is to come.

Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 2. c. 7. Arnob. in 6th.

Nicephorus, l. 14. c. 55.

Non est Spes ulla sepulchri.

But as Camillus saith, though Soles occidere & redire possunt, the Sun and Moon may lie down and rise again, yet, nobis cum semel occidis brevis lux, nox est perpetua una dormienda; when once our short life is fallen down, we shall have one perpetual night

Carul. Lat. P. 3.

might to sleep; and so *Lucretius* and *Ennius*, and many more, were of the same faith.

And which is wonderfull, in the School of Christ, we finde some of the same minde, as of old time, *Hymenæus* and *Phileas*, with whom joynted the *Valentinians*, *Carpocratians*, *Cerdonians*, *Gnosticks*, *Marcionites*, *Selucians*, *Manichees*, *Hieracites*, *Priscillianists*, and the rest of that litter, as *Saturinus*, *Basilides*, *Secundus*, *Marcus*, *Appelles*, and some of the Popes themselves, with *John* the 23, and *Leo* the 10, that as they were transcendently wicked, so they were wickedly tainted with this error, and liked not of this truth; and many more of their associates in these our own dayes, that following *Hobbs* his *Leviathan* have fallen away from the faith, and as if, *per uanum animarum*, the souls of these Hereticks had entred into their bodies, they will neither believe the resurrection of the body, nor the immortality of their souls, and therefore they labour not for their union with this Eternity.

— Yea, and that which is more to be admired, such is the corruption of our nature, and the madness of our mindes, that although the continual sight, and most sensible apprehension of our vanity, and the shortness of our lives in this world, mingles all our best wine with most bitter waters, and puts a stop unto our pleasures, and many sad thoughts into our heads, and perplexities into our hearts; yea, though it seemeth that there is in a man a kinde of inclination and disposition of nature, and an earnest desire to continue and perpetuate his being; and that it is a thing universally, religiously (because it is the principal foundation of all Religion) and peaceably received and concluded throughout all the Christian world, especially by an outward and publick profession; that the soul of man is immortal, and shall so continue for ever, and that there shall be a resurrection of the body, and another life after this; yet seriously and inwardly in their hearts, not onely the *Epicures*, and the Hereticks aforesnamed, and the *Sadduces*, the greatest Lords of the *Jews*, that did not stick with open mouth to deny it, but also the greatest part of these our Christian Professours, as I fear, do believe neither the immortality of the soul, nor the resurrection of the dead, nor any other life after this, the short life of their vanity.

For is it possible that men should be so haughty, and so proud, so covetous, and such oppressors of their Neighbours, so sacrilegious, and such robbers and spoylers of God himself, as we see men are, so as the Poet saith,

Unde habent, cura est paucis, sed oportet habere.

Is it possible, I say, they should be such, if they did believe, that their souls are immortal, that after this momentary life of their vanity, their bodies shall awake and rise out of their graves, and that Christ shall come to judge them according to the works they have done in this life; and as he saith himself, *To render unto everyone as his deeds shall be*? No surely, it cannot be, that they do believe these things; but, as the Fool, whatsoever he profess with his mouth to deceive the world, yet said in his heart, *There is no God*; so they, whatsoever they say in words, yet *falsis negant*, their deeds tell us to their faces, that they do but dissemble, and deceive themselves, but they cannot deceive God, nor all wise men, that will rather believe their own eyes, in what they see them do, than their words, in what they say they do believe.

And therefore as when *Carbo* swore any thing in the Senate, the Senators and the people of *Rome* presently sware they did not believe him: So, when these sacrilegious persons, and these grievous oppressors of the poor, and the rooters out of the innocent from their possessions, do profess that they believe these things, I do profess unto you, that *I believe them not*. But as *Apollodorus*, the Tyrant, dreamed, that he was taken and dead by the *Scythians*, and his heart thrown into a boyling Caldron, should say unto him, *I am the cause of all this mischief*; so I say, The hearts of these men deceive them, for as the Wise man

saith,

That many worldly professors of the Christian Religion, do believe neither the immortality of the soul, nor the resurrection of their bodies, nor any other life after this life,

What a perfidious fellow *Carbo* was.

What *Apollodorus* dreamed

saith, *The heart is deceitfull above all things*; and for a man to deceive himself is the worse deceit in the world; for excepting the worst of thoughts, which is the thought of the Fool, that said in his heart, *There is no God*; there cannot be a more brutish and perverse thought than to imagine that the soul perisheth when the body is dissolved; for what need we care what evil we do, what need we fear what Judge condemn us, or why should we abstain from any of our desires, if our souls dye, when our bodies are dead?

But to shew you, that whatsoever they say, yet they do not believe in any eternal being, either of body or soul after the end of this their vanity: I pray you look into an excellent Book, though sleighted by some Fanatick spirits where the Wise-man sheweth how the prophane worldlings, and the worldly Atheists do make this conclusion of their incredulity, to be the ground and foundation of all their impieties; for they say, but not aright, *Our life is short and tedious, and in the death of a man there is no remedy, neither was there any man known to have returned from the grave; for we are born at all adventure, and we shall be hereafter as though we had never been, for the breath in our nostrils is as smoak, which being extinguished, our body shall be turned into ashes, and our spirit shall vanish as the soft air.* This is their faith, and therefore they make this conclusion, saying, *Come let us enjoy the good things that are present, and let us speedily use the creatures like as in youth, let us fill our selves with costly Wine and Oynments, and let no flower of the Spring pass by us, let us crown our selves with Rose-buds before they be withered; let none of us go without part of his voluptuousness, for this is our portion, and our lot is this, Let us oppress the poor righteous man, let us not spare the widow, nor reverence the ancient gray hairs of the aged; let our strength be the Law of Justice, and let us lye in wait for the righteous.* And this was the very reasoning of *Sardanapalus*.

The former point proved:

Sap. 2. 1, 2, 3.

cap. eod. v. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, &c.

Ede, bibe, lude, post mortem nulla voluptas.

There is no felicity after death, therefore soul take thine ease, sit down and be merry; and I fear it is the occasion of so much wickedness in many men, and of such a deluge of sin in these dayes, that doth overflow both the Church and Commonwealth to the destruction and ruine of many thousand souls, that in their hearts they scarce believe their souls to be immortal, or that there shall be ever any resurrection of their bodies, or any account to be given for what they do, for so you see the reason why they oppress the poor, and rob both God and man, and satisfie themselves with all kinde of delights, because their breath in their nostrils is as smoak, which being extinguished, their bodies shall be turned into ashes, and their spirit, as they suppose, shall vanish as the soft air.

And truly, I think the conclusion very good, if there were any truth in the premises; for though *Plato* and *Socrates* and *Seneca*, and the like vertuous men did so much love vertue, for the very beauty of vertue, and did hate vice onely for the ugliness of vice; and *Anselmus* is reported to have said, he had rather to be vertuous, though severely punished for it, than be vicious, though never so highly rewarded; yet, because these Ejaculations spring from more than ordinary knowledge, no less than some sparks of the motions of Gods Spirit, which God sometimes wrought in the hearts of the Heathens, and much more in *Anselmus* that was a Christian: It is contrary to all shew of reason, that a man, which believeth the mortality of the soul, should have any desire to be vertuous, or any fear to be most vicious, unless it be onely for fear of some Temporal punishment.

The incredulity of the life to come, the cause that men commit much wickedness.

For if our time be but a very shadow that soon passeth away, and after that our end, there is no returning, why should I endure so much labour, and suffer so much want, or want so much pleasure, as the reach of my wit, or the laws of my strength can any wayes afford me? or why should I abstain from any vice, from any villany, and fast, and weep, and mourn, and go in sackcloth and ashes, if after one moment of time, I shall be reduced to nothing, and be never more

B b b b

questioned,

The Vanitie

questioned, and neither rewarded for my good deeds, nor punished for my evil doings.

Therefore I think that this *Atheistical* conceit of the *annihilation* of the soul, and the incredulous thought of the *immortality* thereof, is the main cause of so much wickedness, as is now raging in the world.

Heb. 11.25.

The necessity
of rooting out
this incred-
ulity.

Ovid. Metam.
Tibull. l. 4.
Propertius.
Claud.
Martial. l. 4.
Plato in Tim.
Cicero de re-
pub. somno
Scip. & l. 1.
Tusc. quest.

And on the other side, if men did but *seriously* think, and *faithfully* believe, that after this *short* time of a few dayes pilgrimage, our souls shall remain for ever, and receive either *everlasting* joyes, if they do well, or *eternal* punishments, if they do evil, I do assure my self, that men would have *some* care for the time to come, and like *Moses*, choose rather to suffer a *momentary* affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, and so engage themselves to endure the punishment of sin for ever.

And therefore to root out so *pestilent* an error, and to confirm so *necessary* a truth, as is the doctrine of the *immortality* of the soul for the perpetuating of man; all *wise* men, that had any love of goodness in them, and all the *holy* men of God, both in the Old and New Testament, and all the *Fathers* of the primitive Church, and their successors, the Bishops, and other godly Preachers, to this very day, have been *carefull* to preach this truth, and have shewed themselves very punctual and plentiful in this point; for to let pass what *Ovid* saith, *Mors caret animæ*, and what *Propertius* saith, *Sunt aliquid manes, lethum non omnia sunt; luridaque evictos effugit umbra rogos*; and what *Claudian* saith, *Hæc sola manet, bustoque superstes evolas*; and to pass over the testimony of *Pheresides*, that was Matter unto *Pythagoras*, and of *Socrates* and *Plato* and *Cicero*, and the rest of the Philosophers and Orators, that with *unanswerable* arguments have maintained the souls of men to be *immortal*; and so likewise to pass by the unanimous consent of the Fathers that were so plain and so plentiful to prove the same, as you may see in *S. Clement* Recog. l. 1. *Iren.* l. 2. c. 63. & 64. *com. Valens. Tertul. de res. carnis.* *S. Aug. dogmat. Eccles.* c. 16. *Arnobius de fide resur.* and the rest of them almost in every place, I finde the *Prophets*, and our Saviour himself, and his *Apostles* be very exact and diligent to declare the same, and to prove it so fully that the most incredulous heart, if it were not filled with all blindness, could not conceive the least thought against it.

Yet because the Devil is still tempting men to incredulity, and to doubt of these things, and is still so powerfull with these worldlings, that he quite blindeth them, so that they cannot see the clearest light, nor understand the plainest truth.

Therefore to undeceive these silly souls that do so miserably deceive themselves, we are still bound to defend and vindicate these truths; and in that respect, I likewise shall not think much to produce some few Reasons that the Devil himself cannot answer, to make it manifest, that although man in this life is altogether vanity, and but a blast, of no continuance, as hereafter I shall shew unto you, yet God made man to be perpetual, for God made all things that they might have their being, and especially man, not to be reduced to nothing, and he made the soul of man immortal, and never to dye, but to live for ever; For,

Arguments
proving the
immortality of
the Soul, and
the life to
come.

Or surely dye.
Gen. 2.17.

1. *Moses* tells you, that when God had framed and made man of the dust of the earth, He breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and so man became a living soul, and not a dying soul, or a soul that should dye; but such a soul, as should live for ever, because the soul is the cause of our natural, spiritual and eternal life; whence the Latines do call the soul, *Life*, *ψυχή*, *quia vivificat corpus dum adest, & seipsam cum abest à corpore.* And when God threatened *Adam*, that if he did eat of the forbidden fruit, he should dye the death; that death signifieth not the death of the soul; or the annihilation of the body, but the dissolution or separation of the soul from the body; that as it was made out of the dust, so it might return to the dust again, which while the soul remained in it, unseparated, it could not return; and this *St. Paul* sheweth plainly, when he saith, *ἐάν η*

ἐμψυχοῖτο

ἡ οἰκία ἡμῶν οἰκία, ὅς σκεῦος ἡγυαλῶν. If our earthly house be dissolved, that is, dissolved, as a house that we pull down is separated one part from another, but not destroyed, so is the soul separated from the body, and neither of them destroyed, and reduced into nothing; but the soul remaineth still immortal for ever, and as God saith, the body returneth to the dust from whence it was taken. 2 Cor. 5. 1. Gen. 3. 19.

2. It is said, that *Abel* being unnaturally murdered by his blood-thirsty Brother, *vox sanguinum clamabat ad deum*; and the Hebrew word, saith *Collerus*, signifieth, *ex ingenti animi dolore exclamare*, to cry out with a vehement grief of mind, & *queritando vociferari*, and to complain with a most lamentable voice; therefore surely his crying soul was still alive, though his slaughtered body was lain dead.

3. God saith unto *Moses*, *I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, and the God of your Fathers*; therefore *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, and the rest of their *Fathers* were still alive, *ἔτι ζῶντο, secundum aliquid*, and that is in respect of their *Souls*; because as our Saviour saith unto the Sadduces, *God is not the God of the dead, but the God of the living*; and the bodies of these men that were turned to dust, could not be said either to be alive, or to be *Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob*: therefore *Abraham, Isaac and Jacob* were still alive in respect of their *Soules*. Exod. 3. 15.

4. *Moses* is said to have died in the Land of *Moab*, and to be buried in a valley over against *Beth-peor*, and yet *S. Math.* saith, that when *Jesus* was transfigured on the Mount, *Moses and Elias* appeared to the Apostles, talking with *Christ*, therefore *Moses* was dead, and not dead, and was buried, and not buried, *ἔτι ζῶντο, (i. e.)* dead in respect of his body, and living in respect of his Soul; and so *Moses and Elias* were still alive, and they themselves, in respect of their *Souls*, and not their shadows or phantasmes, which can no waies be said to be *Moses and Elias*, did then appear unto the Apostles. Deut. 34. 5, 6. Mar. 17. 3.

5. *David* saith, *I will not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord*; and yet *David* is dead, and was buried, therefore it is his Soul that liveth.

6. The wise man saith, that when a man dieth, then shall the dust, that is, his body, return to the Earth, and the Spirit shall return to God that gave it; and being with God, it cannot be dead, but remain immortal for ever. Eccl. 12. 7.

7. When *Lazarus* died, he is said to be carried up by the Angels into *Abrahams* bosom (*i. e.*) in respect of his Soul, for his Body was not carried up into his Bosom: And so *Dives* being in torments, must be understood in respect of his Soul; for it is said, that being dead, he was buried, in respect of his Body; and therefore the *Souls* both of the good and of the bad do still remain immortal. Luke 16. 22.

8. Our Saviour saith, *Fear not them which kill the Body, but are not able to kill the Soul*: therefore the Soul is immortal, whenas all the strength of man, and all the power of Hell is not able to kill it. Mar. 10. 28.

9. The hope of *Glory* and Reputation, and the desire that every man hath of the continuance and perpetuity thereof, how vain soever it be, yet doth it carry a great evidence of the Immortality of our *Soules*.

10. The impression of that vice which robbeth a man of the knowledge of humane Justice, and is alwaies opposite to the Justice of God, and indolibly imprinted in every mans Conscience, doth infallibly conclude; that the Justice of God requireth the same should be chastised after death, and therefore that our *Soules* must needs be immortal.

11. In the Book of Wisdom it is most plainly said, *the souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, and there shall no torment touch them; in the sight of the unwise they seemed to die, but they are in peace*. A place so plain, that sense can desire no plainer. Sap. 3. 1, 2, 3.

And many more Reasons might be produced to confirm this Truth, but these are sufficient demonstrations to shew unto you, that although man in respect of his being in this life, is altogether Vanity, yet simply considered, he is to be eternal,

and to have a *perpetual* Being ; because God never made man to have an *end*, and to be reduced to *nothing* ; but as the wise man saith, *he created all things*, and much rather man, *that they might have their being*.

Sap. 1. 14.

And what *madness* is it therefore, that men will *not believe* this Truth ? especially considering, it is most certain, that the remembrance of their *end*, and the *shortness* of their time here, how their dayes do pass away *like a Weavers shuttle*, or like a Post that tarrieth not, will alwaies be such a *corrafive* to their Souls, as will put an end to all their *earthly* Comforts, whenas *nothing* in the world is left us to rejoyce in, but in *that* thing only which is *perpetual* and remaineth ours for ever.

But then here you must understand, that besides the *prime* Eternity, which is God, there is a twofold perpetuity of men.

That all men both good and bad shall remain and be perpetually.

1. The one, by our *Union* with God, which is perfect felicity.

2. The other, in our *Separation* from God, which is the Extreamest Misery ;

And,

Seeing the Souls of men are *immortal*, and do naturally affect *Eternity*, as not only *Divinity* sheweth, but also the *soundest Philosophers* have sufficiently attested, and every mans *Conscience*, in the expectation of his *reward* for his Actions, be they good or bad, perswadeth him to believe, it is most certain, that those *wicked worldlings* which desire nothing but the Honours and the *Prosperity* of this present Life, and those *incredulous Hereticks*, both of the former times, and of this *present Age*, which against their Consciences do withstand this Truth, shall notwithstanding be *perpetual*, either in their *Union* with God, or in their *Separation* from God ; and as it is the *greatest* Comfort of a Christian man to believe that he shall be *everlastingly* with God in all happiness, so it is not the *least* torment unto a damned soul, to consider, that he shall be *for ever and ever* in Torments, *separated* from God.

And therefore the *Error* is not, that men do seek for *perpetuity*, which they shall be *sure* to have, but that they seek the same amiss.

The twofold error of man in seeking perpetuity.

1. Seeking it too late.

Either not that which is with their *Union* and Fruition of God ; or if that, then either *not at* they should, or *not where* they should seek it, that is, either not in the *due time*, or not in the *right place*, where it may be found ; as,

1. For the *time*, many seek it, but *too late* ; and so they miss it, because that *now is the time acceptable*, *et ex hoc momento pendet eternitas*, and our perpetuity either with God, or without God, either in Joy or in Torments, dependeth upon our *demerit* in this *present*, and little short time, that we have here to live.

2. Seeking it in the wrong place.

2. For the *Place*, you may see how *most men* purchase Lands, build Castles, gather Riches, heap up Treasures, and so lay down such *Foundations* of perpetuity here on earth, as if they were to *live* here for ever ; and they do so rely upon these *transient* things, and mortal men, as if they were immortal Gods ; and so they seek for their perpetuity in the *Regions* of Vanitie, and they would find *perfect* Felicity in this Valley of Misery, but as the *Israelites*, by joyning themselves to *Baal-peor*, separated themselves from *El Shaddai*, the Almighty God ; so these men, by seeking *Eternity* in these vanities, shall never be able to find it, and to be united with it, because *Eternity* and *Felicity* are not to be found here on earth : For as the Apostle saith, *we have here no continuing City*, and we are but as *Pilgrims* and *Strangers* here in this world, and our perpetuity is to be expected, not in this life, but in the life to come.

And so by this *large* Introduction that I have made, you see that these *words* of the Prophet are not to be understood of man *simply considered*, but of man *considered* in respect of his *State* and Condition in this life ; for though man be to abide *for ever*, yet as he is in this life, *verily every man*,

And to prove this unto you, you shall find the wisest King and the most learned Preacher that ever *Israel* had, assuring you, that there is *nothing* here in this world but vanitie and vexation of Spirit ; and that you might be sooner believe

this

this Truth, he doubleth and trebleth his words, saying, *Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity*, that is, nothing else but meer vanity.

And lest proud man should think, that this is meant of Gold and Silver, and the like inanimate things of this world, or of the irrational Creatures, whose Souls do perish with their bodies, and not of man, which is the Prince and Lord of all Gods Creatures, the Glory of all Gods works, and the Image of God himself, the Prophet *David*, that was both a great King and a great Prophet, tells you plainly, that you need not doubt of it; *Verily, every man living is altogether Vanity, Solo.*

Touching which words, I beseech you to consider,

1. The various Lections,
2. The chiefeft Observations

} of this Text.

1. For the diversity of Reading it.

The first word, according to the *Septuagint*, is *vanis*, which *S. Hieron* translateth *Emis*; For as the Cause of the brevity and shortness of mans life, that it should be but a span long, as the phrase signifieth, *palmares fecisti dies nostros*, because every man is vanity; therefore my life is so short.

Others, as *Tremelius*, do render it *profello* or *certe*, surely or *ovisly*, that we might assure our selves, and make no doubts of the truth and certainty of this point; that every man, be he what he will, never so strong, never so wise, and never so wealthy, yet is he but vanity.

But others would have both the Hebrew word, and the Greek Partiele *van* to signifie, *solum sive tantum & duntaxat*, only, as if the Prophet meant, that, of all Gods Creatures, only man, or man alone is the receptacle of all vanity; and besides man, there is nothing else, wherein the signs of all vanity are to be found so evidently as they are in man; because nothing in the world hath so far deviated and strayed away from the end for which it was appointed as man hath done; whereas all other creatures stand according to Gods Ordinance; the Stars keep their motions, the Moon observeth her Seasons, and the Sun knoweth his going down, only man knoweth not his duty, and so *Esfay* testifieth, *The Oxe knoweth his Owner, and the Ass his Masters Crib, but Israel hath not known, my people doth not consider*, *Es. 1.3.* and therefore only man deservedly and signally is vanity.

The second word which is used in the Original is *Chol*, and it is a word of both Numbers, and of all Genders, and the *Septuagint* read it *oluxarros*; which *S. Hieron* translateth *omnia*, all; the vulgar Latine renders it *universa*, and *Tremelius* reads it *omnimoda*; and if I rightly understand them, they all mean, that man is all manner of vanity, and that there is no vanity in the world, and no foolery in the world, but you shall find the same in man.

The third word after the *Septuagint*, is *vaporis*, which *S. Hieron*, and the vulgar Latine, and *Tremelius* translate *vaporis*; but *Symonides* reads it *aporis*, a Vapour, to which thing *S. James* compareth the life of man, and useth the same word, saying *aporis yap hez hais* for our life is a vapour, that is, such a thing as soon riseth, and as suddenly perisheth.

The fourth word, that the *Septuagint* read, is, *nis d'apw*, and *Tremelius* reads it *omnis homo*, and our English reads it *every man*; but others, to whom I rather assent, do understand it to signifie *totus homo*, that is, all or whole man; or, a man compleat, soul and body, and accumulated with all the perfections that man can have, and with all the goods either of Nature or of Fortune that he may find under the Sun, yet is he but vanity.

The fifth word is *Chor*, living, every man living, the which word *Aquila* reads, *ischoros*, *erchos*, lifted up, and *Symonides* reads it *chor*, standing or subsisting; and *Tremel.* translates it *quantumvis consistens in vitam*, how excellently soever he be settled, and the sense is, as most Interpreters will have the Hebrew word *nifan*, to signifie, that every state of man, or, man in every state, and in what condition

Two things may be considered about these words.

1. The diversity of reading them.

1 Word.

1 Word.

3 Word.

James 4.14.

4 Word.

5 Word.

condition soever he is, *King, Priest, Prophet*, Honourable, wealthy, or what you will, yet is he all vanity; and though such a one *seems* to stand, and to be *something*, existing firm in his strength and vigour, yet in *very deed* and in truth, the greatest, the strongest, the best and most powerful of them, is nothing else, but *meer Vanity*.

And I would that all men would well consider it how vain they are.
3. The special Points considerable in this Text.

And so you have the words of this Text explained unto you, *πάντες ὅντες ἀνθρώποι, Verily, every man, or, all man, living, or standing in his best estate and condition, is altogether vanity*; and all the vanity that can be found under the Sun.

2. For the Observations that may be collected out of this Text. I desire you to note with me these six principal Points.

1. That *man* is nothing else but vanity.
2. That *whole* man is vanity.
3. That *every* man is vanity.
4. That every man *in his best estate* is vanity.
5. That every man *in his best estate* is *altogether* vanity.
6. What Lessons of Instructions you may collect to your selves, from these Observations of mans Vanity; or what Application you may make of this Expression of the Prophet.

And so, as *Solomon* ascended to the *Throne* of his Majesty, *per sex gradus*, by six special steps, so we shall descend to the *nothing* of our Mortality by these six special Considerations; and then I hope, it will appear unto you all, what a *nothing* they are, that seem now to be so *very great*, and what *little reason* we have to be so much afraid as we are, of such *great nothings*.

But though the *Application* of the whole was the *chiefest* Point that I aimed at, when I first began to treat of this Text, yet mine allowance of time, not abusing your patience, will not permit me now to proceed any further than the first Point at this time; That *Man is nothing else but Vanity*. And,

1 Point.
That man is
Vanity.
James 4. 6.

1. You may remember, that the holy Scripture saith, *God resisteth the proud, but he giveth Grace unto the lowly*; and yet such is the *pride* of mans heart, that *Alexander* would be no less than the Son of *Jupiter*, *Xerxes* would correct the *Hellaspont*, and write Letters of great threatnings to Mount *Athos*, that deemed his words no more than the wind: *Sapores* King of *Persia* would needs be stiled Brother unto the Sun and Moon: and *Caligula* would *ταύς θεοταύς ἀντιποιτῆναι*, counterthunder God, and would needs be no less than *Jupiter Latialis*, the very God of the *Latines*, and of all *Italy*.

The palpable
pride of men.

The Moneths
shared among
the *Cæsars*.

And so the rest of the *Cæsars* were so transported with such *palpable* pride, that all the Moneths of the year must be shared amongst them: and as of old *Janus* that looked backward and forward, to the old year and the new, like unto *Noah*, that had seen the world before the Flood, and that which was after the Flood, had the Moneth of *January* dedicated unto him; so *Mars* the great Warriour, must have *March*; *Nero* must have *April*, *Claudius* shall have *May*, *Germanicus* *June*, *Julius* *July*, *Augustus*, *August*, *Antoninus* *September*, *Domitian* *October*, *Tiberius* *November*, and he wittily demanded of the Senate, when they dedicated this Moneth unto him, what they would do, when they should have more than 12 *Cæsars*: as *Xiphilinus* saith.

Ehod. 5. 2.

Ila. 14. 13, 14.

So *Pharaoh* demands, *Who is the Lord that I should obey his voice, to let Israel go out of my Service, to serve the Lord? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go.* And the King of *Babylon* said in his heart, *I will ascend into Heaven, I will exalt my Throne above the Stars of God; I will ascend above the heights of the Clouds, and I will be like the Most High.*

The pride of
many base fel-
lows.

And not only these great Kings and Emperors, that had some small kind of greatness in them, had such aspiring thoughts, and seed of Pride in them, but we find also that *Clearchus*, a base Fellow of *Pontus*, would needs be worshipped as a God, and his Son must be called *Lighning*, as *Suidas* testifieth; So *Menecriates*, a mean Physician, would fain be taken for *Jupiter*, and *Empedocles* the Philosopher, would

would in like manner have been deemed for *immortal*.

And so many more the like *unlikely* fellows would faine challenge to themselves *Temples, Altars, Sacrifices*, and other services proper and peculiar to the *Eternal* God: And if we our selves ascend not so *high* to be such *prodigies* of pride, as these Heathens were, yet I am afraid, there are but *very few* of us that are not some wayes *blasted* with a *vaine* conceit of their own worth; as you may see some *Deifying* their own persons, and as it were adoring either their *fair faces*, or their *lovely eyes*, or their *goodly hair*, now a dayes idolized by many youngsters, as *athens* in former time seemed to do, or their *expensive hands*, or some other part or parcel of their *well-shaped* bodies.

Others, as the Prophet saith, *do sacrifice unto their net*, and admire their own *wit*, whereby they have drawn so much *wealth* into the snare, and yet preserve it from *breaking*, as the Apostles Net was preserved unbroken, when it drew to land an hundred fifty and three great Fishes.

Joh. 21. 11.

A third sort of men make their *strength* to become the *Load* of *Injustice*, and they that are weak are just nothing.

A fourth sort are *hubbled* up with an high conceit of their *honour*, and with *Hammes*, they are ready to burst if every *knave* doth not bend, and every *fool* be not bare to them; and the *golden* Asses that have their *parcels* full of *sting*, and their *coffers* replenished with such *Delires*, do think they should be *adored* above all other creatures. And as

Fastus inest pulchris sequiturque superbia formam,

Beauty maketh many proud, so likewise

Fastus inest sanctis, sequiturque superbia debiles;

The Scholar is often *proud* of his *Learning*, and the *holy* Saint is not alwayes free from too high a conceit of his *Sanctity*. And then as *St. Aug.* saith, *Superbia destruit quicquid iustitia edificat.*

And in brief, as the Devil told *Adam* and *Eve*, that they should be like *gods*; so there is not scarce any one of all the sons of *Adam*, but for some one thing or other, though he will not say it with his tongue, yet will his *heart* conceive, that he is *similis altissimo*, as good as the best. And such are the *thoughts* of men. And holy *Job* saith, that these men are so impudent and so *graceless*, that they say to God, *Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy wayes: what is the Almighty that we should serve him? and what profit should we have if we pray unto him?*

The vain conceits of all the sons of Adam:

Job 22. 14, 15.

But the Prophet *David*, that knew what is man *better* than all these men, to pull down those *high looks* of the proud, and to batter the muddy walls of flesh and blond, saith, *Man is like a thing of naught, his time passeth away, his shadow away like a shadow*; and here he saith, *Verily, every man in his best estate is altogether vanity*: So you see, man is but a *vaine* thing; nay more, he is *vainer* if self, yea and more than that, which is a note above *Ela*, he is *altogether* vanity.

And because, as *St. Ambrose* saith, *Amaritudo sermonum*, the bitterness of words, and the sharpness of our reproofs is oftentimes, *medicina amaritudo*, the salve of our souls, I must crave leave, *deprecari carnis hanc*, as *Tertullian* speaketh, that is, to batter down the lofty towers of proud flesh, and to visit those that *overprize* themselves, like *Simon Magus*, that gave it out he was we *magus*, some *great one*, and to shew unto you what a *vain* or *vaine* thing is man, and that

Act. 8. 9.
Magus erat nomen eius in iherusalem.

1. In his *ingress*, or coming into the world.
2. In his *progress*, or continuance in the world.
3. In his *egress*, or going out of the world.

1. I will

1. His ingrels. 1. I will not go about to *shame* you with the *narration* of your conception any further, then what the Prophet saith, *In sin hath your mother conceived you*. The *purest* Embrio was impure; and how many sins the Mother doth commit, while the childe is in her womb, her self and God onely knoweth: but when the *Infant* comes forth, out of the *narrow* prison of his Mothers womb into the large field of this wide world, you may consider, that the *first act* of his Tragedy is to salute his *distressed* Mother, for all her *pains* to get him out of prison, with *cries* and lamentations; and much more he would cry, if he knew, or could know the *many* miseries, that he is to pass through, and *must* pass through them, if he liveth.

2. His progress.
Ezek. 16, 6.

2. The Infant being born, and as the Prophet saith *polluted in his own blood*; and the Lord saying unto it, *Live*, he hath his *progress* and journey to pass, into which he could *never* proceed any further, but make *faces and noses*, and lye and then dye, if he were left alone, and not *tended* by his Mother, or some other Nurse, that must look unto him, and that for *no few* dayes, or months neither, but some certain years at least.

And as soon as ever *age* hath brought him to *any wit*, he falls to his *shifts*, to delude his *teachers*, and to decline his *own good*; and when by his Parents *care* and his Tutors *pains*, he is become ripe in his profession, a learned Lawyer, a skillfull Physician, a deep Politician, a great Artist, or a valiant Souldier, what doth he then, but use all his endeavours to *supplant* others, to *advance* himself? and he cares not *how*, nor how many *others* he maketh poor, to make himself onely rich.

Aug. de verb.
Dom. Ser. 17.

Augustinus.

And yet, this is not all, for you may remember what St. *Augustine* saith, *Quid est diu vivere nisi diu torqueri? nam vita presens est arumosa, quam humores tumidant dolores extenuant, ardores exsiccant, aera morbidam, esca inflant, jejunia macerant, joci dissolvunt, tristitia consumunt, sollicitudo coarctat, securitas hebetat, divitiæ jactant, paupertas desicit, juvenus extollit, senectus incurvat, infirmitas frangit, amor deprimat. Et post hac omnia mors intermisce et universis gaudis finem imponit, ita cum esse desierit nec fuisse putetur.* And you may remember also that *Job* tells you, and *Seneca* tells his friend *Lucilius* the very same, that *vivere est militare*, the life of man is a *warfare* here upon earth; and *Lucian* saith,

Nulla fides pietasque viris, qui castra sequuntur.

Whether this be true or no, let the Warrior himself, and not I, be the Judge; but for what *Job* saith, you may see it *literally* verified throughout all the world and all Christendome now to become the shambles of Christian blood.

The many miserable Wars of these last centuries of years even in Christendome.

The which men, if you consider their *Civil* breeding, and their *much* teaching in the School of Christ, that doth so straitly forbid all *ambition*, and all *revenge*, and so earnestly enjoyn all men to *love one another*; you may admire that as *Jerusalem* justified *Samaritan*, so the *pretended* Christian should justify the *bloody* Turks, or men-eating Canibals, that glut themselves upon *buried carcases*, and do use as the Poet saith, *Pinguiscere corpore corpus*; and are therefore deemed by the *more civil* Nations to be but the *remote* prodigies of lost humanity. For,

If you now let your thoughts to *consider*, and your eyes to *wander* throughout all the Christian Kingdomes of *Spain, France, Germany, Poland, Sweden, Italy*, and the rest of the neighbouring Nations that profess to helieve in the *same Jesus Christ*, and do hope to be coheirs of the *same Kingdom* of heaven, they shall see *most* of these men striving to be, not *homicida cucurbitarum*, the cutters down of Cucumbers, as St. *Aug.* stiled the *Manichæans*; but *Homicida Christianorum*, the bloody killers of many good Christians, and so make Rivers of blood, and Hills of Christian carcases: And how he, that shed his blood to *redeem* those carcases, will judge of this, I am afraid to *speak*, and tremble to *think* of it.

And yet, you must not think that I say this to retard the courage, or to *blunt* the

the Swords of our gallant Souldiers, that have *just causes* to make War; for when wickedness groweth so *wilfull*, as to seek our *lives*, that desire to live in peace, or to rob us of our *livelihood*, lands or goods that God hath *justly* given us, then you must know, that our God is the *God of War*, as well as the God of Peace, and his name is the *Lord of Hosts*, and he will make his sword *drunk with blood*, and will *strengthen* our hands, if we *trust* in him, to *scatter* all those people that *delight* in War, and to destroy those Enemies that *maliciously* labour for our destruction.

What Wars
the Author
blameth.

But I blame all *shedding* of Christian blood in any War; either to *plant Religion* which should be done by *preaching*, and not by *fighting*, which in seeking to make them *Christian men*, will make them *no men*, or dissembling hypocrites, in stead of faithfull believers, or else to satisfy the ambition of any man that desires to *enlarge* his Dominion, and so unjustly to wrong his neighbours, when as every man, from the King unto the beggar, should be contented with what God hath justly given him; and that policy can never be justified, which is not every way consonant to equity, or especially for any subjects out of a *rebellious* discontent, or *ambitious* desire to *usurp* the Power and Authority of their *Sovereign*, to turn the sweet waters of *Peace* to become rivers of *Christian blood*. This is that warfare which I chiefly discommend, as the greatest of all vanities.

But,

3. If the *Sword* or *Bullet* in this warfare, taketh not man away, yet *Age* and *Sickness* will soon summon him to his death and dissolution; and till then his whole life is spent *inter suspiria & lachrymas*, betwixt sighs and tears, troubles of minde, and distempers of body, and a thousand such *sad accidents*, that will soon bring *hoc virinum corpusculum*, this our frail and brittle body; and our distressed life to a miserable *death*; and when we dye, or, as the Psalmist saith, *when the breath of man goeth forth, he shall turn again to his earth, and then all his thoughts*, and all his high designs, and vain conceits *perish*; and then it will appear, which till then proud man will not *believe*, that the life of man is but a *flower* that soon withereth, a *smoke* that soon vanisheth, and a *bubble* that suddenly falleth; or as others say, a shadow, a dream, a nothing.

3. Hiregreds.

Psal. 146.3.

And it were well for many men, if, as their *great thoughts*, either on some deep plots of state, or how to hook unto themselves their neighbours inheritance, or to wreak their malice on their poor brethren, or the like *vanities*, Castles in the air, as *Aristophanes* calleth them, do *vanish* into nothing, when their soules part with their bodies, so likewise their *bodies* and their *soules* should then, with their *Thoughts*, return to nothing.

But that cannot be, for that now mans soul must *pay* for all his *evil* thoughts, and *suffer* for all the wicked works, and the great wrongs that he hath done; and though *à corpore vermis, & à vermis factor*, his body turnes to *worms*, and those wormes yield such *Sent*, as all the Spices of *Arabia* cannot keep away, yet the *living spirit* of every wicked man, that cannot, and shall not die, must now for his *unrepented* evil, be hurried into the *dreadful* Regions of all horror, where it must *live* and lie for ever and ever, to suffer *unsufferable* and unconceivable torments, a life that lives not, and a death that dies not.

And so you see, that man is *Vanity*, and a wicked man in misery, *worse* than *vanity*.

And therefore *Reason* should perswade you all to labour to become *wiser* than men, that is, more than *meer* men; and to desire to be *born again*, not of flesh and blood, but of *water* and of the *Spirit of God*, that you may be brought again to that *Union* and Communion with God, which you had when we were *first* made by God.

2. The Prophet saith, that *socius homo vanitas*, all the *whole* man; that is, both his *Body* and his *Soul* is vanity; for what is this *body* of ours, but a piece of earth, which we tread upon, *Saccus stercorum*, saith *S. Bernard*, a sack full of dust, to say no worse; and a Magazine of all *Diseases*, Coughes, Agues, Feavers, Gouts,

a Point, That
whole man is
vanity.

1. The Body
and

and what not? and when these have satisfied and *feasted* themselves upon our *bodies*, what are our bodies but a feast for *Worms*?

1. The Soul.

And the *Soul*, though it be a *pure Spirit*, as it proceeded from God, yet as it is now, *translated* from our Parents, as many Divines think it is, or as it is *infused* into our flesh, as others do believe, and remaineth in our bodies; all the *Faculties* thereof are corrupted; the Understanding is *darkned* with ignorance, the Memory *dulled* with forgetfulness, and the Will *defiled* with Mislike-affections.

And so as *Earth* is good, and *Water* is good, yet being *mingled* together, they do make a *dirty Puddle*, and neither of them can be said to be then a *pure Element*; so the body and soul of man, though *both* were good in their *Originals*, and good in their own kind, yet now being both *coupled* together, as *Mazentius* coupled the *dead bodies* to the living, they are both marred, and become so *deformed* by corrupting one another, and associating themselves in their desires, that now the eyes are the *burning-glasses* of Concupiscence, and lusting after our neighbours Wives, Lands and Goods; the *Tongue* is a *Razor* of detraction, to defame and slander our *own Mothers Sons*; the *Throat* is an *open Sepulchre*; the *Hands*, Engines of violence, to *rob*, wound and kill; the *Heart* a Mint of all Villanies; the Feet swift to shed blood; and the *whole man* is become a *Beast*, saith the Psalmist, and a *Devil*, saith our Saviour, for *one of you is a Devil*.

Psal. 74.

John 6. 70.

And so you see that all the *whole man*, if he be but *meer man*, as he is begotten of *flesh and blood*, in his best, is but *vanity*, in his next, *iniquity*, and in his worst consideration, a *meer misery*; and so miserable, that being but *meer man*, he hath *little cause*, with the Philosopher, to thank God that he was made a *man*, when it had been better for him, as our Saviour saith of *Judas*, that he had never been made, and never born.

Mark 14. 21.

That we
should labour
to become
more than
meer men.

And therefore if we labour not to become *more* than men, that is, to be like *Buccas*, his *genius*, as the Poets fain of him, to be *born again*, of another Mother, the spouse of Christ, and so to become *double men*, and to consist of the *old man*, begotten of mortal Seed, and of the *new man*, that is, begotten by the *immortal Seed* of Gods Spirit, we shall never be *happy*, and never otherwise, *ah*, as I said, *vanity and misery*; for though the *old man* be never so *Glorious*, and never so honourable, the Off-spring of Kings and Princes, and though outwardly it appears never so *beautiful*, without blemish; yet if the *Inner man* of the heart, that is begotten by Gods Spirit, be not found out, the other is but *impure*, flesh, as the Apostle termeth it; and *flesh* is an Epithere given to *Beasts* by the Prophet, and that by way of *disparagement* too, where he saith, *their horses are but flesh*, and which is viler, *all flesh is grass*, that soon withereth and rotteth, and becometh the *Dung* of the earth; and the Apostle saith, that *flesh and blood shall not inherit the Kingdom of Heaven*, because that, as I shewed you before, *flesh and blood* being but *meer vanity*, which is the most *opposite* to *Eternity*, they can inherit nothing but *eternal misery*.

1 Cor. 3. 3.

Esa. 3. 13.

1 Cor. 15.

3 Point.

3. As *totus homo*, so *omnis homo vanus*, every man is vanity, that is, not only the *Fool*, but also the *wise man*; for *there is no remembrance of the wise more than of the fool for ever*; but *as the fool dieth, so dieth the wise man*; therefore the wise man concluded, that *this also is vanity*.

Ecc. 1. 15, 16.

And so likewise the *young man* as well as the *old man*, the *rich* as well as the *poor*, and the *strong* as well as the *weak*, the heroick *Achilles*, as well as base *Thersites*; may soon die, and *vanish* away to nothing.

How all the
world is round
and all things
in the world in
a perpetual
motion.

And to be brief, you see, how the *gallant* Courrier, and the *Royal Majesty* are no more exempted from *vanity* than the poorest *Clown* and meanest Subject; for as *Eternity* is said to be an *intelligible sphere*, whose Center is *every where*, and his circumference *no where*, but in it self, as I shewed to you before out of *Trismegistus*, so the form of the whole world is *spherical*; and the *paradoxes* or little world, which is *man*, in state and condition is also *spherical* and round, even as round as a hoop, or rather indeed a *meer circular center*, without any circumference at all; and as the *primum mobile*, the first wheel of all the Spheres of this whole

whole frame, is ever in motion, and by that motion we see *that part* which is now the *highest*, within a dozen hours to become the *lowestmost*; so suddenly is the change of the *highest* things; even so it is in *all* things that are under the Sun; there is a *perpetual motion*, and that motion changeth all things; which made holy Job to say, a Saying worthy to be remembred, that although man is but of few *dayes*, few indeed, God knoweth, and those few dayes are full of *troubles*, and that we all know; yet in those few dayes *he cometh forth like a Flower*, that is, by little and little, and *he is cut down*, that is, in a moment, *he flieth also as a shadow*, that is, very swiftly, and *never continueth in one stay*, but is still divolved from one condition to another: For our blessed Lord God and loving Father, out of his wise Providence, and *secret love* to man, hath so tempered *all* the Accidents, and the *whole* course of mans life, with such proportion and equal counterpoize of occurrents, that ever and anon *Joyes* and *Sorrows* are mixt together, *good haps* and *sad tidings* succeed one another; as for example, *David*, as it were to day, is a *poor Shepherd*, keeping his Fathers Flock, and pulling away his sheep out of the Lions Claws; and as it were to morrow, he is *magnified* in the Court of *Saul*, he is matched with the Kings *Daughter*, and saluted for the Kings *Son in Law*, and his *opithalmium* is, *Saul killed his thousands* and *David his ten thousands*; yet presently he fleeth as a *banished* man, and he is prosecuted and persecuted, as a *Partridge* is hunted upon the Mountains; but within a while he is *crowned King*, and reigneth in a short space over all *Israel*, even from *Dan* to *BeerSheba*, and as a gallant *Conqueror* overcometh all his enemies round about him; yet that Glory must not last long, but his own, not only *undutiful Subjects*, but also his *ungracious* and *unnatural Son* *Abfalon* must drive him once again to flee, not to preserve his *Kingdom*, but to save his *Life*; and because the *Wheel turns round*, this Cloud suddenly vanisheth, *Abfalon* is hanged and the *King* is joyfully received, and *honorably* restored to his Royal Throne; and after all this, he had many the like *changes*, of sundry kinds of Accidents, sometimes *gladsom*, and sometimes *doleful*, while he lived.

Job 14.1.2.

The vicissitude of King Davids condition.

And of the condition of Jesus Christ.

So the Son of *David*, and the Son of God, *Jesui Christ*, in the second of *Matth.* is presented with Gifts, and worshipped as a *God*, by the Kings and wise men of the East, and in the same Chapter he is persecuted by King *Herod*, that he was fain to flee into *Egypt* to save his life; yet afterwards, he was so *magnified* by the people, that he was fain to *hide* himself, to prevent his being *crowned King*; and upon Mount *Tabor* he was so *transfigured* in Glory, that his Face did shine as the *Sun*; and not long after, upon Mount *Calvary*, he was so *disfigured* with sorrow, that confusion went *over his face*, so far, that as the Prophet saith, in him *there was neither form nor beauty*; so upon Mount *Olivet*, even now, there was an *Angel comforting* him, and by and by, an *Agony* affrighting him: and so upon the *Cross*, even now, he crieth as one destitute of all help, *My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?* and by and by after, as a man full of comfort, and confidence in Gods favour, he saith, *Father, into thy hands I commend my Spirit*.

And if the time, and your patience would give me leave, I could amplify to you this Point, in the like *revolution* of this wheel, I dare not call it of *Fortune*, as the Heathens did, but of Gods *Providence*, as the Scripture sheweth it is, in *Abraham*, in *Joseph*, in *Moses*, in *C. Marins*, in *Alcibiades*, and in abundance more of those *Worthies*, whose lives you may read in the holy Scripture, in *Plutarch*, and in many other Authors; and which were *variarum fortunarum viri*, men that had tasted of *all conditions*, and had experience of *all kind* of Life, being tossed up and down, and up again, and so still turn, and turn again and again, from a good condition to a *bad*, and from a *bad* to a *good* again.

But I had rather perswade you all to make that use of this *variable* variety which *Sesostris* King of *Egypt* did of the sad condition of those Kings, that *horse-like* he compelled to draw about his Caroch: for he having four captive Kings, set them like *horses* to draw his Caroch (even as King *Edgar* is reported to have *Kennedy* King of *Scots*, *Malcolme* King of *Cumberland*, *Duffnal* and *Gruffith* Kings of

Speed Chron in
the life of Ed-
gar, p. 349.

Wales, Maximus the Arch-Pyrat, and *Huval* a great Prince, to row his Barge up-
on the River *Dee*) and *Sesostris* marking how one of his caroached Kings, (till as he
drew, *looked back* upon the Wheels of his Chariot, demanded of him what he
meant, so often to look behind him? the poor King, *unaccustomed* to such a trade,
submissively answered, it was to see how *that part* of the Wheel which is now
highest, becomes presently the *lowest*, and then again immediately the *lowest* becom-
eth *highest*, and so still wheels his round, and never continueth in one
stay.

Turkiss Hist. in
the life of Ba-
jazzet, p. 220.

Whereupon, the wise *Sesostris*, rightly apprehending that *serious* Embleme, pre-
sently commanded the Kings to be set at *liberty*, as well weighing with himself,
how suddenly God can change the course, and turn the *Wheel* of all mortal things;
and as he can loose the *bonds* of Kings, and cast them down with *Nebuchadnezzar*
from their stately Palaces to dwell among the Beasts of the field, as he did great
Bajazzet from his *Royal Empire*, to be carried about with *Tamerlane* in an iron cage;
so he can bring them again out of prison, as he did *Joseph*, *Manasses*, and *Henry* the
Third, of this Kingdom; he can raise them again out of the dust, as he did *Job*,
to his former dignity, and *Nebuchadnezzar* from the fields, to be re-established in
his *Royal Throne*; and he can if he please, add more *Glory* unto them than ever
they had before.

As now blef-
sed be God he
hath most gra-
ciously done
to our most
Gracious King

This is the *Lords* doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes; and this he can easily do,
and he can suddenly do; and we are not worthy to know how soon he will turn our
wheel, and make the poor men rich, and the mean men *Lords*, as he hath lately
made the rich men poor, and the great *Lords* to be without their *Lordships*; for
there is nothing biding, but as my Text saith, *omnis homo vanitas*, as well the com-
manding *Lords*, that do now reign as Kings in the great *Babylon* of this world, as
the poor ejected *Bishops* and other *Servants* of Christ, that are *wandering*, and per-
haps wanting bread in the wilderness of this world.

What the for-
mer Doctrine
should teach
us.
3 Lesson.

And this *Revolution* of all men, and of all earthly things, should teach us all
these two special Lessons.

Ecc. 10. 7.

1. Never to be exalted or puffed up with pride when we are lifted up to honour
and greatness, nor to be troubled and discontented when we see them that were
Servants, *ride upon horses*, as the wise man speaketh, that is, when we see such as
were *Vassals*, made *Lords*, and many *wicked mean men* magnified as *Princes*; which
now you may behold in many Kingdoms of the world: For though as the Poet
saith

These Ser-
mons were first
preached in
the time of the
usurping Re-
bels.

Asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum.

None is more insolent than the *Beggar* when he is on horseback; none more ty-
rannical than *Servants* or women, that were made to *obey*, and not to *rule*, when
they become to be the *Masters* of their *Masters*; of which thing the Prophet com-
plaineth, that *Children* and such as should be ruled, are the *Oppressors* of the peo-
ple, and *women do rule over them*.

Es. 3. 12.

Yet they may remember, that the wheel of such prosperity hath often turned,
and the *Horse* hath many times cast his *Rider*; and you know what the Prophet
David saith, *I my self have seen them in great power, ruling and domineering over*
their brethren, and flourishing like a green Bay-tree: and I went by, and perhaps
durst say nothing to them, but lo, within a little while they were gone, and I sought
after them, but they could no where be found; and we may chance live to see the like
Changes, and tumbling down of many of such *wicked men*, as the Prophet *David*
hath seen.

Psal. 36. 37.

2. The former Point should teach us never to be dejected, or cast down with
grief and despair, when we see our selves, or our friends, that were *Lords* and Com-
panions of *Princes*, walking alone as *servants* upon the earth, or when we see the
Prolmes of the Church jeered at with the good *Prophet*, or abused with the holy *A-*
postles.

2 Lesson.

For

For as the *prosperous* wheel of the wicked may soon turn, and their great *honours* be quickly brought down to the *dust*; so the *adversity* of Gods Servants may likewise *turn*, and these *poor* *nothings* may soon be raised to *great honours*; when as the Poet saith,

Noſte plus tota, redeunt Spectacula mune;

And as the Prophet saith, *heaviness may endure for a night, but Joy cometh in the Morning.*

So we may be to day *sick*, and at the point of death, and to morrow *sound* and well again: and to night, with *Joseph*, clapt up in prison, and perhaps with *Mandochaus*, condemned to die, and yet before the *next* night be exalted as they were, to *great honour*; for God who is just and *Omnipotent*, can *turn man to destruction*, and immediately say *come again ye children of men*; and you know what the Prophet saith, *For a little moment have I hid my face from thee*, that is, for thy trial, *but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee*, saith the Lord, thy Redeemer, that is, out of prison, and out of all other troubles whatsoever.

Psal. 90.3.

El. 54.7.

And therefore *whatsoever* thy troubles be, and how *long* soever thou art dejected, yet as the Poet saith,

Tu necesse malis, sed comra audentior ito.

Let no *Misery* prevail against thy *Manhood*, but to strengthen thy *heart*, and to rowze up thy *Courage*, remember, not only what the Scripture saith, but what also the very *Heathen* could tell thee, saying,

*Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere vitam,
Fortior ille facit, qui misor esse potest.*

Mar. in
Epigr.

It is the property of a poor spirit to be *weary* of life, and to wish for *death*, when we are *cast down* with *miseries* and *contempt*; *quia dulce mori miseris*; because death is a sweet Guest to all miserable Hosts; but the true *Christian Fortitude*, yea and true *Manhood* is *courageously* and *pleasantly*, with no dejected countenance to pass, and *pass through* all *adversities*, and to deem himself never the *better* when he is clad like *Herod* in his royal Robes, nor one *for* the worse, when he is clothed like *John Baptist* in Hair-cloath, with a girdle of *Leather* about his *loins*, because the *accessions* of these *vanities*, silks, velvets, or gold laces, do make no man *better*, nor the want of them any man the *worse*. But he that goeth like *Heracles*, in the *Lions skin* may prove as brave a *Souldier*, as any of them that like the Commanders of *Darius*, do glister in their *Gold* and *Scarles*; and yet many times to save their *heads*, betake themselves like *Dromedaries*, unto their *heels*, and the poor ejected Bishop, in his bare Coat, may make as heavenly a *Sermon*, and convert many more souls, than the hundredth pound Independent, or the false Presbyterian tone, in his long Cloak, and velvet Jacket.

Vanities do
make no man
better.

Which makes me never to be much troubled or moved at the *revolution* of this *Wheel*, or the *loss* of these *vanities*, but to say with that Heroick *Pompey*, when after he had been crowned with the *greatest* honours of *Rome*, and now fallen into the greatest *calamities*, he cheerfully said, as *Lucan* witnesseth,

*Non me videre superbum
Prospera fautorum, nec fractum adversa videbunt.*

His prosperity never made him *prond*, and adversity should never cast down his courage; and my witness is in Heaven, that I am a thousand times more grieved, to see the *prophanation* of Gods service, and the *poor* worship of him, now used in very many places; that is, how meanly, fluttishly, negligently and disorderly our

our good God is served, than of mine own losses, how great soever they are For *we brought nothing with us into the world*, neither shall we carry any thing out of this world; and I know not whether I shall live till to *morrow*, when, as the *Tragedian* saith:

*Quem veniens dies vidit superbum,
Hunc fugiens dies vidit jacentem.*

Whom the Sun rising hath seen *strong* and lusty, the Sun setting, saw him dead upon the ground, because as my Text saith, *Every man is vanity*: Yea,

4. Point.

4. *nisi respondens* *Quo*, Every man living, or every man in his best estate is vanity: And you know there be but two states of every man,

A twofold
state of man.

1. *Living.*

2. *Dead.*

And when a man is *dead*, he soon becometh vanity indeed, he is reduced to nothing, he knoweth nothing and he can do nothing: And therefore let us have but a little patience, and within a *very little little while*, those mighty men, that now oppress their neighbours, and tyrannize over Gods servants, shall return to *nothing*, and be able to do just nothing against us; and then as *Solomon* saith, *A living Dog is better* and can do *more*, then these *dead Lions*.

I, but you will say, *Imerito ego ringo*, and we may suffer very much before these *Lions* become dead; therefore, it were well for us that they were *dead* before we suffer, and that, as *Caracalla* said of his brother *Geta*, *Sint divi modo non sint vivi*, they were *Saints* in heaven, so they might not be such *Devils* as they are here now on earth.

Mab. 2. 2.

I answer 1. To thee, that art thus troubled, as the Prophet saith unto the Jews, *The Vision is yet for an appointed time*, but *at the end it shall speak and not lie*; and though it *tarry*, yet *wait thou for it*, because it will *surely come*, and *not tarry*; that is, any long time, or longer than the appointed time, so *tarry thou the Lords leaseure*, and thy deliverance will come in his appointed time; and if thou thinkest, it *tarieth long*, then pray thou to God, that it may come the sooner; and though the young teachers of the *new way* to heaven, have *obliterate* it, yet do not thou forget that *good old Prayer* of our Liturgy, but say, *O God make speed to save us*, *O Lord make haste to help us*; and God will hear thy prayers, and will help thee, because as the Poet saith,

How powerfull
prayer is.

*Offendant nunquam tua precibus forem
Sed dominum mundi, sceleris vota valent.*

Prayers and Supplications are the most powerfull prevailers to obtain any thing at the hands of God.

2. For those that wrong thee, and trouble thee, I pray thee remember but what my Text saith, *Every man living*, or in his best estate while he liveth is *altogether vanity*.

And therefore, the *greatest* men can never be able to do what they would do, either for themselves, or against others: And this will the more plainly appear, if we take but a *little view* of all the estates that are accounted the *best* estates of men; for though there be many states and kindes of life, that are deemed *very good*, yet there be four *Estates* of men, that I finde, by the worldly wise, to be judged *best*; and

The four states
of men that
are accounted
the best.

The

1. Is of them that excel all others, *ex superis*, in *honour* and strength of body.
2. Is of them that abound in *wealth*, in riches in prosperity.
3. Is of them that are *potentes*, most eminent in *fame*, glory and honour.
4. Is of them that have *plenitudinem potestatis*, the fulness of Power and Authority to rule and govern the rest of the people.

These

These are accounted the *best estates* of men; and yet man in all, and in every one of these four estates, is a poor vain thing, and *altogether pany*; For,

1. Health and strength of body are but *vanity*; and though the Tyrants and Oppressours say, come, *Let our strength be the law of Justice*; for that which is feeble is found to be *nothing worth*, therefore let us crush the *righteous*, and banish all those *honest* men that are not for our turn, but do *upbraid* us with our offending the Law, and do obtain from *our wayes* as from filthiness; yet we see that a little sickness can bring down the *greatest strength*, and waste the *health* of the strongest and the stoutest men.

1. State.

Sap. 2. 11.

Verf. 12. & 16.

And besides, we know that, as the Lion which is the strongest upon earth, and the Whale, which is strongest in the Sea, and the Serpent or the Eagle which are the strongest in the Air, are of *more strength* than is in any man, were he as strong as *Hercules*; or were they as strong as all these, yet their *great strength* cannot preserve them from *death*, nor keep them without sickness. And if you will compare them unto other creatures, you shall finde that the *Peacocks* train is more *brantifull*, than all the trimmings of the *proudest Galland*; and as the *Dromedary* is *swifter* than any Foot-post, so the *Nightingal* hath a *sweeter* voice than the best *Musitian*.

And in a word, the basest creatures have been found able enough to be the death of the strongest men, for a little Steele killed *Egion King of Moab*, *Goliath* the great Giant, was stricken down with a pebble stone, *Amazgon* was choaked with the stone of a *Raison*, *Fabius* strangled with a hair, *Herod* the Proud eaten with Lice, and *Antiochus* the Cruel, destroyed with Worms, and *Hatto* the Traytor, pursued to death by an Army of Rats: These were but poor things and weak instruments to destroy strong men, and to dispatch great Monarchs, and yet we see how they have done it.

Judg. 3. 21.

1 Sam.

And therefore, thou, that thinkest thy self a brave, strong and stout Souldier, remember what good counsel the Prophet gives thee, saying, *Let not the strong man glory in his strength*; so let not the healthfull man promise any long life unto himself, whereas our life and fortune, and all that we have, are as the Poet saith, — *Tenui pendens filo*, hanging upon a weak, feeble Spiders thread, *Quod atropos occidit*, which the least blast of Gods displeasure can break all to pieces.

Jer. 9. 23.

2. Wealth and riches are more vain, and of less value than our health and strength, when as all the wealth in the world yeelds but small comfort to him that is full of sickness, and wants his health; therefore the Prophet *David* speaking of those wealthy worldlings, that do relye, and are so proud of their riches saith, *Man walketh in a vain shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain, he heapeth up riches and cannot tell who shall gather them*. And we know, saith *Holcar*, that in a shadow there is a threefold consideration:

1. State.

Psal. 39. 7.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Indigentia luminis,</i> | } And that is, } a threefold want, | 1. A want of <i>Light</i> , |
| 2. <i>Assistentia frigoris,</i> | | 2. A want of <i>Heat</i> , |
| 3. <i>Apparentia corporis,</i> | | 3. A want of <i>Substance</i> . |

Which are easily seen and perceived in every shadow.

And so all the greedy worldlings, and the covetous hunters after wealth are invironed with these three main indigences and wants; For,

1. They have no light in their understanding, but their heads and brains are empty, when their barns and their shops and coffers are full, and so at last, they themselves do most wofully confess it, saying, *We have erred from the way of truth, and the light of understanding hath not shined unto us*; for if men had but the least understanding in the truth of things, they might soon perceive, that riches are neither simply ours, nor very precious, or of much value in themselves; but they do, as *Boetius* saith, make a fairer shew, and bring more benefit unto us, when they are spent, than when they are kept, because liberality makes men famous, and to be loved, and covetousness makes them odious, infamous and ridiculous;

Sap. 5. 6.

Boetius de cons. sol. Philos. 1. 2. c. 5.

Ecc. 5. 13.

lous; and *Solomon* saith, this is a fore evil which he saw under the Sun, namely, riches kept for the owners thereof to their hurt; when it had been better for them to have been without them than to have them. For as the rich Citizen of *Rome* that never offended the Commonwealth, nor medled with either of the two opposite factions of *Sylla* and *Marinus*, yet being desirous to know who were proscribed for the Enemies of the State, and running to see their names, he finds himself among the first, and then he cries out, wo is me, that my wealth and my fair house at *Nola* do cause me to lose my head: so the riches of many a man have begot him enemies, and those enemies, for none other cause or crime, but to get his Lands or his wealth, have brought him to his end; as perhaps the riches of many a Protestant will conclude them to be *Roman* Catholicks; as we read the like in the case of the *Guelphes* and the *Gibelines*, when the *Gibelines* proving themselves to be no *Guelphes*, yet was their riches and their treasures seized upon, as the wealth of the *Guelphes*.

And I wish the
Lands and fair
houses of ma-
ny innocent
Papists may
not be proved
to be the lands
of *Irish* Rebels,

And yet as the hoarding up of riches, and the growing great and wealthy in the world makes us miserable and hared, so the dispersing of them abroad, and the profuse wasting of our wealth, makes us poor, and to be despised, yea and to be neglected of our friends, and scorned of our enemies.

And therefore surely riches are but very poor things, when we can neither possess them without envy, nor bestow them without penury, neither have them without danger, nor want them without contempt.

2. The wealth and riches of the worldlings can yield them but cold comfort, when God turneth away his face from them, and they are left to the counsels of their own hearts; for though the glittering of the Jewels may draw thine eyes after them, the pleasant prospect of the Fields may delight thine heart, thy gay apparel may make thee shew very fair and beautiful to the beholders, and the multitude of thy servants may seem to prove thee very happy among thy neighbours; yet we all do or may know, that there is none of these things but at some time or other hath proved to be the destruction of their possessors: For, as when the poor Passenger may rejoyce and sing before the most ravenous Robber, and in the sight of the most barbarous Plunderers, so thy wealth and thy Jewels, thy pockets full of Gold, and thy back full of bravery, may make thy heart sad, and thy head full of perturbations, and in every moment to be afraid to be assailed and slain in all the paths that thou shalt walk.

And whereas the man that hath none but himself to serve himself, need nor fear to be betrayed by his Servants: the rich man that needeth more, and the noble man that keepeth many Servants, may well fear there may be a *Judas* among twelve, and a Traytor in his own house; and as *Humphrey Banister* betrayed his Lord and Master, *Henry Duke of Buckingham*, that had been too good a Master to him; so may one of thy chiefeest Servants sell thee and betray thee too, into the hands of thy greatest Enemies, even as we read in Stories of many Kings that have been so likewise dealt withal.

Speed, 19. c. 19.
P. 927.

And therefore Wealth and Riches can afford us no true comfort, nor yield us any certain assistance, even in this life; when by getting them, we do oftentimes lose our selves, or at least hazard our safety by saving them.

Mat. 13. 22.

1 Tim 6. 17.

3. Our Saviour Christ speaking of the deceitfulness of Riches, and *S. Paul* calling them uncertain riches, do sufficiently shew unto us, that the wealth and riches of this world do but promisefulness, when they intend to bring us nothing but emptiness; for you see, all our Money is, as it is called, currant, and all our riches transient, like a torrent stream that floweth apace, or as the summer snow, that presently melteth, sometimes before it falleth; and all the wealth in the world is but contingent, with one man to day, and with another man to morrow; as your selves may see, how within these few years, many men scarce worth a Groat, became worth thousands; and as many others that were worth thousands, became not worth a Groat.

Aug. Confes.
1. 6.

And therefore *S. Aug.* speaking of the things of this world, saith, *Si quid arri-*
fisset

fisset prosperum tadebit apprehendere, quia priusquam pene taderetur, volabat; if any worldly prosperitie smiled upon me, and seemed to offer some happines unto me, yet I was loath to accept it and to lay hold upon it, because constantly all the pleasure of this world is fled from us before we can scarce fasten on it; and as the wise man saith, *extrema gaudis luctus occupat*: Sorrow and sadness do follow both our Profits and our Pleasures hard at the very heels: For as the Player appeareth upon the Stage, and then presently after few words, *exit*, he is gone; so the wealth & prosperitie of this world do but salute us, and then immediately depart from us, even while we are most busie about them, and when they seem to smile most of all upon us.

And I could make this plain unto you by more examples than I have time to express: For we read of *Marcus Atilius Regulus*, that was a *Roman* Consul, and had laid Fetters upon many *Africans*, yet being unhappily taken by the *Carthaginians*, he found himself presently environed, and then miserably tied in the Conquerors Chains; and it is written of *Cheops* King of *Egypt*, that erected the *Pyramides*, which were all built of *Tubus* Marble, and were of that huge height, and monstrous Magnitude, that one of them was 20 years in building, though it is reported there were *circa decem hominum miradas*, about 10 Myriades of men, as *Herodotus* saith, or 100000 men, as others write that did continually work upon it (the same containing, as *Sands* affirmeth, eight Acres of ground at the bottom, and ascending by 255 steps to the top, and every step being of three foot in height, and of a proportionable breadth) and yet this great King that was of this great power, before his death, became so poor, that he was compelled to prostitute his own Daughter to relieve his wants.

So *Belisarius*, that in the daies of *Iustinian* 1. was one of the bravest Souldiers and of the greatest Commanders of the world, to whom the Lady and Empress of the world, *Rome* it self owed herself thrice at the least; and who took two mighty Kings, *Gilimer* King of *Africa*, and *Vitiges* King of the *Goths*, to be his Prisoners, yet within a little while this great man, as some writers do report, came to that poor pass, as he was faine to cry, *Dux obolus Belisario, quoniam virtus exaltavit, malitia depreffit, & fortuna cecavit*: O give one half-peny to *Belisarius*, whose vertue hath honoured, envy hated, and fortune spoiled and made him now a poor blind Beggar.

And *Pedro Mexia* setteth down the miserable ends and other strange traverses endured by divers Kings, Emperours, Dukes, and other great Princes, whereof he accounteth no less than 13. besides 2 Popes, 2 Bishops, 4 Cardinals and 10 Abbots; that within one hundred and fifty years, were thrown down from the pinnacle of Prosperitie, to the lowest Gulf of Adversitie; as *George* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles* Duke of *Burgoyne*, *Wladislaus* King of *Poland*, *Constantinus Paleologus* Emperour of the East, *Charles* 8. King of *France*, *James* 4. King of *Scots*, *John de Albrus* King of *Navarre*, *Lewes Sforza* Duke of that rich and goodly Countrey of *Milaine*, *Francis* 1. King of *France*, that was the Patron of all Learning; and those three great Kings, *Muley Mahomet* King of *Fez* and *Morocco*, *Abdelmelec* his Uncle, and *Sebastian* King of *Portugal* that came to a miserable end, and died all three in one day, being *Monday* the 4th. of *August*, 1578. and which is worthy to be remembered above all, *John Iustinian* that trayterous Villain, who covenanted with *Mahomet* to betray *Constantinople*; so he would make him King; which the great Turk promised; and accordingly performed; but after three daies strack off his head, as his Treason well deserved; and so I wish may be the reward of all disloyal Traytors.

And therefore seeing not only wicked Potentates, but also most famous Kings and Princes and most excellent Prelates have been reduced to such ends, what wonder is it that many great Scholars, and many reverend Bishops (whom their worth and learning raised to some height of dignity) should be thrown down, as they were of late by envy and hatred, into the depth of misery. The time would be too short for me to tell you of *Cressus* the rich King of *Lydia*, *Darius* the great

Rich Country
most industrious
became as
poor as I am

Boetius de con-
sol. l. 1. c. 5.

Poet. 2.

Herodotus, l. 2. p. 1.
Sands, l. 1. c. 1.

Treasury of
times, l. 4. c. 37
Pope John
whom Mar. 5.
succeeded, An.
1410.
Pope Clement,
that was im-
prisoned
by Charles 5.
1527.
Archbishop of
Flor. and four
Cardinals bur-
chered, 1448.
The Bishop of
Liege Brother
to the great
Duke of Bur-
goyne, and 10
Abbats massa-
cred in his pre-
sence.

Monarch of *Persia*, *Manius Acilius* the proud Consul of *Rome*, holy *Job*, the richest in the Land of *Hus*, and warlike *Caius Marius*, when he had bid himself in the Fens or Bogs of *Mymrues*, and of many thousands more, that were exceeding rich, and most honourable, and in a moment of time became extream poor and miserable.

But you may see it every day, that as the Poet saith,

Rich *Cresus*
may suddenly
become as
poor as *Irus*,

Irus & est subito qui modo Crasus erat.

And there is nolle of us but he may consider how many great and honourable persons have been suddenly disgraced, and how many well left Heirs and wealthy men have in an instant consumed all their wealth, and wasted their Patrimony like a Snow-bal, and then came to be pried by their Friends, and scorned by some others, whom formerly they despised, and thought them not worthy to eat with the dogs of their Flocks; such is the nature of wealth, and so great is the vanity of all worldly riches, that the wise man saith, *They brake them unto their wings, and flew away like an Eagle (i.e.)* very swiftly.

Prov. 23. 5.

Plutarch in vita
P. Phryi, p.
404.

And yet for all this, it is a wonder to see the folly of most men shewed in the pursuit of this idle vanity; for it is reported how *Cynear*, a most excellent Orator, endeavouring to dissuade King *Pyrrhus* a brave Souldier from his expedition against the *Romans*, asked him, what he would do when he had subdued them? and he answered, that he would bring *Cicily* into his subjection; and what will your grace do then, said the Orator? the King replied, then we have a fair passage to go to bring in *Carthage*, and to conquer *Africa*: And when you have conquered them, what will you do, said *Cynear*; We will then, said the King, bring all *Macedon* under the yoke of our Obedience. And when both *Rome* and *Cicily* and *Carthage* and all *Macedon* have felt the stroke of your Majesties Sword, what will you do then I pray you? said the Orator; then the King perceiving what he meant, smilingly answered, we will then take our ease, and begin to make Feasts, and continue so every day, and be as merry together as possibly we can be. And what letteth us now, my good Lord, said *Cynear*, but that we may be now as merry and more quiet, sith we enjoy enough to effect all that presently, without any further travel, or more trouble, which we are about to go to seek with such shedding of humane blood of others, with so much manifest danger unto our selves.

Yet notwithstanding all this, the Learned Orator could not dissuade that ambitious Prince from this his high attempt, he could no waies prevail to make him desist from that uncertain Enterprize; but he would rather hazard all that happy estate which he did now enjoy, than leave off the deceitful hope of those things which he did so much desire.

And indeed such is the condition of all the sons of men, most dangerously sick of the same desperate disease; for though as the Poet saith, and he saith the truth, that man is but,

*Somnus, Bulla, Vscrum, Glacies, Flos, Fabula, Fœnum,
Umbræ, Cinis, Punctum, Vox, Sannus, Aura, Nihil.*

That is in few words, a dream, a shadow, a thought, a nothing; yet all or most of this little time that we do enjoy, we expend in following after the vain wealth, and deceitful riches of this world, that we shall find to be but empty clouds, without water, or like the Apples of *Sodom*, that being greedily grasped, will soon turn to smôak, and then speedily vanish into nothing; and we shall find our selves at last just like the Mill-wheel, that turneth still, and turneth round from day to day, and yet at the years end is in the same place where it was at the beginning.

So we tumble and cosse and turn together wealth, and to grow great in this world, and yet in the end we shall find our selves just in the same condition as we were at the beginning; for naked we came into the world, and naked we shall re-
turn again.

What

What need we then be so unjust, and shame our selves, either unduly to seek what we ought not to have, or dishonestly to deny what we ought to pay? Truly I am ashamed, that should be verified among Christians, which was complained of by the heathens; *Terras Astra reliquit*; that Justice could not be found in any Court on earth; or what *Solomon* said of the *Jews* should be found amongst us; *I saw the place of Judgment*: (the highest Court he meant) *and wickedness was there, and the place of Righteousness, and iniquity was there*.

But though neither shame of men, nor fear of God can make us leave this iniquity, but that we will continue still like *Jews* and *Pagans*, yet the truth is, that man in this rich estate, that is yet so palpably vain, when it is so unjustly procured, can be nothing else but meer vanity.

3. Honour, Glory, and a high esteem, to be famous amongst men, are accounted great in this world, and so they are indeed; but I mean great vanities, and the greatest of all vanities: For health is a happiness, especially while it lasteth, and Riches have some substance in them; and we may do good with them, as others do much evil with them; but honour and fame are nothing else but a vain blast of a poor mans breath, or a little bending of a Beggars knee, an idle Ceremony fruitless I am sure (therefore a great vanity) and it may be but some fair shew of some outward reverence, when perhaps there is indeed much inward hate; because the Tongue oftentimes praiseth those most highly, whom the heart detesteth most deadly. Or were it not so, yet all honour is accounted, but

1. Of a short continuance,

2. Of a small Extent,

and therefore a great Vanity: For,

1. Behold how great was the honour of *Hannibal*, and how suddenly was he hanged: Look upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, how he is to day saled with *Haile*, Glory of the world; and to morrow scorned like a Beast: and consider how glorious were *Pharaoh*, *Senacherib*, *Alexander*, *Cyrus*, and others; and yet, behold how speedily they were vanished into nothing; and how many great men and most honourable Personages have you lately seen so highly honoured and magnified both in Court and Countrey, as the only Emblemes of all honour; and how suddenly have they been either killed or beheaded, and their Glory buried in the dust, if not turned into worse? For the Scourge of Envy from below, and the Twigs of Ambition from above, do hunt and whip all honour unto death. And we know that many men while they lived, have been so unhappy, as to see their own honour buried: Or, if some have left a glorious Name behind them, as *Josias* did, when they left the world; yet we find that many famous men while they lived, have been quite forgotten, for want of Writers, when they were dead: For how should we have known the valour of *Hector* and *Achilles*, and the wisdom of *Nestor* and *Ulysses*, if *Homer* had not recorded the same unto posterity? Or how should we have understood the Piety of *Constantine*, and the Clemency of *Theodosius*, if *Eusebius*, and other Ecclesiastical Writers had not declared the same unto us? And of those that have been as happy in the Trumpeters of their Fame, as themselves have been Famous in the Actions of their Lives: we see, that as Death took away the Authors, so time hath wasted away their Writings; and (as the Poet saith)

What wonder we that Writings fail,

When stately Tombs do wear;

The very Stones consume to nought,

Which Titles they did bear.

Or be it granted that a man might truly say, I shall live when I am dead; and as *Ovid* saith,

D d d d

Nomen;

Perq; omnia se-
cula Fama
Si quid habent
veri vatam pre-
sagia, vivam,
Ovid. Meta-
morph. l. 11. in
fine.

Boetius de con-
sol. Phil. l. 1. c. 8

— *Nomenq; erit indelebile nostrum.*

My name shall remain indelible among the Posterities; yet if you do attentively weigh the most infinite spaces of Eternity, you shall find that the prolonging of our Names on earth can yield us no great Felicity; for if we compare the stay of one moment with ten thousand years, they have some proportion, though it be but very small; but this number of years how oft soever it be multiplied, yet it is no way comparable to Eternity, because limited things may in some sort be compared among themselves, but that which is infinite admitteth no comparison at all, saith *Boetius*; And therefore the longest Fame, be it as long as you can imagine, yet it is but of a very short continuance. And,

It is of a very small Extent; For you may learn by Astronomical Demonstrations, that the compass of the whole earth in comparison of the Heaven, is no bigger than a Pins Point; and of this earth, not above the fourth part is known to be inhabited, saith *Ptolem.* and that which is inhabited, is distinguished by many Nations of different Languages, Fashions, and Conversations, whereby it happeneth, that the same Fact which in some Countrey is laudable, in another place is punishable: therefore our Fame and Glory must be penned up in a very narrow bound, commonly within the compass of one Nation: For if it should go further, yet the difficulty of travel over many Seas, the diversity of Speeches, so hard to be understood, and the scarcity of Traffick to be generally transported, will never permit our Fame to spread it self very far: For if the Glory of the *Roman* People, in the time of *Cicero*, when it was most flourishing, and they were *Terrarum Domini*, Masters of most places that they knew, yet did not passe beyond Mount *Caucasus*, that lieth betwixt *Scythia* and the *Indians*, as the Orator confesseth, then certainly the Glory and Fame of any particular man can never penetrate, where the Glory and Trophies of such a Glorious Nation could not pass.

And therefore all the Honour of this world, and the greatest Fame of the Noblest men, whether it be for Birth, Wealth, Valour, Learning, or what you will, yet can it neither last long, nor extend it self very far; and therefore must it needs be a very great Vanity. And so you see that every man in his most Honourable estate is Vanity. Nay more than that,

The most excellent state is thought to be that, which is most powerful in Authority to rule and command all others; but the Vanities that are incident and attendant on this state, would require a Volume to display them: I will only say what *Horace* hath most truly, and you may daily see, how that;

Sapius venit agitur ingens Pinus,

Et decidunt Turges, seruantq; summos

Fulmina Montes.

And so you see that every man in his best estate, let his state be what you will, yet he is but Vanitie. Nay that is not all; For,

Every man living is *omni modo parvulus, omnimoda Vanitas*; altogether vanity; and this is one degree of Calamity further than all the rest: For to consider that every man is vanity, is bad enough; but to be vanity in our best estate, is worse, and in that estate to be altogether vanity, is worst of all: because this sheweth unto us that man is but meer Vanity, and nothing else but vanity, or vain in all that he is, and vain in all that he doth; as

1. Vain within, and vain without; vain in his Body, and vain in his Soul.

2. Vain in his thoughts, vain in his words, and vain in all his works; And,

3. Not only *in aliter vanitas*, wholly vanity, but also *universa vanitas*, all vanity; so that there is no vanity in the world that can be named or found out, but you may find the same in man; as, Pride is vanity, and you may find enough of that in man; lies are vanities, and most men are so addicted and delighted either

to invent lies, to hear lies, or to relate lies, that you shall almost finde nothing in most men but lies; and so of all other vanities whatsoever they be, they are to be found in man; *Antoninus* for methods sake, ranketh them into three special Series;

1. *Instabilitatis*, of instability, which the Preacher handleth from the first Chapter unto the fourth Chapter.
2. *Iniquitatis*, of iniquity, whereof the Preacher treateth from the fourth Chapter unto the twelfth Chapter.
3. *Penalitat*, of penalty, which the said Preacher setteth down in the last verse of the twelfth Chapter. *For God shall bring every work into judgement, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.*

Antoninus
part. 1. tit. 1.
c. 8. Sect. 3.

Others terme the first degree of Vanities, to be the vanity of our *Creation*.

The second degree they call the vanity of our *Condition*.

The third is the vanity of our *Dissolution*.

1. Touching the vanity of our *Creation*, *God put no trust in his servants*, saith holy *Job*; that is, he trusted them not with such a stability, or he made them not so absolute that they should be independent, and free from all possibility of falling; and therefore seeing that *nihil est omne quod ex nihilo est*, all in themselves are nothing, which are made of nothing, as *Origen* saith, this possibility to vary, and to be reduced to their first privation and non-entity, is nothing else but an innate vanity, or a momentary nothing, if they be not still upheld and sustained by their Creator, who as the Apostle saith, *Beareth up all things with his mighty word*, or with the word of his power, that is, *Jesus Christ*; Yea, *Heb. 1.*

2. The vanity of our *Creation* was but comparative, as the creature stood in collation with Gods infinite purity; but when *Adam* sinned, he made himself the destroyer of his own stability, the defacer of his own excellency, and to be come nothing but meer vanity; so that every creature now, the worst of all the creatures, and all creatures might insult over his Apostasie, and say unto him, *Art thou become like one of us, art thou become as vain as we?*

And because all of us were then in the loyns of *Adam*, as *Levi* was in *Abraham* when he met with *Melchisedech*, therefore his calamity was not personal, but specifical; and his iniquity brought a vanity upon us all, which is the vanity of our condition; so that now every man is nothing else but vanity, the Saint as well as the sinner, the rich as well as the poor, and the Noble man as well as the beggar; for as soon as the noblest of men is inobled with the name of a man, so soon doth he inherit the title of a vain man, or a man of vanity, that is replenished with all vanity, because filled with all unrighteousness. But

3. The vanity of our *Dissolution* is the last and the worst of all vanities. And this is,

1. When they see that they themselves are Beasts (these are the very words of the Scriptures) *For that which befalleth the sons of men, befalleth beasts, even one thing befalleth them; as the one dyeth, so dyeth the other, yea they have all one breath; so that a man hath no preeminence above a beast, for all is vanity, all go unto one place, all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again.* *Eccles. 3. 18, 19, 20.*

2. When they finde that they themselves are worse than beasts, when the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth, vanisheth, and is reduced to nothing; but the spirit of the man that should go upward, and be united to Eternity, shall descend to be chained in everlasting misery; *Ubi nec tormentis deficiunt, nec miseri torti moriuntur, sed per mille millia annorum cruciandi nec tamen in secula liberandi.* Where they shall have torments without ease, and be tormented without end; and this is a vanity indeed, *Vanitas vanitatum*, the greatest

greatest of all vanities, because the bond of our union with God is here dissolved, and we are divorced from all the happy Eternity.

And thus I hope you see that man, be he never so excellent in condition, so eminent in place, or so powerfull in authority, yet here is no exception, no exemption, no limitation, but he is altogether vanity.

And, though the time will not give me leave to amplify all the particulars that might be shewed you out of this Text; yet I desire your patience to give me leave to apply all briefly unto our selves, and to learn from hence this fivefold Lesson, which may serve as a fivefold shield to preserve us from all iniquity here, and from all misery hereafter.

1. To eradicate and root up that stinking weed of pride and haughtiness that *Lucifer* laboureth to spread so far, and to stick so fast in the heart of every man; for why shouldst thou be proud, thou vain thing, that art but dust and ashes, and altogether vanity? what hast thou to be proud of? the Lion may boast of his strength, the Bear of his precious stone, the Panther of his colours, and all other creatures of some singular excellency that is in them; but what hast thou, that standest there with a stiffe neck and proud looks, but what thou hast received, and art just like the Jay decked about with borrowed ornaments, and hast nothing of thine own to animate thy pride but what thou robbest from the bruit beasts? and yet the faire Lady is proud of her *white hands* and *pleated hair*, & *lumina que possunt sollicitare Deos*; but alas two or three fits of an Ague will spoyle all, or else Age will make faire *Helena* to become as wrinkled as *Hechiba*.

Nay more than this, I have seen too much pride and arrogancy in some, that of all others should be most humble, and teach others to be meek and lowly, which is a great shame, that thou, which teachest another, teachest not thy self, and considerest not what a vain thing thou art, and what little reason thou hast to look so big, and to lift up thy head so high.

Yea, the Saint-like Separatist, like the boasting Pharisee, will be proud of his holiness; but as St. Aug. saith. *Quid iustitia adificaverat Phariseus, superbia destruebat, atque ideo non placuit Deo, quia placebat sibi*; this pride spoyleth and poysoneth all our goodness, because that as humbly maketh men like unto Angels, so pride made the Angels Devils, and men to be like Devils.

Aug. 10. 3.
Epist. 58.

Psal. 146. 3. 4.

2. The consideration of our vanity should ever put us in minde of what the Prophet saith; Put not your trust in Princes, nor in any child of man; relye not on them, for there is no help in them, and the best of them, and greatest, is not able to do the good he would do, because he is altogether vanity, and when his breath goeth forth, he shall turn again to his earth; and then all his thoughts perish; and as Strigelius saith, *Omnia sunt hominum tenni pendencia fila*.

And many times the greatest friends, that we relye upon will shew themselves like *Theagines*, that was surnamed *Warts*, smock, *Quia magnifice pollicebatur, cum esset pauper*, because he promised great and mighty things when he was but a poor scoundrel. And therefore it is but a great vanity to relye upon vain man that is altogether vanity, and will let thee fall, when thou hast most need of help.

Aug. 10. 3.
Epist. 58.

3. This may encourage us not to fear what man can do against us; let men threaten and fret and storm as much as they will, and do as much as they can, yet fearing God, we need not fear any of them, because the greatest and most powerfull man is but vanity, and altogether vanity; and if God be with us, who can be against us? *Quia non plus valet ad desiciendum terrena poena, quam ad erigendum divinitus.*

4. This very point should reach us wholly to relye on God, that never faileth them that put their trust in him; but is, as the Prophet saith, *Deus in opportunitatibus*, a present help in trouble, and helperth us alwayes in the most needfull time of trouble, holding us up by his hand, as he did St. Peter, when we are ready to sink.

5. And

[illegible]

And here I should shew the *folly* and *vanity* of those *vain men*, that to purchase unto themselves the reward of their *immortality*, and the wages of their *unhappiness*, are to greedy to *rob the Church of Christ*, and to snatch away the *lands* and *houses* of God into their possessions: but that *heaven*, if God lend me *life* and *health*, to set forth a full and *ample Declaration*, to be exhibited to the high Court of *Justice* before *Jesus Christ*, the righteous Judge, against *avarice*, and all sacrilegious persons * to shew what *little reason* vain man, and *prince* vanity hath to *soyl his God*, to *rob the Church*, and to *destroy himself*.

And therefore this much I will serve at this time to shew unto you, that it is most certain, *That every man in his best estate is altogether vanity.* And God grant that all my hearers may make the right use of what I have said. Amen.

* Which I have now published in the beginning of this Book.

O Lord my God:

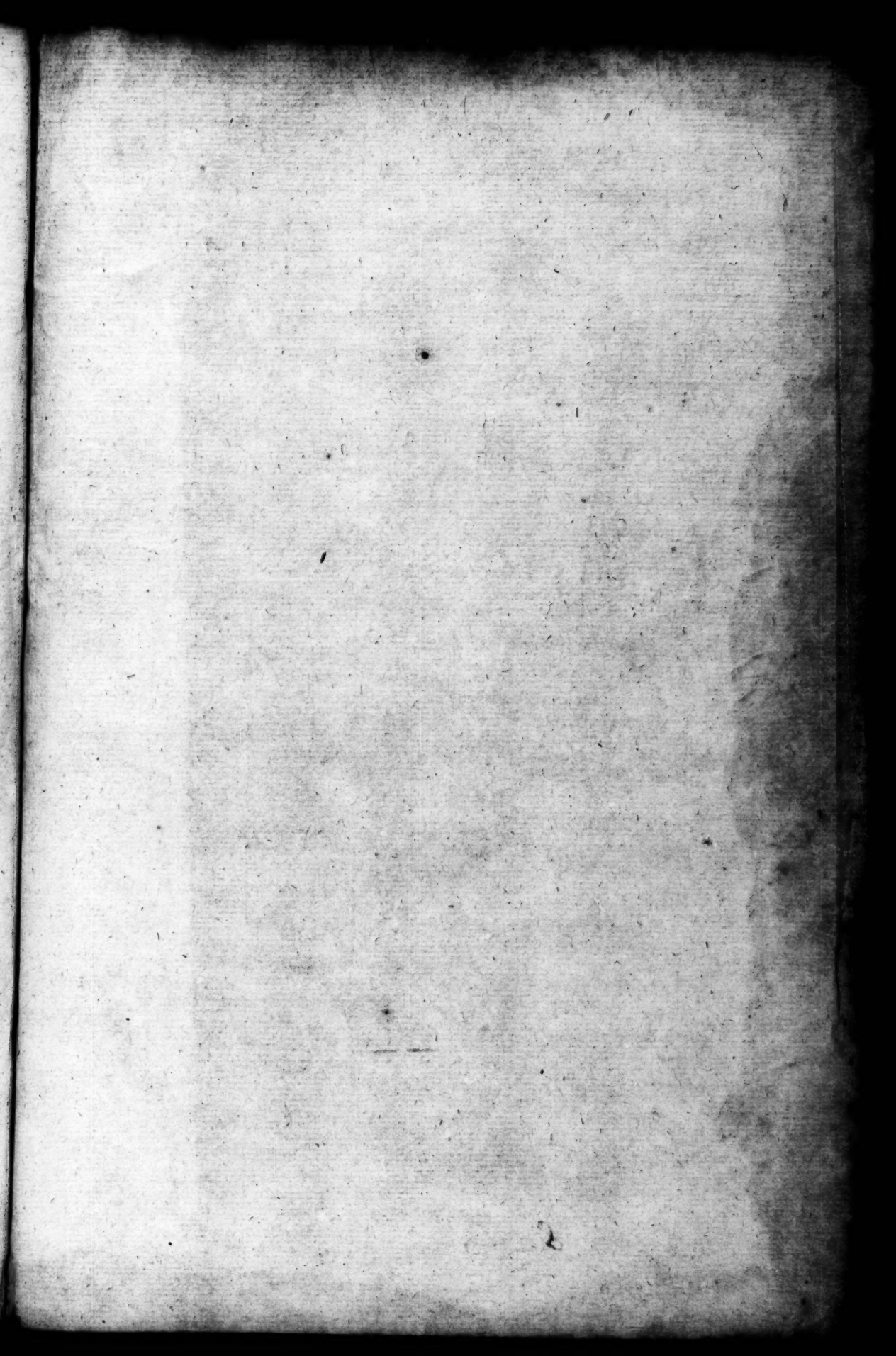
Didst not thou save me, and deliver me from my most malicious enemies, that sought my life, and hast thou not snatched me out of the jaws of death? And didst thou not promise and vow, * to do my best endeavour to serve thee, and to honour thee without the favour, flattering of any man? And hast thou not since many times delivered me from the mouth and teeth of that Devil, and Beast that attended me of the bitterness, pain, the great anguish that was so wretchedly afflicted me, and still is?

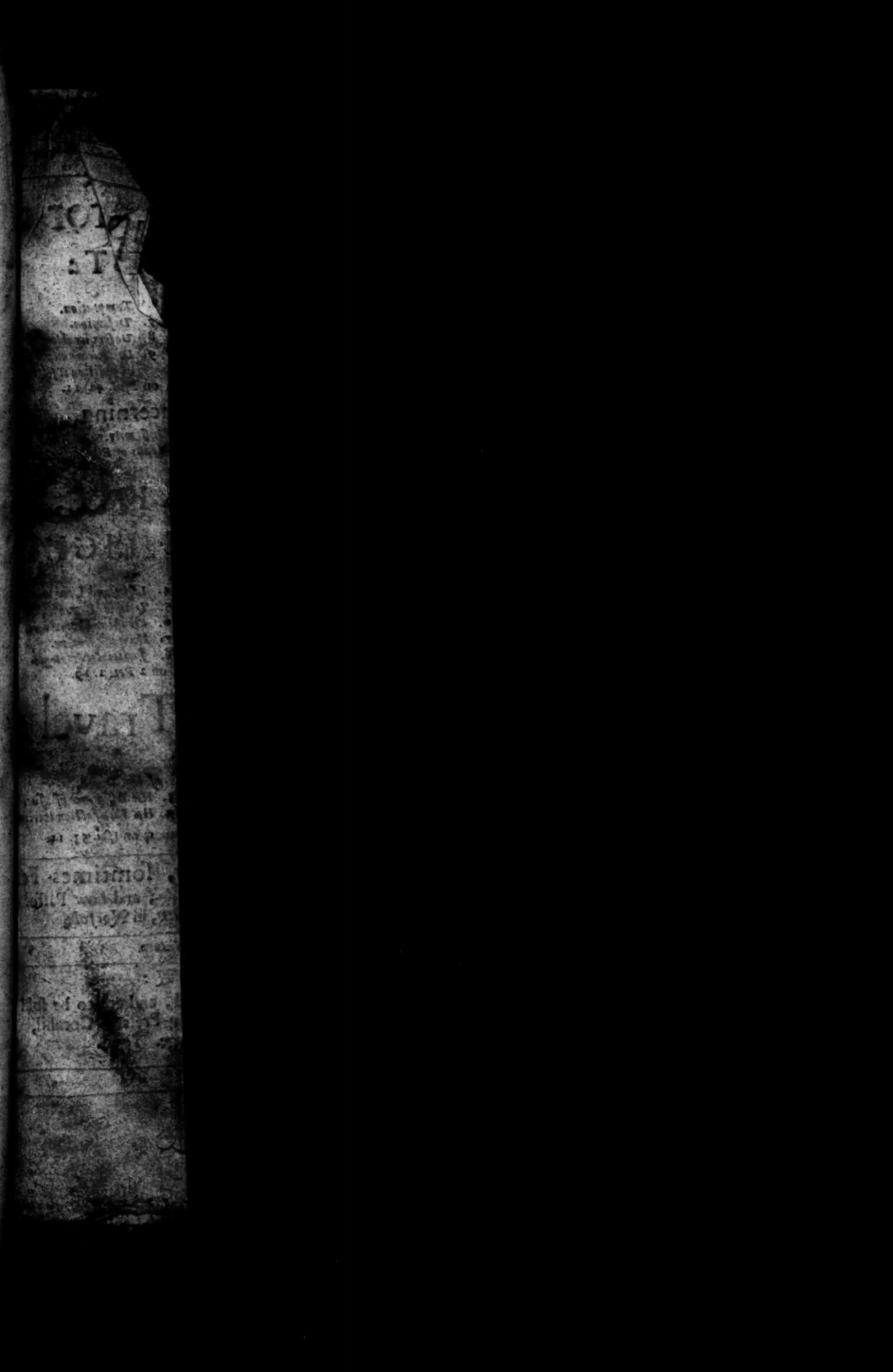
*In the Epistle
before the se-
ven Golden
Candlesticks.

Jehovæ Liberatori

FINIS.

1. The Incarnation of the Word, Preached at St. Pauls Church, upon *John* 1. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 84





and to have a *perpetual* Being; because God never made man to have an *end*, and to be reduced to *nothing*; but as the wise man saith, *he created all things*, and much rather man, *that they might have their being*.

Sap. 1. 14.

And what *madness* is it therefore, that men will *not believe* this Truth? especially considering, it is most certain, that the remembrance of their *end*, and the *shortness* of their time here, how their dayes do pass away *like a Weavers shuttle*, or like a Post that carrieth not, will alwaies be such a *corruptive* to their Souls, as will put an end to all their *earthly* Comforts, whenas *nothing* in the world is left us to rejoyce in, but in *that* thing only which is *perpetual* and remaineth ours for ever.

But then here you must understand, that besides the *prime* Eternity, which is God, there is a twofold perpetuity of men.

1. The one, by our *Union* with God, which is perfect felicity.
2. The other, in our *Separation* from God, which is the Extreamest Misery;

And,

Seeing the Souls of men are *immortal*, and do naturally affect *Eternity*, as not only *Divinity* sheweth, but also the *savdest Philosophers* have sufficiently attested, and every mans *Conscience*, in the expectation of his reward for his Actions, be they good or bad, perswaderh him to believe, it is most certain, that those *wicked worldlings* which desire nothing but the Honours and the *Prosperity* of this present Life, and those *incredulous Hereticks*, both of the former times, and of this *present Age*, which against their *Consciences* do withstand this Truth, shall not withstanding be *perpetually* divided in their *Union* with God, or in their *Separation* from God; and as it is the *greatest* Comfort of a Christian man to believe that he shall be *everlastingly* with God in all happiness, so it is not the *least* torment unto a damned soul, to consider, that he shall be *for ever and ever* in Torments, *separated* from God.

And therefore the *Error* is not, that men do seek for *perpetuity*, which they shall be *sure* to have, but that they seek the same amiss.

Either not that which is with their *Union* and Fruition of God; or if that, then either not *as* they should, or not *where* they should seek it, that is, either not in the *due time*, or not in the *right place*, where it may be found; as,

The twofold error of men in seeking perpetuity.
1. Seeking it too late.

1. For the *time*, many seek it, but *too late*; and so they miss it, because that *now is the time acceptable*. *Ex hoc momento pendet eternitas*, and our perpetuity either with God, or without God, either in Joy or in Torments, dependeth upon our demeanour in this *present*, and little short time, that we have here to live.

2. Seeking it in the wrong place.

2. For the *Place*, you may see how *most men* purchase Lands, build Castles, gather Riches, heap up Treasures, and so lay down such *Foundations* of perpetuity here on earth, as if they were to *live* here *for ever*; and they do so rely upon these *transient* things, and *mortal* men, as if they were *immortal* Gods; and so they seek for their perpetuity in the *Regions* of Vaniry, and they would find *perfect* Felicity in this Valley of Misery, but as the *Israelites*, by joyning themselves to *Baal* *peor*, separated themselves from *El Shadai*, the Almighty God; so these men, by seeking *Eternity* in these vanities, shall never be able to find it, and to be united with it, because *Eternity* and *Felicity* are not to be found here on earth: For as the Apostle saith, *we have here no continuing City*, and we are but as *Pilgrims* and *Strangers* here in this world, and our perpetuity is to be expected, not in this life, but in the life to come.

And so by this *large* Introduction that I have made, you see that these words of the Prophet are not to be understood of man *simply considered*, but of man *vanities* in respect of his *State* and Condition in this life; for though man be to abide *for ever*, yet as he is in this life, *verily every man*,

And to prove this unto you, you shall find the wisest King and the most learned Preacher that ever *Isaiah* had, assuring you, that there is *nothing* here in this world but *vanity* and *vexation* of Spirit; and that you might the sooner believe this

this Truth, he doubleth and trebleth his words, saying, *Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity*, that is, nothing else but meer vanity.

And lest proud man should think, that this is meant of Gold and Silver, and the like inanimate things of this world, or of the irrational Creatures, whose Souls do perish with their bodies, and not of man, which is the Prince and Lord of all Gods Creatures, the Glory of all Gods works, and the Image of God himself, the Prophet *David*, that was both a great King and a great Prophet, tels you plainly, that you need not doubt of it; *Verily, every man living is altogether Vanity, Sels.*

Touching which words, I beseech you to consider,

1. The various Lectiōns,

2. The chiefeſt Observatiōns

} of this Text.

Two things to be considered about these words.

1. For the diversity of Reading it.

The first word, according to the *Septuagint*, is *van*, which *S. Hieron* translateth *Enim*; For, as the Cause of the brevity and shortness of mans life, that it should be but a span long, as the phrase signifieth, *palmare fecisti dies meos*, because every man is *vanity*; therefore my life is so short.

Others, as *Tremelius*, do render it *profecto* or *certe*, surely or verily, that we might assure our selves, and make no doubt of the truth and certainty of this point, that *van*, *van*, be the word he useth, never to *van*, never to *van*, and never to *van*, yet is he but vanity.

But others would have both the Hebrew word, and the Greek Particle *van* to signifie, *solum sine tantum & duntaxat*, only, as if the Prophet meant, that, of all Gods Creatures, only man, or man alone is the receptacle of all *vanity*; and besides man, there is nothing else, wherein the signs of all *vanity* are to be found so evidently as they are in man; because nothing in the world hath so far deviated and strayed away from the end for which it was appointed as man hath done; whereas all other creatures stand according to Gods Ordinance; the Stars keep their motions, the Moon observeth her Seasons, and the Sun knoweth his going down, only man knoweth not his duty, and so *Egyptus* testifieth, *The Oxe knoweth his Owner, and the Ass his Masters Crib, but Israel hath not known, my people doth not consider*, *Eccl. 3.* and therefore only man deservedly and signally is vanity.

The second word which is used in the Original is *Chol*, and it is a word of both Numbers, and of all Genders, and the *Septuagint* read it *olymene*, which *S. Jerome* translateth *omnia*, all; the vulgar Latine renders it *universa*, and *Tremelius* reads it *omni moda*; and if rightly understand them, they all mean, that man is all manner of vanity, and that there is no vanity in the world, and no foolery in the world; but you shall find the same in man.

The third word after the *Septuagint*, is *vanabans*, which *S. Hieron*, and the vulgar Latine, and *Tremelius* translate *vanitas*; but *Symmachus* reads it *atmus*, a Vapour, to which thing *S. James* compareth the life of man, and useth the same word, saying *atmus yap est vita*, for our life is a vapour, that is, such a thing as soon riseth, and as suddenly perisheth.

The fourth word, that the *Septuagint* read, is, *pas d'esperance*, and *Tremelius* reads it *omnis homo*, and our English reads it *every man*; but others, to whom Frather assent, do understand it to signifie *totus homo*, that is, all or whole man, or, a man compleat, soul and body, and accumulated with all the perfections that man can have, and with all the goods either of Nature or of Fortune that he may find under the Sun, yet is he but *vanity*.

The fifth word is *van*, living, every man living, the which word *Aquila* reads, *ischnos*, *erectus*, lifted up, and *Symmachus* reads it *istos*, standing or subsisting, and *Tremel.* translates it *quantumvis constitutus maxime*, how excellently soever he be settled, and the sense is, as most Interpreters will have the Hebrew word *van*, to signifie, that every state of man, or, man in every state, and in what condition

1. The diversity of reading them.

1 Word.

2 Word.

3 Word.

James 4.14.

4 Word.

5 Word.

condition soever he is, King, Priest, Prophet, Honourable, wealthy, or what you will, yet is he all vanity; and though such a one seems to stand, and to be something, existing firm in his strength and vigour, yet in very deed and in truth, the greatest, the strongest, the best and most powerful of them, is nothing else, but meer Vanitie.

And I would that all men would well consider it how vain they are.
3. The special Points considerable in this Text.

And so you have the words of this Text explained unto you, *πάντα ἡ συνπαρταυτά ἐστιν ἡ ἀνθρώπου ἐξουσία*, Verily, every man, or, all man, living, or standing in his best estate and condition, is altogether vanity, and all the vanity that can be found under the Sun.

2. For the Observations that may be collected out of this Text. I desire you to note with me these six principal Points.

1. That *man* is nothing else but vanity.
2. That *whole* man is vanity.
3. That *every* man is vanity.
4. That every man in his best estate is vanity.
5. That every man in his best estate is altogether vanity.
6. What Lessons of Instructions you may collect to your selves, from these Observations of mans Vaniry; or what Application you may make of this Expression of the Prophet.

And so, as Solomon ascended to the Throne of his Majesty, *per sex gradus*, by six special steps, so we shall descend to the nothing of our Mortality by these six special Considerations; and then I hope, it will appear unto you all, what a nothing they are, that seem now to be so very great, and what little reason we have to be so much afraid as we are, of such great nothings.

But though the Application of the whole was the chiefest Point that I aimed at, when I first began to treat of this Text, yet mine allowance of time, nor abusing your patience, will not permit me now to proceed any further than the first Point at this time; That *Man is nothing else but Vanitie*. And,

1 Point.
That man is
Vanity.
James 4. 6.

1. You may remember, that the holy Scripture saith, *God resisteth the proud, but he giveth Grace unto the lowly*; and yet such is the pride of mans heart, that Alexander would be no less than the Son of Jupiter, Xerxes would correct the Hellespont, and write Letters of great threatnings to Mount Athos, that deemed his words no more than the wind: Saporis King of Persia would needs be stiled Brother unto the Sun and Moon: and Caligula would take sport at vertic sport, counterthunder God, and would needs be no less than Jupiter Latialis, the very God of the Latines, and of all Italy.

The palpable
pride of men.

And so the rest of the *Cæsars* were so transported with such palpable pride, that all the Moneths of the year must be shared amongst them: and as of old Janus that looked backward and forward, to the old year and the new, like unto Noah, that had seen the world before the Flood, and that which was after the Flood, had the Moneth of January dedicated unto him; so Mars the great Warriour, must have March; Nero must have April, Clandius shall have Maii, Germanicus June, Julius July, Augustus, August, Antoninus September, Domitian October, Tiberius November, and he wittily demanded of the Senate, when they dedicated this Moneth unto him, what they would do, when they should have more than 12 Cæsars? as Xiphilinus saith.

The Moneths
shared among
the Cæsars.

Exod. 5. 2.

Isa. 14. 13, 14.

So Pharaoh demands, *Who is the Lord that I should obey his voice, to let Israel go out of my Service, to serve the Lord? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go.* And the King of Babylon said in his heart, *I will ascend into Heaven, I will exalt my Throne above the Stars of God; I will ascend above the heights of the Clouds, and I will be like the Most High.*

The pride of
many base fel-
lows.

And not only these great Kings and Emperors, that had some small kind of greatness in them, had such aspiring thoughts, and seed of Pride in them, but we find also that Clearchus, a base Fellow of Pontus, would needs be worshipped as a God, and his Son must be called Lightning, as Suidas testifieth; So Menecrates, a mean Physician, would fain be taken for Jupiter, and Empedocles the Philosopher, would

would in like manner have been deemed for *immortal*.

And so many more the like *unlikely* fellows would faine challenge to themselves *Temples, Altars, Sacrifices*, and other services proper and peculiar to the *Heavenly* God: And if we our selves ascend not so *high* to be such *prodigies* of pride, as these Heathens were, yet I am afraid; there are but *very few* of us that are not some wayes *blasted* with a *vaine* conceit of their own worth; as you may see some *Deifying* their own persons, and as it were adoring either their *fair faces*, or their *lovely eyes*, or their *goodly hair*, now adays idolized by many youngsters, as *Ab-solon* in former time seemed to do, or their *exquisite hands*, or some other part or parcel of their *well-shaped* bodies.

Others, as the Prophet saith, *do sacrifice unto their net*, and admire their own *wit*, whereby they have drawn so much *wealth* into the same, and yet preserve it from *breaking*, as the Apostles Net was preserved unbroken, when it drew to land an hundred fifty and three great Fishes.

Joh. 21.11.

A third sort of men make their *strength* to become the *Law of Justice*, and they that are weak are just nothing.

A fourth sort are *hubled* up with an high conceit of their *honour*, and with *Ham-man*, they are ready to burst if every *knee* doth not bend, and every *head* be not bare to them; and the *golden Asses* that have their purses full of *Angels*, and their coffers replenished with such *Deities*, do think they should be *adored* above all other creatures. And as

Fastus inest pulchris sequiturque superbia formam,

Beauty maketh many proud, so likewise

Fastus inest sanctis, sequiturque superbia deitas;

The Scholar is often *proud* of his *Learning*, and the *Holy Saint* is not alwayes free from too high a conceit of his *Sanctity*. And then as St. *Aug.* saith, *Superbia destruit quicquid iustitia edificat.*

And in brief, as the Devil told *Adam* and *Eve*, that *they should be like gods*; The vain conceits of all the sons of *Adam*: so there is not scarce any one of all the sons of *Adam*, but for some one thing or other, though he will not say it with his tongue, yet will his *heart* conceive, that he is *similis altissimo*, as good as the best. And such are the *thoughts* of men. And holy *Job* saith, that these men are so impudent and so graceless, that they say to God, *Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy wayes; what is the Almighty that we should serve him? and what profit should we have if we pray unto him?* Job 21.14,15.

But the Prophet *David*, that knew what is man better than all these men, to pull down those *high looks* of the proud, and to batter the muddy walls of flesh and blood, saith, *Man is like a thing of naught, his time passeth away, nay flyeth away like a shadow*; and here he saith, *Verily, every man in his best estate is altogether vanity*: So you see, man is but a *vain thing*; nay more, he is *vanity* it self, yea and more than that, which is a note above *Ela*, he is *altogether vanity*. Psal. 144.

And because, as St. *Ambrose* saith, *Amaritudo sermonum*, the bitterness of words, and the sharpness of our reproofs is oftentimes, *medicina animarum*, the salve of our souls, I must crave leave, *depreciari carnem hanc*, as *Terentian* speaketh, that is, to batter down the lofty towers of proud flesh, and to visit those that overprize themselves, like *Simon Magus*, that gave it out he was *the great one*, some great one, and to shew unto you what a *vanity* or vain thing is man, and that

Act. 8.9.
ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἐστὶν
ὁ μέγας ὁ
μεγάλος

1. In his *ingress*, or coming into the world.
2. In his *progress*, or continuance in the world.
3. In his *egress*, or going out of the world.

1. I will

1. His ingrels.

1. I will not go about to *shame* you with the *narration* of your conception any further, then what the Prophet saith, *In sin hath your mother conceived you*. The *purest* Embrio was impure; and how many sins the Mother doth commit, while the childe is in her womb, her self and God onely knoweth: but when the *Infant* comes forth, out of the *narrow* prison of his Mothers womb into the large field of this wide world, you may consider, that the *first act* of his Tragedy is to salute his *distressed* Mother, for all her *pains* to get him out of prison, with *cries* and lamentations; and much more he would cry, if he knew, or could know the *many* miseries, that he is to pass through, and *must* pass through them, if he liveth.

2. His progress:
Ezek. 16, 6,

2. The Infant being born, and as the Prophet saith *polluted in his own blood*; and the Lord saying unto it, *Live*, he hath his *progress* and journey to pass, into which he could *never* proceed any further, but make *faces* and *noyses*, and lye and then dye, if he were left alone, and not *tended* by his Mother, or some other Nurse, that must look unto him, and that for *no few* dayes, or months neither, but some certain years at least.

And as soon as ever *age* hath brought him to *any wit*, he falls to his *shifis*, to delude his *teachers*, and to decline his own *good*; and when by his Parents *cave* and his Tutors *pains*, he is become ripe in his profession, a learned Lawyer, a skilfull Physitian, a deep Politician, a great Artift, or a valiant Scouldier, what doth he then, but use all his endeavours to *supplant* others, to *advance* himself? and he cares not *how*, nor how many *others* he maketh poor, to make himself onely rich.

Aug. de verb.
Dom. Ser. 17.

Augustinus.

And yet, this is not all, for you may remember what St. *Augustine* saith, *Quid est diu vivere nisi diu torqueri? nam vita presens est arumosa, quam humores tumidant dolores extenuant, ardores exsiccant, aera morbidant, esca inflant, jejunia macerant, joci dissolvunt, tristitia consumunt, sollicitudo coarctat, securitas hebetat, divitiæ jactitant, paupertas deiecit, juvenus extollit, senectus incurvat, infirmitas frangit, maior deprimat. Et post hæc omnia mors intermisit & universis gaudiis finem imponit, ita cum esse deserit nec fuisse putetur.* And you may remember also that *Job* tells you, and *Seneca* tells his friend *Lucilius* the very same, that *vivere est militare*, the life of man is a *warfare* here upon earth; and *Lucan* saith,

Nulla fides pietasque viris, qui castra sequuntur.

Whether this be true or no, let the Warrior himself, and not I, be the Judge; but for what *Job* saith, you may see it *literally* verified throughout all the world and all *Christendome* now to become the shambles of *Christian blood*.

The many miserable Wars
of these last
centuries of
years even in
Christendome.

The which men, if you consider their *Civil* breeding, and their *much* teaching in the School of *Christ*, that doth so straitly forbid all *ambition*, and all *revenge*, and so earnestly enjoyn all men to *love one another*; you may admire that as *Jerusalem* justified *Samaria*, so the pretended *Christian* should justify the bloody *Turks*, or men-eating *Canibals*, that glut themselves upon *buried carcases*, and do use as the Poet saith, *Pinguiscere corpore corpus*; and are therefore deemed by the *more civil* Nations to be but the *remote* prodigies of lost humanity. For,

If you now let your thoughts to *consider*, and your eyes to *wander* throughout all the *Christian Kingdomes* of *Spain*, *France*, *Germany*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, *Italy*, and the rest of the neighbouring Nations that profess to believe in the *same Jesus Christ*, and do hope to be coheirs of the *same Kingdom* of heaven, they shall see *most of these men* striving to be, not *homicida cucurbitarum*, the cutters down of Cucumbers, as St. *Aug.* stiled the *Manicheans*; but *Homicida Christianorum*, the bloody killers of many good *Christians*, and so make Rivers of blood, and Hills of *Christian carcases*: And how he, that shed his blood to *redeem* those carcases, will judge of this, I am affraid to *speak*, and tremble to *think* of it.

And yet, you must not think that I say this to retard the courage, or to *blunt* the

the Swords of our gallant Souldiers, that have *just causes* to make War; for when wickedness groweth so *wilfull*, as to seek our *lives*, that desire to live in peace, or to rob us of our *livelihood*, lands or goods that God hath *justly* given us, then you must know, that our God is the *God of War*, as well as the God of Peace, and his name is the *Lord of Hosts*, and he will make his sword *drunk with blood*, and will *strengthen* our hands, if we *trust* in him, to *scatter* all those people that *delight* in War, and to destroy those Enemies that *maliciously* labour for our destruction.

What Wars
the Author
blameth.

But I blame all *shedding* of Christian blood in any War, either to *plant Religion* which should be done by *preaching*, and not by fighting; which in seeking to make them *Christian men*, will make them *no men*, or dissembling hypocrites; in stead of faithfull believers, or else to satisfy the ambition of any man that desires to *enlarge* his Dominion, and so unjustly to wrong his neighbours, when as every man, from the King unto the beggar, should be contented with what God hath justly given him; and that policy can never be justified, which is not every way consonant to equity, or especially for any subjects out of a *rebellious* discontent, or *ambitious* desire to *usurp* the Power and Authority of their *Severaign*, to turn the sweet waters of *Peace* to become rivers of *Christian blood*; This is that warfare which I *chiefly* discommend, as the greatest of all vanities.

But,

3. If the *Sword* or *Bullet* in this warfare, taketh not man away, yet *Age* and *Sickness* will soon summon him to his death and dissolution; and till then his whole life is spent *inter suspiria & lachrymas*, betwixt sighs and tears, troubles of minde, and distempers of body, and a thousand such *sad accidents*, that will soon bring *hoc vitium corpusculum*, this our frail and brittle body; and our distressed life to a miserable death; and when we dye, or, as the Psalmist saith, *When the breath of man goeth forth, he shall turn again to his earth, and then all his thoughts*, and all his high designs, and vain conceits *perish*; and then it will appear, which till then proud man will not *believe*, that the life of man is but a *flower* that soon withereth, a *smoke* that soon vanisheth, and a *bubble* that suddenly falleth; or as others say, a shadow, a dream, a nothing.

3. His egress.

Psal. 146.3.

And it were well for many men, if, as their *great thoughts*, either on some deep plots of state, or how to hook unto themselves their neighbours inheritance, or to wreak their malice on their poor brethren, or the like *reprehensibilia*, Castles in the air, as *Aristophanes* calleth them, do *vanish* into nothing, when their *soules* part with their bodies, so likewise their *bodies* and their *soules* should then, with their *Thoughts*, return to nothing.

But that cannot be, for that now man's soul must *pay* for all his *evil* thoughts, and *suffer* for all the wicked works, and the great wrongs that he hath done; and though *è corpore vermis, & è vermis factor*, his body turnes to *worms*, and those wormes yield such *Sent*, as all the Spices of *Arabia* cannot keep away, yet the *living spirit* of every wicked man, that cannot, and shall not die, must now for his *unrepented* evil, be hurried into the *dreadful* Regions of all horror, where it must *live* and lie for ever and ever, to suffer *unsufferable* and unconceivable torments, a life that lives not, and a death that dies not.

And so you see, that man is *Vanity*, and a wicked man in misery, *worse* than vanity.

And therefore *Reason* should perswade you all to labour to become *more* than men, that is, more than *meer* men; and to desire to be *born again*, not of flesh and blood, but of *water and of the Spirit of God*, that you may be brought again to that *Union* and Communion with God; which you had when we were *first* made by God.

2. The Prophet saith, that *totus homo vanitas*, all the *whole* man; that is, both his *Body* and his *Soul* is vanity; for what is this *body* of ours, but a piece of earth, which we tread upon, *Saccus fercorum*, saith *S. Bernard*, a sack full of dust, to say noworse, and a Magazine of all *Diseases*, Coughes, Agues, Fevers, Gouts,

2 Point, That
whole man is
vanity.

1. The Body;
and

¶ ¶ ¶

and what not ? and when these have satisfied and *feasted* themselves upon our *bodies*, what are our bodies but a feast for *Worms* ?

2. The Soul.

And the *Soul*, though it be a *pure Spirit*, as it proceeded from God, yet as it is now, *traded* from our Parents, as many Divines think it is, or as it is *infused* into our flesh, as others do believe, and remaineth in our bodies; all the *Faculties* thereof are corrupted; the Understanding is *darkened* with ignorance, the Memory *dulled* with forgetfulness, and the Will *defiled* with *Misfe-affections*.

And so as *Earth* is good, and *Water* is good, yet being mingled together, they do make a *dirty Puddle*, and neither of them can be said to be then a *pure Element*; so the body and soul of man, though *both* were good in their *Originals*, and good in their own kind, yet now being both *coupled* together, as *Mazentius* coupled the *dead bodies* to the living, they are both marred, and become so *deformed* by corrupting one another, and associating themselves in their desires, that now the eyes are the *burning-glasses* of Concupiscence, and lusting after our neighbours *Wives*, *Lands* and *Goods*; the *Tongue* is a *Razor* of detraction, to defame and slander our own *Mother's Sons*; the *Throat* is an *open Sepulchre*; the *Hands*, Engines of violence, to rob, wound and kill; the *Heart* a Mint of all Villanies; the *Feet* swift to shed blood; and the *whole man* is become a *Beast*, saith the Psalmist, and a *Devil*, saith our Saviour, for *one of you is a Devil*.

Psal. 74.

John 6. 70.

And so you see that all the *whole man*, if he be but *meer man*, as he is begotten of *flesh* and *blood*, in his best, is but *vanity*, in his next, *iniquity*, and in his worst consideration, a *meer misery*; and so miserable, that being but *meer man*, he hath *little cause*, with the Philosopher, to thank God that he was made a *man*, when it had been *better* for him, as our Saviour saith of *Judas*, that *he had never been made*, and never *born*.

Mark 14. 21.

That we
should labour
to become
more than
meer men.

And therefore if we labour not to become *more* than men, that is, to be like *Bacchus*, his *genitus*, as the Poets feign of him, to be *born again*, of another Mother, the spouse of Christ, and so to become *double men*, and to consist of the *old man*, begotten of mortal Seed, and of the *new man*, that is, begotten by the *immortal Seed* of Gods Spirit, we shall never be *happy*, and never otherwise, than, as I said, *vanity* and *misery*; for though the *old man* be never so *Glorious*, and never so honourable, the Off-spring of Kings and Princes, and though outwardly it appears never so *beautiful*, without blemish; yet if the *Inner man* of the heart, that is begotten by Gods Spirit, be not found out, the other is but *superficial*, flesh, as the Apostle termeth it; and *flesh* is an Epithete given to *Beasts* by the Prophet, and that by way of *disparagement* too, where he saith, *their horses are but flesh*, and which is viler, *all flesh is grass*, that soon withereth and roteth, and becometh the *Dung* of the earth: and the Apostle saith, that *flesh and blood shall not inherit the Kingdom of Heaven*, because that, as I shewed you before, flesh and blood being but *meer vanity*, which is the most *opposite* to Eternity, they can inherit nothing but *eternal misery*.

1 Cor. 3. 3.

Esa. 3 1. 3.

1 Cor. 15.

3 Point.

Ecl. 2. 15, 16.

3. *Astutus homo*, so *omnis homo vanitas*, every man is vanity, that is, not only the *Fool*, but also the *wise man*; for there is no remembrance of the *wise more than of the fool for ever*; but *as the fool dieth, so dieth the wise man*; therefore the *wise man* concluded, that *this also is vanity*.

And so likewise the *young man* as well as the *old man*, the *rich* as well as the *poor*, and the *strong* as well as the *weak*, the heroick *Achilles*, as well as base *Thersites*; may soon die, and *vanish* away to nothing.

How all the
world is round
and all things
in the world in
a perpetual
motion.

And to be brief, you see, how the *gallant Courtier*, and the *Royal Majesty* are no more exempred from *vanity* than the poorest *Clown* and meanest Subject; for as Eternity is said to be an *intelligible sphere*, whose Center is *every where*, and his circumference *no where*, but in it self, as I shewed to you before out of *Trismegistus*, so the form of the whole world is *spherical*, and the *μικροκομος* or little world, which is *man*, in state and condition is also *spherical* and round, even as round as a hoop, or rather indeed a *meer circular center*, without any circumference at all; and as the *primum mobile*, the first wheel of all the Spheres of this whole

whole frame, is ever in motion, and by that motion we see *that part* which is now the *highest*, within a dozen hours to become the *lowermost*; so suddenly is the change of the *highest* things; even so it is in *all* things that are under the Sun; there is a *perpetual motion*, and that motion changeeth all things; which made holy Job to say, a Saying worthy to be remembred, that although man is but of *few dayes*, few indeed, God knoweth, and those few dayes are full of troubles, and that we all know; yet in those few dayes *he cometh forth like a Flower*, that is, by little and little, and *he is cut down*, that is, in a moment, *he flieth also as a shadow*, that is, very swiftly, and *never continueth in one stay*, but is still divolved from one condition to another: For our blessed Lord God and loving Father, out of his wise Providence, and secret love to man, hath so tempered *all* the Accidents, and the whole course of mans life, with such proportion and equal counterpoyze of occurrents, that ever and anon *Joyes* and *Sorrows* are mixt together, *good haps* and *sad tidings* succeed one another; as for example, *David*; as it were to day, is a *poor Shepherd*, keeping his Fathers Flock, and pulling away his sheep out of the Lions Claws; and as it were to morrow, he is *magnified* in the Court of *Saul*, he is matched with the Kings Daughter, and saluted for the Kings Son in Law, and his *epithalamium* is, *Saul killed his thousands* and *David his ten thousands*; yet presently he fleeth as a *banished* man, and he is prosecuted and persecuted, as a *Partridge* is hunted upon the Mountains; but within a while he is *crowned King*, and reigneth in a short space over all *Israel*, even from *Dan* to *Beersheba*, and as a gallant Conqueror overcometh all his enemies round about him; yet that Glory must not last long, but his own, not only *undisfaisful* Subjects, but also his *angracious* and unnatural Son *Absalon* must drive him once again to flee, not to preserve his *Kingdom*, but to save his *Life*; and because the Wheel turns round, this Cloud suddenly vanisheth, *Absalon* is hanged and the *King* is joyfully received; and *honorably* restored to his Royal Throne; and after all this; he had many the like changes, of sundry kinds of Accidents, sometimes *gladsom*, and sometimes *doleful*, while he lived.

Job 14. 1, 2.

The vicissitude of King Davids condition.

So the Son of *David*, and the Son of God, *Iesus Christ*, in the second of *Math.* is presented with Gifts, and worshipped as a *God*, by the Kings and wise men of the East, and in the same Chapter he is persecuted by King *Herod*, that he was fain to flee into *Egypt* to save his life; yet afterwards, he was so *magnified* by the people, that he was fain to *hide* himself, to prevent his being *crowned King*, and upon Mount *Tabor* he was so *transfigured* in Glory, that his Face did shine as the Sun; and not long after, upon Mount *Calvary*, he was so *disfigured* with sorrow, that confusion went over his face, so far, that as the Prophet saith, in him *there was neither form nor beauty*; so upon Mount *Olivet*, even now, there was an Angel comforting him, and by and by, an *Agony* affrighting him: and so upon the *Cross*, even now, he crieth as one destitute of all help, *My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?* and by and by after, as a man full of comfort, and confidence in Gods favour, he saith, *Father, into thy hands I commend my Spirit.*

And of the condition of Iesus Christ.

And if the time, and your patience would give me leave, I could amplify to you this Point, in the like revolution of this wheel, I dare not call it of *Fortune*, as the Heathens did, but of Gods Providence, as the Scripture sheweth it is, in *Abraham*, in *Ioseph*, in *Moses*, in *C. Marius*, in *Alcibiades*, and in abundance more of those Worthies, whose lives you may read in the holy Scripture, in *Plutarch*, and in many other Authors; and which were *variarum fortunarum viri*, men that had tasted of *all conditions*, and had experience of *all kind* of Life, being tossed up and down, and up again, and so still turn, and turn again and again, from a good condition to a bad, and from a bad to a good again.

But I had rather perswade you all to make that use of this variable vanity which *Sesostris* King of *Egypt* did of the sad condition of those Kings, that *horses-like* he compelled to draw about his Caroach: for he having four captive Kings, set them like horses to draw his Caroach (even as King *Edgar* is reported to have *Kennady* King of *Scots*, *Malcolme* King of *Cumberland*, *Duffnal* and *Gruffish* Kings of *Wales*

Speed Chron. in
the life of Ed-
gar, p. 349.

*Wales, Maxentius the Arch-Pyrat, and Hwal a great Prince, to row his Barge up-
on the River Dee) and Sesostris marking how one of his carouched Kings, still as he
drew, looked back upon the Wheels of his Chariot, demanded of him what he
meant, so often to look behind him? the poor King, unaccustomed to such a trade,
submissively answered, it was to see how that part of the Wheel which is now
highest, becomes presently the lowest, and then again immediately the lowest becom-
eth highest, and so still wheelles his round, and never continueth in one
stay.*

Turkish Hist. in
the life of Ba-
jazer, p. 220.

As now blef-
sed be God he
hath most gra-
ciously done
to our most
Gracious King

Whereupon, the wise *Sesostris*, rightly apprehending that *serious* Embleme, pre-
sently commanded the Kings to be set at liberty, as well weighing with himself,
how suddenly God can change the course, and turn the *Wheel* of all mortal things;
and as he can loose the bonds of Kings, and cast them down with *Nebuchadnezzar*
from their stately Palaces to dwell among the Beasts of the field, as he did great
Bajazer from his Royal Empire, to be carried about with *Tamerlane* in an iron cage;
so he can bring them again out of prison, as he did *Joseph*, *Manasses*, and *Henry* the
Third, of this Kingdom; he can raise them again out of the dust, as he did *Job*,
to his former dignity, and *Nebuchadnezzar* from the fields, to be re-established in
his Royal Throne; and he can if he please, add more Glory unto them than ever
they had before.

- This is the *Lords* doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes; and this he can easily do,
and he can suddenly do; and we are not worthy to know how soon he will turn our
wheel, and make the poor men rich, and the mean men *Lords*, as he hath lately
made the rich men poor, and the great *Lords* to be without their *Lordships*; for
there is nothing biding, but as my Text saith, *omnis homo vanitas*, as well the com-
manding *Lords*, that do now reign as Kings in the great *Babylon* of this world, as
the poor ejected *Bishops* and other *Servants* of *Christ*, that are *wandering*, and per-
haps wanting bread in the wilderness of this world.

What the for-
mer Doctrine
should teach
us.
1 Lesson.

And this *Revolution* of all men, and of all earthly things, should teach us all
these two special Lessons.

Eccel. 10. 7.

These Ser-
mons were first
preached in
the time of the
usurping Re-
bels.

1. Never to be exalted or puffed up with pride when we are lifted up to honour
and greatness, nor to be troubled and discontented when we see them that were
Servants, ride upon horses, as the wise man speaketh, that is, when we see such as
were *Vassals*, made *Lords*, and many wicked mean men magnified as *Princes*; which
now you may behold in many Kingdoms of the world: For though as the Poet
saith

Asterius nihil est humilis cum surgit in altum.

El. 3. 12.

None is more insolent than the *Beggar* when he is on horseback; none more ty-
rannical than *Servants* or women, that were made to obey, and not to rule, when
they become to be the *Masters* of their *Masters*; of which thing the Prophet com-
plaineth, that *Children* and such as should be ruled, are the *Oppressors* of the peo-
ple, and women do rule over them.

Psal. 36. 37.

Yet they may remember, that the wheel of such prosperity hath often turned,
and the Horse hath many times cast his Rider; and you know what the Prophet
David saith, *I my self have seen them in great power, ruling and domineering over
their brethren, and flourishing like a green Bay-tree: and I went by, and perhaps
durst say nothing to them, but lo, within a little while they were gone, and I sought
after them, but they could no where be found; and we may chance live to see the like
Changes, and tumbling down of many of such wicked men, as the Prophet David
hath seen.*

2 Lesson.

2. The former Point should teach us never to be dejected, or cast down with
grief and despair, when we see our selves, or our friends, that were *Lords* and Com-
panions of *Princes*, walking alone as *servants* upon the earth, or when we see the
Prelates of the Church jeered at with the good Prophet, or abused with the holy *A-*
postles.

For

For as the *prosperous* wheel of the wicked may soon turn, and their great *honours* be quickly brought down to the *dust*; so the *adversity* of Gods Servants may likewise *turn*, and these *poor nothings* may soon be raised to *great honours*; when as the Poet saith,

Nocte pluit tota, redeunt Spectacula mane.

And as the Prophet saith, *heaviness may endure for a night, but Joy cometh in the Morning.*

So we may be to day *sick*, and at the point of death, and to morrow *sound* and well again: and to night, with *Joseph*, clapt up in prison, and perhaps with *Mardocheus*, condemned to die, and yet before the *next* night be exalted as they were, to *great honour*; for God who is just and *Ommipotent*, can turn man to *destruction*, and immediatly say *come again ye children of men*; and you know what the Prophet saith, *For a little moment have I hid my face from thee*; that is, for thy trial, but *with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee*, saith the Lord, thy Redeemer, that is, out of prison, and out of all other troubles whatsoever. Psalms 90.3. El. 54.7.

And therefore *whatsoever* thy troubles be, and how *low* soever thou art dejected, yet as the Poet saith,

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.

Let no Misery prevail against thy Manhood, but to strengthen thy heart, and to rowze up thy *Courage*, remember, not only what the Scripture saith, but what also the very Heathen could tell thee, saying,

*Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere vitam.
Fortiter ille facit, qui miser esse potest.*

Martial, in
Epigr.

It is the property of a poor spirit to be *weary* of life, and to wish for death, when we are *cast down* with miseries and contempt; *quia dulce mori miseris*; because death is a sweet Guest to all miserable Hosts; but the true *Christian Fortitude*, yea and true Manhood is *conragiously* and pleasantly, with no dejected countenance to pass, and *pass through* all adversities, and to deem himself never the *better* when he is clad like *Herod* in his royal Robes, nor one for the worse, when he is clothed like *John Baptist* in Hair-cloth, with a girdle of *Leather about his loynes*, because the *accessions* of these vanities, silks, velvets, or gold laces, do make no man *better*, nor the want of them any man the *worse*. But he that goeth like *Hercules*, in the Lions skin may prove as brave a Souldier, as any of them that like the Commanders of *Darius*, do glister in their *Gold and Scarlet*; and yet many times to save their *heads*, betake themselves like *Dromedaries*, unto their *heels*, and the poor ejected Bishop, in his bare Coat, may make as heavenly a Sermon, and convert many more souls, than the hundreth pound Independent, or the false Presbyterian tone, in his long Cloak, and velvet Jacket. Vanities do make no man better.

Which makes me never to be *much* troubled or moved at the *revolution* of this Wheel, or the *loss* of these vanities, but to say with that Heroick *Pompey*, when after he had been crowned with the *greatest* honours of *Rome*, and now fallen into the greatest *calamities*, he cheerfully said, as *Lucan* witnesseth,

*Non me videre superbum
Prospera fatorum, nec fractum adversa videbunt.*

His prosperity never made him *proud*, and adversity should never cast down his courage; and my witness is in Heaven, that I am a thousand times more grieved, to see the *prophannation* of Gods service, and the *poor* worship of him, now used in very many places; that is, how meanly, fluttishly, negligently and disorderly
our

The Vanitie

our good God is served, than of mine own losses, how great soever they are For *we brought nothing with us into the world*, neither shall we carry any thing out of this world; and I know not whether I shall live till to *morrow*, when, as the *Tragedian* saith:

*Quem veniens dies vidit superbum,
Hunc fugiens dies vidit jacentem.*

Whom the Sun rising hath seen *strong* and lusty, the Sun setting, saw him *dead* upon the ground, because as my Text saith, *Every man is vanity*: Yea,

4. Point.

4. *πᾶς ἀνθρώπος ζωῆς*, Every man *living*, or every man in his *best estate* is vanity: And you know there be but two states of every man,

A twofold
state of man.

1. *Living.*
2. *Dead.*

And when a man is *dead*, he soon becometh vanity indeed, he is reduced to nothing, he knoweth nothing and he can do nothing: And therefore let us have but a little patience, and within a *very little little while*, those mighty men, that now *oppress* their neighbours, and *tyrannize* over Gods servants, shall return to *nothing*, and be able to do just nothing against us; and then as *Solomon* saith, *A living Dog is better* and can do *more*, than these *dead Lions*.

I, but you will say, *Interim ego ringor*, and we may suffer very much before these *Lions* become dead; therefore, it were well for us that they were *dead* before we suffer, and that, as *Caracalla* said of his brother *Geta*, *Sint divi modo non sint vivi*, they were *Saints* in heaven, so they might not be such *Devils* as they are here now on earth.

Hab. 2. 2.

I answer 1. To thee, that art *thus* troubled, as the Prophet saith unto the Jews, *The Vision is yet for an appointed time*, but *at the end it shall speak and not lie*; and though it *tarry*, yet *wait thou for it*, because it will *surely come*, and *not tarry*; that is, any long time, or longer than the *appointed time*, so *tarry thou the Lords leaseure*, and thy deliverance will come in his *appointed time*; and if thou thinkest, it *tarrieth long*, then pray thou to God, that it may come the sooner; and though the young teachers of the *new way* to heaven, have *obliterate* it, yet do not thou forget that *good old Prayer* of our Liturgy, but say, *O God make speed to save us*, *O Lord make haste to help us*; and God will *hear* thy prayers, and will *help* thee, because as the Poet saith,

How powerfull
prayer is.

*Offendunt nunquam thura precesque Jovem
Sed dominum mundi, flectere vota valent.*

Prayers and Supplications are the most powerfull prevailers to obtain any thing at the hands of God.

2. For *those* that wrong thee, and trouble thee, I pray thee remember but what my Text saith, *Every man living*, or in his *best estate* while he liveth is *altogether vanity*.

And therefore, the *greatest* men can never be able to do what they would do, either for themselves, or against others: And this will the more plainly appear, if we take but a *little view* of all the estates that are accounted the *best* estates of men; for though there be many states and kindes of life, that are deemed *very good*, yet there be four *Estates* of men, that I finde, by the worldly wife, to be judged *best*; and

The four states
of men that
are accounted
the best.

- The {
1. Is of them that excel all others, *ἐν δυνάμει*, in *health* and strength of body.
 2. Is of them that abound in *wealth*, in riches in prosperity.
 3. Is of them that are *ἡγετα δοξᾶς*, most eminent in *fame*, glory and honour.
 4. Is of them that have *plenitudinem ἐξουσίας*, the fulness of *Power* and Authority to rule and govern the rest of the people.

These

These are accounted the *best estates* of men; and yet man in all, and in every one of these four estates, is a poor vain thing, and *altogether vanity*; For,

1. Health and strength of body are but *vanity*; and though the Tyrants and Oppressours say, come, *Let our strength be the law of Justice*; for that which is feeble is found to be *nothing worth*, therefore let us crush the *righteous*, and banish all those *honest* men that are not for our turn, but do *upbraid* us with our offending the Law, and do obtain from *our wayes* as from filthiness; yet we see that a little sickness can bring down the *greatest strength*, and waste the *health* of the strongest and the stoutest men.

1. State.
Sap. 2. 11.
Verf. 12. & 16.

And besides, we know that, as the Lion which is the strongest upon earth, and the Whale, which is strongest in the Sea, and the Serpent or the Eagle which are the strongest in the Air, are of *more strength* than is in any man, were he as strong as *Hercules*; or were they as strong as all these, yet their *great strength* cannot preserve them from *death*, nor keep them without sickness. And if you will compare them unto other creatures, you shall finde that the *Peacocks* train is more *beautiful*, than all the trimmings of the *proudest Galland*; and as the *Dromedary* is *swifter* than any Foot-post, so the *Nightingal* hath a *sweeter* voice than the best Musitian.

And in a word, the basest creatures have been found able enough to be the death of the strongest men, for a little Steeletter killed *Eglon* King of *Moab*, *Goliath* the great Giant, was stricken down with a pebble stone. *Anacreon* was choaked with the stone of a *Raisson*, *Fabius* strangled with a hair, *Herod* the Proud eaten with Lice, and *Antiochus* the Cruel, destroyed with Worms, and *Hatto* the Traytor, pursued to death by an Army of Rats: These were but poor things and weak instruments to destroy strong men, and to dispatch great Monarchs, and yet we see how they have done it.

Judg. 3. 21.
1 Sam.

And therefore, thou, that thinkest thy self a brave, strong and stout Souldier, remember what good counsel the Prophet gives thee, saying, *Let not the strong man glory in his strength*; so let not the healthfull man promise any long life unto himself, whereas our life and fortune, and all that we have, are as the Poet saith, --- *Tenui pendentia filo*, hanging upon a weak, feeble Spiders thread, *Quod atropos occat*, which the least blast of Gods displeasure can break all to pieces.

Jer. 9. 23.

2. Wealth and riches are more vain, and of less value than our health and strength, when as all the wealth in the world yeelds but small comfort to him that is full of sickness, and wants his health; therefore the Prophet *David* speaking of those wealthy worldlings, that do relye, and are so proud of their riches, saith, *Man walketh in a vain shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain, he beareth up riches and cannot tell who shall gather them*. And we know, saith *Holcor*, that in a shadow there is a threefold consideration:

2. State.
Psal. 39. 7.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Indigentia luminis,</i> | } And that is, } a threefold want, | 1. A want of <i>Light</i> , |
| 2. <i>Assistentia frigoris,</i> | | 2. A want of <i>Heat</i> , |
| 3. <i>Apparentia corporis,</i> | | 3. A want of <i>Substance</i> . |

Which are easily seen and perceived in every shadow.

And so all the greedy worldlings, and the coverous hunters after wealth are invironed with these three main indigences and wants; For,

1. They have no light in their understanding, but their heads and brains are empty, when their barns and their shops and coffers are full; and so at last, they themselves do most wofully confesse it, saying, *We have erred from the way of truth, and the light of understanding hath not shined unto us*; for if men had but the least understanding in the truth of things, they might soon perceive, that riches are neither simply ours, nor very precious, or of much value in themselves; but they do, as *Boetius* saith, make a fairer shew, and bring more benefit unto us, when they are spent, than when they are kept, because liberality makes men famous, and to be loved, and covetousness makes them odious, infamous and ridicu-

Sap. 5. 6.

Boetius de con-
sol. Philos. 1. 2.
c. 5.

lous;

Ecc1. 5. 13.

lous; and *Solomon* saith, this is a fore evil which he saw under the Sun, namely, riches kept for the owners thereof to their hurt; when it had been better for them to have been without them than to have them. For as the rich Citizen of *Rome* that never offended the Commonwealth, nor medled with either of the two opposite factions of *Sylla* and *Marinus*, yet being desirous to know who were proscribed for the Enemies of the State, and running to see their names, he finds himself among the first, and then he cries out, wo is me, that my wealth and my fair house at *Nola* do cause me to lose my head: so the riches of many a man have begot him enemies, and those enemies, for none other cause or crime, but to get his Lands or his wealth, have brought him to his end; as perhaps the riches of many a Protestant will conclude them to be *Roman* Catholicks; as we read the like in the case of the *Guelphes* and the *Gibelines*, when the *Gibelines* proving themselves to be no *Guelphes*, yet was their riches and their treasures seized upon, as the wealth of the *Guelphes*.

And I wish the
Lands and fair
houses of ma-
ny innocent
Papists may
not be proved
to be the lands
of *Irish* Rebels,

And yet as the hoarding up of riches, and the growing great and wealthy in the world makes us miserable and hated, so the dispersing of them abroad, and the profuse wasting of our wealth, makes us poor, and to be despised, yea and to be neglected of our friends, and scorned of our enemies.

And therefore surely riches are but very poor things, when we can neither possess them without envy, nor bestow them without penury, neither have them without danger, nor want them without contempt.

2. The wealth and riches of the worldlings can yield them but cold comfort; when God turneth away his face from them, and they are left to the counsels of their own hearts; for though the glittering of the Jewels may draw thine eyes after them, the pleasant prospect of the Fields may delight thine heart; thy gay apparel may make thee shew very fair and beautiful to the beholders, and the multitude of thy servants may seem to prove thee very happy among thy neighbours; yet we all do or may know, that there is none of these things but at some time or other hath proved to be the destruction of their possessors: For, as when the poor Passenger may joyce and sing before the most ravenous Robber, and in the sight of the most barbarous Plunderers, so thy wealth and thy Jewels, thy pockets full of Gold, and thy back full of bravery, may make thy heart sad, and thy head full of perturbations, and in every moment to be afraid to be assailed and slain in all the paths that thou shalt walk.

And whereas the man that hath none but himself to serve himself, need not fear to be betrayed by his Servants: the rich man that needeth more, and the noble man that keepeth many Servants, may well fear there may be a *Judas* among twelve, and a Traytor in his own house; and as *Humphrey Banister* betrayed his Lord and Master, *Henry* Duke of *Buckingham*, that had been too good a Master to him; so may one of thy chiefeest Servants sell thee and betray thee too, into the hands of thy greatest Enemies, even as we read in Stories of many Kings that have been so likewise dealt withal.

And therefore Wealth and Riches can afford us no true comfort, nor yield us any certain assistance, even in this life; when by getting them, we do oftentimes lose our selves, or at least hazard our safety by saving them.

3. Our Saviour Christ speaking of the deceitfulness of Riches, and *S. Paul* calling them uncertain riches, do sufficiently shew unto us, that the wealth and riches of this world do but promise fulness, when they intend to bring us nothing but emptiness; for you see, all our Money is, as it is called, currant, and all our riches transient, like a torrent stream that floweth apace, or as the summer snow, that presently melteth, sometimes before it falleth; and all the wealth in the world is but contingent, with one man to day, and with another man to morrow; as your selves may see, how within these few years, many men scarce worth a Groat, became worth thousands; and as many others that were worth thousands, became not worth a Groat.

And therefore *S. Aug.* speaking of the things of this world, saith, *Si quid arri-*
sisset

Speed, 19 c. 19.
P. 927.

Mat. 13. 22.

1 Tim 6 17.

Aug. Confess.
1.6.

fiffes prosperum tadebat apprehendere, quia priusquam pene teneretur, evolebat; if any worldly prosperity smiled upon me, and seemed to offer some happiness unto me, yet I was loath to accept it and to lay hold upon it, because commonly all the pleasure of this world is fled from us before we can scarce fasten on it; and as the wise man saith, *extrema gaudij luctus occupat*: Sorrow and sadness do follow both our Profits and our Pleasures hard at the very heels: For as the Player appeareth upon the Stage, and then presently after few words, *exit*, he is gone; so the wealth & prosperity of this world do but salute us, and then immediately depart from us, even while we are most busie about them, and when they seem to smile most of all upon us.

And I could make this plain unto you by more examples than I have time to express: For we read of *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, that was a *Roman* Consul, and had laid Fetters upon many *Africans*, yet being unhappily taken by the *Carthaginians*, he found himself presently environed, and then miserably tied in the Conquerors Chains; and it is writen of *Cheops* King of *Egypt*, that erected the *Pyramides*, which were all built of *Theban* Marble, and were of that huge height, and monstrous Magnitude, that one of them was 20 years in building, though it is reported there were *circa decem hominum miriades*, about 10 Myriades of men, as *Herodotus* saith, or 100000 men, as others write that did continually work upon it (the same containing, as *Sands* affirmeth, eight Acres of ground at the bottom, and ascending by 255 steps to the top, and every step being of three foot in height, and of a proportionable breadth) and yet this great King that was of this great power, before his death, became so poor, that he was compelled to prostitute his own Daughter to relieve his wants.

Boetius de consol. l. 2. c. 5.

Herodot. l. 2. p. 42. Sands, l. 2.

So *Belisarius*, that in the dayes of *Justinian* 1. was one of the bravest Souldiers and of the greatest Commanders of the world, to whom the Lady and Empress of the world, *Rome* it self owed her self thrice at the least; and who took two mighty Kings, *Gilimer* King of *Africa*, and *Vitiges* King of the *Goths*, to be his Prisoners, yet within a little while this great man, as some writers do report, came to that poor pass, as he was faine to cry, *Dato obolum Belisario, quem virtus exaltavit, malitia depreffit, & fortuna cecavit*; O give one half-peny to *Belisarius*, whom vertue hath honoured, envy hated, and fortune spoyled and made him now a poor blind Beggar.

And *Pedro Mexia* setteth down the miserable ends and other strange traverses endured by divers Kings, Emperours, Dukes, and other great Princes, whereof he accounteth no less than 13. besides 2 Popes, 2 Bishops, 4 Cardinals and 10 Abbots, that within one hundred and fifty years, were thrown down from the Pinnacle of Prosperity, to the lowest Gulf of Adversity; as *George* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles* Duke of *Burgoyne*, *Mladislavus* King of *Poland*, *Constantinus* *Paleslogus* Emperour of the East, *Charles* 8. King of *France*, *James* 4. King of *Scots*, *John de Albret* King of *Navarre*, *Lewis Sforza* Duke of that rich and goodly Countrey of *Millain*, *Francis* 1. King of *France*, that was the Patron of all Learning; and those three great Kings, *Muley Mahomet* King of *Fez* and *Morocco*, *Abdelmelec* his Uncle, and *Sebastian* King of *Portugal* that came to a miserable end, and died all three in one day, being *Monday* the 4th. of *August*, 1578; and which is worthy to be remembered above all, *John Justinian* that trayterous Villain, who covenanted with *Mahomet* to betray *Constantinople*, so he would make him King; which the great Turk promised, and accordingly performed; but after three daies struck off his head, as his Treason well deserved; and so I wish may be the reward of all disloyal Traytors.

Treasury of times, l. 4. c. 37. Pope John whom Mart. 5. succeeded, An. 1410. Pope Clement, that was imprisoned by Charles 5. 1527. Archbishop of Flor. and four Cardinals butchered, 1448. The Bishop of Liege Brother to the great Duke of Burgoyne, and 10 Abbats massacred in his presence.

And therefore seeing not only wicked Potentates, but also most famous Kings and Princes and most excellent Prelates have been reduced to such ends, what wonder is it that many great Scholars, and many reverend Bishops (whom their worth and learning raised to some height of dignity) should be thrown down, as they were of late by envy and hatred, into the depth of misery. The time would be too short for me to tell you of *Crasus* the rich King of *Lydia*, *Darius* the great Monarch

Monarch of *Persia*, *Manius Acilius* the proud Consul of *Rome*, holy *Job*, the richest in the Land of *Hus*, and warlike *Caius Marins*, when he had hid himself in the Fens or Bogs of *Mymurnes*, and of many thousands more, that were exceeding rich, and most honourable, and in a moment of time became extream poor and miserable.

But you may see it every day, that as the Poet saith,

Rich *Cresus*
may suddenly
become as
poor as *Irus*,

Irus & est subito qui modo Cræsus erat.

And there is none of us but he may consider how many great and honourable persons have been suddenly disgraced, and how many well left Heirs and wealthy men have in an instant consumed all their wealth, and wasted their Patrimony like a Snow-bal, and then came to be pired by their Friends, and scorned by some others, whom formerly they despised, and thought them not worthy to eat with the dogs of their Flocks; such is the nature of wealth, and so great is the vanity of all worldly riches, that the wise man saith, *They betake them unto their wings, and flee away like an Eagle (i.e.)* very swiftly.

Prov. 23 5.

Plutarch in vi-
ta Pyrrhi, p.
404.

And yet for all this, it is a wonder to see the folly of most men shewed in the pursuit of this idle vanity; for it is reported how *Cynæus*, a most excellent Orator, endeavouring to dissuade King *Pyrrhus* a brave Souldier from his expedition against the *Romans*, asked him, what he would do when he had subdued them? and he answered, that he would bring *Cicily* into his subjection; and what will your grace do then, said the Orator? the King replied, then we have a fair passage to go to bring in *Carthage*, and to conquer *Africa*: And when you have conquered them, what will you do, said *Cynæus*; We will then, said the King, bring all *Macedon* under the yoke of our Obedience. And when both *Rome* and *Cicily* and *Carthage* and all *Macedon* have felt the stroke of your Majesties Sword, what will you do then I pray you? said the Orator; then the King perceiving what he meant, smilingly answered, we will then take our ease, and begin to make Feasts, and continue so every day, and be as merry together as possibly we can be. And what letteth us now, my good Lord, said *Cynæus*, but that we may be now as merry and more quiet, sith we enjoy enough to effect all that presently, without any further travel, or more trouble, which we are about to go to seek with such shedding of humane blood of others, with so much manifest danger unto our selves.

Yet notwithstanding all this, the Learned Orator could not dissuade that ambitious Prince from this his high attempt, he could no waies prevail to make him desist from that uncertain Enterprize; but he would rather hazard all that happy estate which he did now enjoy, than leave off the deceitful hope of those things which he did so much desire.

And indeed such is the condition of all the sons of men, most dangerously sick of the same desperate disease; for though as the Poet saith, and he saith the truth, that man is but,

*Somnus, Bulla, Virum, Glacies, Flos, Fabula, Fœnum,
Umbra, Cinis, Punctum, Vox, Sonus, Aura, Nihil.*

That is in few words, a dream, a shadow, a thought, a nothing; yet all or most of this little time that we do enjoy, we expend in following after the vain wealth, and deceitful riches of this world, that we shall find to be but empty clouds, without water, or like the Apples of *Sodom*, that being greedily grasped, will soon turn to smoak, and then speedily vanish into nothing; and we shall find our selves at last just like the Mill-wheel, that turneth still, and turneth round from day to day, and yet at the years end is in the same place where it was at the beginning.

So we tumble and tosse and turn to gather wealth, and to grow great in this world, and yet in the end we shall find our selves just in the same condition as we were at the beginning; for naked we came into the world, and naked we shall re-
turn again. What

What need we then be so unjust, and shame our selves, either unduly to seek what we ought not to have, or dishonestly to deny what we ought to pay? Truly I am ashamed, that should be verified among Christians, which was complained of by the heathens, *Terras Astrae reliquit*; that Justice could not be found in any Court on earth; or what *Solomon* said of the *Jews* should be found amongst us, *I saw the place of Judgment* (the highest Court he meant) *and wickedness was there, and the place of Righteousness, and iniquity was there.*

Ecc1.3.16.

But though neither shame of men, nor fear of God can make us leave this iniquity, but that we will continue still like *Jews* and Pagans, yet the truth is, that man in this rich estate, that is yet so palpably vain, when it is so unjustly procured, can be nothing else but meer vanity.

3. Honour, Glory, and a high esteem, to be famous among men, are accounted great in this world, and so they are indeed; but I mean great vanities, and the greatest of all vanities: For health is a happiness, especially while it lasteth, and Riches have some substance in them, and we may do good with them, as others do much evil with them; but honour and fame are nothing else but a vain blast of a poor mans breath, or a little bending of a Beggars knee, an idle Ceremony, fruitless I am sure (therefore a great vanity) and it may be but some fair shew of some outward reverence, when perhaps there is indeed much inward hate; because the Tongue oftentimes praiseth those most highly, whom the heart detesteth most deadly. Or were it not so, yet all honour is accounted, but

1. Of a short continuance,

2. Of a small Extent,

} and therefore a great Vanity: For,

1. Behold how great was the honour of *Haman*, and how suddenly was he banded: Look upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, how he is to day saluted with *Haile*, Glory of the world; and to morrow scorned like a Beast: and consider how glorious were *Pharaoh*, *Senacherib*, *Alexander*, *Cyrus*, and others; and yet, behold how speedily they were vanished into nothing; and how many great men and most honourable Personages have you lately seen so highly honoured and magnified both in Court and Countrey, as the only Emblemes of all honour, and how suddenly have they been either killed or headed, and their Glory buried in the dust, if not turned into worse? For the Scourge of Envy from below, and the Twigs of Ambition from above, do hunt and whip all honour unto death: And we know that many men while they lived, have been so unhappy, as to see their own honour buried: Or, if some have left a glorious Name behind them, as *Josias* did, when they left the world; yet we find that many famous men while they lived, have been quite forgotten, for want of Writers; when they were dead: For how should we have known the valour of *Hector* and *Achilles*, and the wisdom of *Nestor* and *Ulysses*, if *Homer* had not recorded the same unto posterity? Or how should we have understood the Piety of *Constantine*, and the Clemency of *Theodosius*, if *Eusebius*, and other Ecclesiastical Writers had not declared the same unto us? And of those that have been as happy in the Trumpeters of their Fame, as themselves have been Famous in the Actions of their Lives: we see, that as Death took away the Authors, so time hath wasted away their Writings; and (as the Poet saith)

What wonder we that Writings fail,

When stately Tombes do wear;

The very Stones consume to nought,

With Titles they did bear.

Or be it granted that a man might truly say, *I shall live when I am dead*; and as *Ovid* saith,

D d d d z

Nomenq;

*Perg; omnia se-
cula Fama
Si quid habent
veri vatum præ-
sagia, vivam,
Ovid. Meta-
morph. l. 1. b. in
fine.*

*Boetius de con-
sol. Phil. l. 2. c. 8*

Nomenq; erit indelebile nostrum.

My name shall remain indelible among the Posterities; yet if you do attentively weigh the most infinite spaces of Eternity, you shall find that the prolonging of our Names on earth can yield us no great Felicity; for if we compare the stay of one moment with ten thousand years, they have some proportion, though it be but very small; but this number of years how oft soever it be multiplied, yet it is no way comparable to Eternity, because limited things may in some sort be compared among themselves, but that which is infinite admitteth no comparison at all, saith *Boetius*; And therefore the longest Fame, be it as long as you can imagine, yet it is but of a very short continuance. And,

2. It is of a very small Extent; For you may learn by Astronomical Demonstrations, that the compass of the whole earth in comparison of the Heaven, is no bigger than a Pins Point; and of this earth, not above the fourth part is known to be inhabited, saith *Ptolem.* and that which is inhabited, is distinguished by many Nations of different Languages, Fashions, and Conversations, whereby it happeneth, that the same Fact which in some Countrey is laudable, in another place is punishable: therefore our Fame and Glory must be penned up in a very narrow bound, commonly within the compass of one Nation: For if it should go further, yet the difficulty of travel over many Seas, the diversity of Speeches, so hard to be understood, and the scarcity of Traffick to be generally transported, will never permit our Fame to spread it self very far: For if the Glory of the *Roman* People, in the time of *Cicero*, when it was most flourishing, and they were *Terrarum Domini*, Masters of most places that they knew, yet did not passe beyond Mount *Caucasus*, that lieth betwixt *Scythia* and the *Indians*, as the Orator confesseth, then certainly the Glory and Fame of any particular man can never penetrate, where the Glory and Trophies of such a Glorious Nation could not pass.

And therefore all the Honour of this world, and the greatest Fame of the Noblest men, whether it be for Birth, Wealth, Valour, Learning, or what you will, yet can it neither last long, nor extend it self very far; and therefore must it needs be a very great Vanity. And so you see that every man in his most Honourable estate is Vanity. Nay more than that,

4 Point.

4. The most excellent state is thought to be that, which is most powerful in Authority to rule and command all others; but the *Vanities* that are incident and attendant on this state, would require a Volume to display them: I will only say what *Horace* hath most truly, and you may daily see, how that,

*Sapientis ventis agitur ingens Pinus,
Et decidunt Turres, feriuntq; summos
Fulmina Montes.*

And so you see that every man in his best estate, let his state be what you will, yet he is but *Vain*: Nay that is not all; For,

5 Point.

5. Every man living is *ὅλην τὰν ζωὴν αὐτοῦ, ὁλοκλήρως Vanitas*, altogether vanity; and this is one degree of Calamity further than all the rest: For to consider that every man is vanity, is bad enough; but to be vanity in our best estate, is worse, and in that estate to be altogether vanity, is worst of all: because this sheweth unto us that man is but meer Vanity, and nothing else but vanity, or vain in all that he is, and vain in all that he doth; as

1. Vain within, and vain without; vain in his Body, and vain in his Soul.
2. Vain in his thoughts, vain in his words, and vain in all his works; And,
3. Not only *totaliter vanitas*, wholly vanity, but also *universa vanitas*, all vanity; so that there is no vanity in the world that can be named or found out, but you may find the same in man; as, Pride is vanity, and you may find enough of that in man; lies are vanities, and most men are so addicted and delighted either

to invent lies, to hear lies, or to relate lies, that you shall almost finde nothing in most men but lies; and so of all other vanities whatsoever they be, they are to be found in man; *Antoninus* for methods sake, ranketh them into three special Series;

1. *Instabilitatis*, of instability, which the Preacher handleth from the first Chapter, unto the fourth Chapter. *Antoninus*
part. 1. tit. 2.
c. 8. Sec. 3.
2. *Iniquitatis*, of iniquity, whereof the Preacher treateth from the fourth Chapter unto the twelfth Chapter.
3. *Penalitatis*, of penalty, which the said Preacher setteth down in the last verse of the twelfth Chapter, *For God shall bring every work into judgement, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.*

Others terme the first degree of Vanities, to be the vanity of our *Creation*.

The second degree they call the vanity of our *Condition*.

The third is the vanity of our *Dissolution*.

1. Touching the vanity of our *Creation*, *God put no trust in his servants*, saith holy *Job*; that is, he trusted them not with such a stability, or he made them not so absolute that they should be independent, and free from all possibility of falling; and therefore seeing that *nihil est omne quod ex nihilo est*, all in themselves are nothing, which are made of nothing, as *Origen* saith, this possibility to vary, and to be reduced to their first privation and non-entity, is nothing else but an innate vanity, or a momentary nothing, if they be not still upheld and sustained by their Creator, who as the Apostle saith, *Beareth up all things with his mighty word*, or Heb. 1. with the word of his power, that is, *Jesus Christ*; Yet,

2. The vanity of our *Creation* was but comparative, as the creature stood in collation with Gods infinite purity; but when *Adam* sinned, he made himself the destroyer of his own stability, the defacer of his own excellency, and to be come nothing but meer vanity; so that every creature now, the worst of all the creatures, and all creatures might insult over his Apostasie, and say unto him, Art thou become like one of us, art thou become as vain as we?

And because all of us were then in the loyns of *Adam*, as *Levi* was in *Abraham* when he met with *Melchisedech*, therefore his calamity was not personal, but specifical; and his iniquity brought a vanity upon us all, which is the vanity of our condition; so that now every man is nothing else but vanity, the Saint as well as the sinner, the rich as well as the poor, and the Noble man as well as the beggar; for as soon as the noblest of men is inobled with the name of a man, so soon doth he inherit the title of a vain man, or a man of vanity, that is replenished with all vanity, because filled with all unrighteousness. But

3. The vanity of our *Dissolution* is the last and the worst of all vanities. And this is,

1. When they see that they themselves are Beasts (these are the very words of the Scriptures) *For that which befalleth the sons of men, befalleth beasts, even one thing befalleth them; as the one dyeth, so dyeth the other, yea they have all one breath; so that a man hath no preeminence above a beast, for all is vanity, all go unto one place, all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again.* *Eccles. 3. 18,*
19, 20.

2. When they finde that they themselves are worse than beasts, when the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth, vanisheth, and is reduced to nothing; but the spirit of the man that should go upward, and be united to Eternity, shall descend to be chained in everlasting misery; *Ubi nec tortores deficientur, nec miseri torti morientur, sed per mille millia annorum cruciandi nec tamen in secula liberandi.* Where they shall have torment without ease, and be tormented without end; and this is a vanity indeed, *Vanitas vanitatum*, the greatest

The Vanitie

greatest of all vanities, because the bond of our union with God is here dissolved, and we are divorced from all the happy Eternity.

● And thus I hope you see that man, be he never so excellent in condition, so eminent in place, or so powerfull in authority, yet here is no exception, no exemption, no limitation, but he is altogether vanity.

And, though the time will not give me leave to amplify all the particulars that might be shewed you out of this Text; yet I desire your patience to give me leave to apply all briefly unto our selves, and to learn from hence this fivefold Lesson, which may serve as a fivefold shield to preserve us from all iniquity here, and from all misery hereafter.

1. To eradicate and root up that stinking weed of pride and haughtines that *Lucifer* laboureth to spread so far, and to stick so fast in the heart of every man; for why shouldst thou be proud, thou vain thing, that art but dust and ashes, and altogether vanity? what hast thou to be proud of? the Lion may boast of his strength, the Bezar of his precious stone, the Panther of his colours, and all other creatures of some singular excellency that is in them; but what hast thou, that standest there with a stiffe neck and proud looks, but what thou hast received, and art just like the Jay decked about with borrowed ornaments, and hast nothing of thine own to animate thy pride but what thou robbest from the bruit beasts? and yet the furr Lady is proud of her *white hands* and *pleated hair*, & *lumsinae qua possunt sollicitare Deos*; but alas two or three fits of an Ague will *spoyl* all, or else Age will make fair *Helena* to become as wrinkled as *Hecuba*.

Nay more than this, I have seen *too much pride* and arrogancy in some, that of all others should be *most humble*, and teach others to be *meek and lowly*, which is a *great shame*, that thou, which *teachest another, teachest not thy self*, and considerest not what a *vain thing* thou art, and what *little reason* thou hast to look so big, and to lift up thy head so high.

Yea, the Saint-like Separatist, like the boasting Pharisee, will be proud of his holiness; but as St. Aug. saith, *Quod iusticia edificaverat Phariseus, superbia destruebat, atque ideo non placuit Deo, quia placebat sibi*; this pride *spoyl*eth and *poyson*eth all our goodnes, because that as *humility* maketh men like unto Angels, so pride made the Angels *Devils*, and men to be like *Devils*.

Aug. 10. 2.
Epist. 58.

2. The consideration of our *vanity* should ever put us in minde of what the Prophet saith, *Put not your trust in Princes, nor in any childe of man*; relye not on them, for there is *no help in them*, and the best of them, and *greatest*, is not able to do the good he would do, because he is *altogether vanity*, and when his breath goeth forth, *he shall turn again to his earth, and then all his thoughts perish*; and as Strigelius saith, *Omnia sunt hominum tenni pendentia filis*.

Psal. 146. 3, 4.

And many times the *greatest* friends, that we relye upon will shew themselves like *Theagines*, that was surnamed *serpis*, smock, *Quia magnifice pollicebatur, cum esset pauper*, because he promised great and mighty things when he was but a poor scoundrel. And therefore it is but a *great vanity* to relye upon *vain man* that is *altogether vanity*, and will let thee fall, when thou hast most need of help.

3. This may encourage us not to fear *what man can do against us*; let men threaten and fret and storm as much as they will, and do as much as they can, yet fearing God, we need not fear any of them, because the *greatest* and most powerfull man is but *vanity*, and *altogether vanity*; and if God be with us, who can be against us? *Quia non plus valet ad deiciendum terrena pœna, quam ad erigendum divina tutela*.

4. This very point should reach us wholly to relye on God, that never faileth them that put their trust in him; but is, as the Prophet saith, *Deus in opportunitatibus*, a present help in trouble, and helpeth us *alwayes* in the most needfull time of trouble, holding us up by his hand, as he did St. Peter, when we are ready to sinke.

5. And

5. And lastly, this onely lesson of mans *vanity*, should ever put us in minde, not to wASTE and *trifle* away our *short time* in the pursuit of *vain pleasures* and loathsome vanities, When as the hunting after *honours*, and the scraping of *wealth* and riches together, is none other, than like *silly childrens* running up and down to catch *Butterflies*, or as the Prophet saith, *Like the Spiders web*, that will make *no garments for them*, or rather like the *Cockatrice Egge*, that brings forth a *fiery Serpent* to be the destruction of him that *hatcheth* it, and so are the *vanities* of this world.

And here I should shew the *folly* and *vanity* of those *vain men*, that to purchase unto themselves the reward of their *impiety*, and the wages of their *unrighteousness*, are so greedy to *rob the Church* of Christ, and to snatch away the *lands* and *houses* of God into their possessions; but that I *intend*, if God lend me *life* and *health*, to set forth a full and *ample Declaration*, to be exhibited to the high Court of *Justice* before *Jesus Christ*, the righteous Judge, against *Sacrilege*, and all sacrilegious persons * to shew what *little reason* vain man, and *proud vanity* hath to *soyl his God*, to *rob the Church*, and to *destroy himself*.

* Which I have now published in the beginning of this Book.

And therefore *this much* shall serve at *this time* to shew unto you, that it is most certain, *That every man in his best estate is altogether vanity*. And God grant that all my hearers may make the *right use* of what I have said, *Amen*.

O Lord my God;

Didst not thou save me, and deliver me from my most malicious enemies, that sought my life, and hast thou not snatched me out of the jaws of death? And did not I then promise and vow, * to do my best endeavour to serve thee, and to honour thee without the fear or flattering of any man? And hast thou not since many times delivered me from the mouth and teeth of that *Devil*, the Beast that ascended out of the bottomless pit, the great *Antichrist* that was so wrathfully displeased against me?

* In the Epistle before the seven Golden Candlesticks!

Therefore by the grace and assistance of thy blessed Spirit I am resolved, and I will continually pray to thee, for thy help, to perform the promise and vow that I made unto thee; and for that cause, I will take no *Fine* for any of the *Bishops Land* but what shall be given to repair the *Church*, while I live; neither will I *Lease* any of it for any longer terme than 21 Years, unless it be for the better improvement thereof unto my *Successour*, nor any otherwise than my conscience shall tell me the same to be most just and indifferent both for my self, my *Successour* and the *Tenant*; and I will do my best and uttermost endeavour to do and to perform all that I say and set down in this Treatise to be the duties of a faithfull and godly Bishop: And I wish with all my heart that all my Reverend and Learned Brethren, the Bishops, would do so likewise; yet I blame them no wayes, if they see good reasons and just cause to do otherwise, *Quia plus vident oculi quam oculus*; and I were too sawcy and peremptory if I thought myself wiser or juster than my Brethren.

Jehovæ Liberatori.

FINIS.

The Authour of the foregoing Treatises hath Published another Book,
Entituled the *Best Religion*, wherein is largely handled the Texts of
Scripture following, which do contain the Fundamental Points of
Christian Religion. Sold by *Ph. Stephens* at the *Gilded Lion* in
S. Pauls Church-Yard.

- 1 **T**He Myſteries of the Rainbow, Preached before the King, upon *Gen. 9. 13.*
I do ſet my Bow in the Cloud, &c.
- 2 Gods Love to the World, Preached before the King, upon *John 3. 16.* *God ſo loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, &c.*
- 3 The worthieſt Saying, Preached before the King, upon *1 Tim. 1. 15.* *This is a faithful ſaying and worthy of all acceptation, that Jeſus Chriſt, &c.*
- 4 The Belt Helper, Preached before the King, upon *Rom. 8. 31.* *If God be for us who can be againſt us?*
- 5 The Way to happineſs, Preached at Weſtminſter, upon *Math. 11. 28, 29, 30.* *Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, &c.*
- 6 The fruitful Knocking, Preached at Weſtminſter, upon *Rev. 3. 20.* *Behold I ſtand at the door and knock, if any man hear my voice, &c.*
- 7 The Celeſtial Fire, Preached before all the Judges, upon *Luke 12. 49.* *I came to ſend fire upon the earth.*
- 8 The Neceſſity of Repentance, Preached at White-Hall, upon *Luke 13. 5.* *I tell you nay; but except ye repent, &c.*
- 9 *S. Peters* Charge, Preached at Weſtminſter, upon *John 21. 21, 22.* *Peter ſeeing him, ſaith to Jeſus, Lord, what ſhall this man do? &c.*
- 10 The Royal Feaſt, Preached at Weſtminſter, upon *Math. 22. 11, 12, 13.* *And when the King came in to ſee his gueſts, &c.*
- 11 The Paſchal Sacrifice, Preached at Weſtminſter, upon *1 Cor. 5. 7.* *For Chriſt our Paſſeover is ſacrificed for us.*
- 12 The three chiefeſt Graces, Preached before the King, upon *1 Cor. 13. 13.* *Now remain faith, hope, and charity, theſe three, &c.*
- 13 The Fooliſh Builders, Preached at White-Hall, upon *Mat. 7. 26, 27.* *And every one that heareth theſe ſayings of mine, and doth them not, &c.*
- 14 The weeping woman, Preached before the King, upon *John 20. 11.* *But Mary ſtood without at the Sepulchre weeping.*
- 15 The Dove-like Wings, Preached before the King, upon *Pſal. 55. 6.* *O that I had wings like a Dove, then would I fly away, and be at reſt.*
- 16 The Reſolution of *Pilate*, firſt Preached at *S. Pauls Croſs*, afterwards enlarged, upon *John 19. 22.* *What I have written, I have written.*
- 17 The Delights of the Saints, firſt preached at *S. Pauls Croſs*, afterwards enlarged upon *Rom. 1. 7.* *To all that be at Rome, beloved of God, &c.*
- 18 The Miſery of Man, Preached at *S. Pauls Croſs*, upon *Rom. 6. 23.* *The reward of ſin is death.*
- 19 The Knowledge of God, Preached before *K. James*, upon *Exod. 34. 6, 7.* *The Lord, the Lord, ſtrong, merciful and gracious, &c.*
- 20 The Incarnation of the Word, Preached at *S. Maries in Cambridge*, upon *John 1. 14.* *And the Word was made fleſh.*
- 21 The Paſſion of the Meſſias, Preached within the Cathedral Church of *S. Paul*, upon *Luke 24. 46.* *Thus it behoved Chriſt to ſuffer.*
- 22 The Reſurreſtion of Chriſt, Preached within the Cathedral Church of *S. Paul*, upon *Mat. 28. 5, 6.* *He is not here, for he is riſen, &c.*
- 23 The Aſcention of our Saviour, and Donation of the Holy Ghoſt, Preached at *S. Maries in Cambridge*, upon *Eph. 4. 5.* *Wherefore he ſaith, when he aſcended up on high, he led captivity captive, &c.*
- 24 The Duty of Chriſtians, Preached before *K. James*, upon *1 Theſ. 5. 28.* *Brethren pray for us.*

